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CALIFORNIA

PASTORAL

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PASTORAL

BY

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

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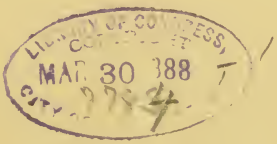

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CALIFORNIA PASTORAL.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

COMPARATIVE CIVILIZATIONS AND SAVAGISMS.

That which constitutes history, properly so called, is in great part omitted from works on the subject.—*Herbert Spencer.*

Before penetrating into the mysteries of our modern lotos-land, or entering upon a description of the golden age of California, if indeed any age characterized by ignorance and laziness can be called golden, let us glance at life and society elsewhere on this planet, particularly as it existed in Spain and Mexico, and within the charmed circles of the highest earthly intelligences, these places and conditions being more intimately than any others connected with the spiritual conquest and occupation of Alta California in the eighteenth century.

Great as is the difference between men and races on the globe, we are apt sometimes to make it more than it is. Especially is this the case with regard to mental culture, and the progress of peoples in arts and industries. It is an interesting study to place, side by side, at the same points of time, widely separated societies, and note their outworking of the problem of progress, each independent of and without any knowledge of the existence of the other, and yet both apparently driven forward by the same forces, and building, like bees their cells, upon one model. And nowhere is there a more befitting field for such investigation

than in comparing the civilizations and savagisms of Europe and America, more particularly of the Spaniards and the Aztecs, as matters stood just before the discovery by Columbus, and while there was yet no knowledge whatever one of the other.

Glance first at the beginning of the dark age in Europe, which was the end of the first epoch of civilization in that quarter. One mighty wave of progress had swollen up, rolled along the centuries, and subsided, and for a time all was calm. From old age and luxury Roman civilization died, and Germanic barbarism and Christianity assisted at its burial.

Social systems, like creeds and polities, evolve from conditions apparently fortuitous. Before the occupation of western Europe by the Romans, society consisted of small-town agricultural communities, every family providing its own necessities, living in a state of independence, paying no taxes, supporting no government, the revenue of states being for the most part obtained from the working of state lands by state slaves. Sometimes a number of these towns would confederate, and the confederations divide their time between cultivating the ground and warring on each other. Every citizen was a soldier and a land-owner, and much of his time was spent in attempting to defend or increase his domain. For every one of these conditions we may find a parallel in the earlier periods of the history of more than one of the American aboriginal nations.

The foundation of our present social structure was laid in Europe by the Romans in the days of republican grandeur. Sending out their armies north and west, they laid under contribution fair provinces and fastened upon the people their laws. In their social structure there was no intelligent middle class; a profligate aristocracy and a cruel populace comprised the republic. All the world besides themselves were barbarians, and if caught were made slaves. In their colonies were but two classes, conqueror and con-

quered. Under their systematic devastations and crushing rule, depopulation and desolation followed them. But with the empire arose a protective spirit which spread tranquillity and fostered a species of base culture. The intellect was forced into a hot-house development, and codes of manners were established, but under a condition of bondage so servile as to fetter mind and degrade morals. Into this mass of tutored ignorance a martial spirit was infused by the fierce tribes from Germany, and a spirit of superstition and bigotry by the churchmen of Rome. Then glowed a redder immorality than ever republic had seen. The Romanized natives of Spain who had more readily adopted, and more rapidly developed, the arts and industries of their masters than the other colonies, at first attempted to raise the barbarous Visigoths to their level. But it is easier to pull down than to build up. Their own social structure was none of the strongest; the preponderance of power was with the barbarians; the loutish northmen bore heavily upon them, and Spain in common with all Europe lapsed into the age of darkness.

Ancient barriers were broken down, and ancient laws obliterated as by one general act of oblivion. Society, molten, was recast. The lands of Europe were parcelled anew. Conquered provinces were broken into fragments, and distributed among the military chieftains who had taken part in the conquest. A multitude of independent states were formed, differing in language and traditions, but all falling into a system of military tenures with singular uniformity. From the ninth to the fourteenth centuries, essentially the same species of feudality, though in modified forms, existed throughout Europe. This uniformity is to be attributed, not to any connivance of the conquerors, who were of widely different stocks and training, but to social necessities, which under like conditions worked out similar results. Phases of European feudalism were scattered all over America, from Alaska to Pat-

agonia, and were formed to some extent ever among the so-called savage nations. The first great law, common to all, both in Europe and America, was that of self-protection. The possession of lands which were won by the sword must be held by the sword. Every land-holder was a soldier, and a feudal kingdom partook more of the character of a military than a civil government. These military sovereignties in the various dismembered provinces were without political system, separate and independent.

In the Old World, the conqueror assuming dominion over the territory allotted him divided it among his chiefs or barons, who in return stood ready with men and arms according to their ability, and at their own cost, to obey the call of their king in order to make or repel an invasion. The nobles, accepting the conditions, built for themselves castles and fortifications, and partitioned their lands among their vassals, who in like manner were bound to do military service according to the pleasure of their lord. The title to lands thus held by feudal tenure was vested in the sovereign, and few other obligations rested upon the occupant than that of attending him in his wars. Captives taken in battle, and freemen who were unable to secure land, sunk into a state of serfdom or villanage. They were employed in tending flocks and cultivating the ground. Their condition was but little better than that of absolute slavery. They were bound to the soil and made to pass with it, but could not be removed from it; nor did they possess any of the rights pertaining to liberty or property. Thus society during the feudal ages was but a state of vassalage, of greater or less degree.

This system, however well adapted to purposes of offence and defence, was but little calculated to promote internal tranquillity, or lay the foundations of powerful states. Every feudal baron within his own domain was absolute master. Even the king could not interfere to regulate his internal affairs. He

could make war upon his own account at pleasure, inflict the death penalty upon his vassals, seize and hold the lands of his neighbor, if he possessed the power, with none to question him. All the world lived in barracks. The master of a household was but chief of a band of robbers. To overrun adjacent lands, murder the inhabitants, burn the houses and drive off the cattle, was the ordinary and honorable occupation of life. Following the promptings of ambition or revenge, neighboring barons would for a moment lay aside their hereditary feud, and join against some distant or more powerful foe; after which each returned to his ancient quarrel with the other with new vigor. By their bloody contentions the nobles thus kept the country in a state of perpetual fermentation. Husbandmen, in the pursuit of their vocation, tremblingly ventured beyond the precincts of the castle during the day, and at night huddled in small villages beneath its walls. They were moreover obliged to hold themselves in readiness to attend their master in his raids at any moment. Marriage among them was discouraged. Soldiers to fight, rather than women and children to feed, was the necessity of the feudal lord. Redress for injuries rested upon the arm of the injured, and when forms of justice were established, matters were but little changed; for decisions were governed by passion rather than principle, and too often the judge was the criminal, and the accuser his victim.

Social intercourse was prevented; commerce between foreign nations ceased; seas were infested by pirates; every foreigner was an enemy. Mediæval regulations made the stranger a vassal of the lord within whose domain he rested more than a year and a day; shipwrecked mariners were made slaves. The property of strangers was at their death confiscated to the ruler. Highways were filled with banditti, so that travellers could journey only in companies. Laws were made and customs established which almost pro-

hibited distant journeys, so that all knowledge of remote nations was lost. Under these baneful influences population increased but slowly, and increase of such a character obviously tended to strengthen the baron, make powerless the sovereign, and rivet still tighter the chains of the vassal. Humanity thus restrained became dwarfed. Budding civilization withered in such uncongenial climes, and Europe plunged into profound ignorance. But for the Ottoman on the east and the barbarian on the north, the feudal system would not have existed so long in western Europe. Finally it collapsed in a struggle between sovereigns and nobles. And all this while, and later, the people were nothing but the plaything of the rulers, the tools alternately of kings, barons, and priests.

In Spain the feudal system was greatly modified by the eight centuries of Christian warfare, which not only developed Spanish valor and Spanish chivalry to the greatest advantage, but knit the several kingdoms of the peninsula in one common cause. The condition of the Spanish peasantry was improved, rather than otherwise, by a war in which personal prowess rose above social distinctions; yet the attitude of classes was essentially the same as in France and Germany. Villanage was less known in Castile and Leon than in Aragon, whose institutions and geographical position gave to that kingdom a peculiar physiognomy.

Thus was the humanity of our own civilization caged like wild beasts in a menagerie; penned up in petty principalities, duchies, and baronial provinces; a state of universal antipathies but one remove from savagism. Obviously out of these grim shadows not a step could be made till the partition walls were battered down. Whence was deliverance to come? What mighty power should arise and breathe peace upon the nations, heal innumerable hatreds, and cause thousands of hereditary foes, as one man, to sheathe their bloody

swords and clasp hands like brothers? It was not by the will of man, nor through man's invention, that these feudalistic fetters were to be broken; but as ever in human affairs, it was that mysterious power of progress ever working in and round societies. On this occasion that power was christianity, the religion of all others with which European civilization seemed most inclined to fraternize. An aid in itself to progress, it has been aided and purified thereby. When Aryan paganism gave way to the purer Semitic faith, christianity became a power mightier than Rome herself—a power destined, in the hands of Roman pontiffs, to rule christendom long after Rome the mighty had fallen. Cæsar and Christ, the sword of Rome and the faith of Rome, were for a time one in purpose and in power; but faith, rising superior to brute force, seized the sword and for a time wielded it in her own interests.

It was the very irony of religion, that frenzied zeal which, during the crusades, gave christianity the form of chivalry. The martial spirit now became inflamed by fanaticism, and society was profoundly moved.

From the earliest ages of the church, it had been deemed an act of piety for believers in Christ to make a pilgrimage to his tomb, and gaze upon the scenes by which he was surrounded when working out the redemption of man. The right of these pious persons to visit the holy sepulchre was never questioned by the Mohammedans until near the close of the eleventh century, when a series of atrocities were committed by a horde of Turkish invaders which roused all christendom. The nations of Europe paused in their internecine bickerings, and turned their eyes with one accord toward the east. During the two succeeding centuries millions of volunteers came forward and enlisted in holy crusades against the profane infidels. Although extremely disastrous to the crusaders themselves, the effect of this movement on civilization was most bene-

ficial. To join as believers and brethren in a common cause, to turn the arms which for centuries had been drawn only against each other upon a foe of their faith, was to dissolve the insane crystallizations of ages. Chieftains of proud families, who for generations had nourished an inveterate hate one for the other, threw aside their animosities, and joining hands in Christian union if not in Christian love, hurled their united strength against the enemy, vying with each other in acts of magnanimity. The enlightening benefits of travel and intercourse with the more refined cities of Italy and the east, the awakening of a new faith between man and man, the necessity of acknowledging human rights and duties other than those of power and place, roused the intellect from its long lethargy. A people, which for ten generations had hardly lost sight of the banner which waved from its castle tower, was led forth as from a dungeon to behold scenes hitherto beyond their conceptions. Side by side they marched through new and wondrous regions, where, in place of imps and ogres, creatures of their clouded imaginations, they found a people like themselves, ready to join in promoting a cause in which their whole soul was engaged. The doctrine of universal enmity became less defined, and vague conceptions of human relationships arose.

The immediate effect of the crusades was to associate and intermix mankind. Europe became more intimately acquainted with the luxuries and refinement of Asia. The power of the maritime cities Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, whose vessels carried the crusaders eastward, was increased. The absence of feudal lords on their pious wars delivered the land somewhat from contentions; households were split into fragments and scattered, and their independence inspired them to labor. A consciousness of manhood arose in their breasts, and with it came self-respect, wealth, domestic comfort, and social advancement. Population increased; towns were built; manufactories

established; and a class between the nobleman and the churl appeared. Serfs who had enlisted in the holy cause on their return were free men. Many of the barons, in setting out on their crusade, had been obliged to part with their landed possessions in order to procure a becoming outfit; many never returned, and of their estates some were bought by the sovereign at a nominal price, others reverted to the crown in default of heirs. Thus, as the feudal aristocracy declined, government centralized, and regal authority gained strength.

Spain, meanwhile, had infidels enough at home; the whole Mohammedan war was but one grand crusade, and petty feudalistic fights were swallowed up in one large fight; so that neither the feudal system which bound men, nor the holy adventures which liberated them, obtained in Spain as elsewhere throughout Europe. Another phenomenon, however, which grew out of all this, imported into Spain at an early day, finding there a rich soil, took root, and flourished extravagantly, deeply tinging the character of the nation.

Chivalry, from *chevalier*, knight, or horseman—we might call it mounted monarchism; now the champion was for Christ, and now for a fair lady—at once defender of the faith, and defender of all things else; protector of the innocent; righter of the wronged; under the banner of the cross, crusader; wandering over the world in quest of adventure, knight-errant.

A strange blending of religion and gallantry, of joustings and justice; a fantastic sentiment fortunate for humanity at this juncture, most fortunate for woman, lifting her up from her low estate, arraying her in brightness, and placing her among the stars, meanwhile toning down man's cragginess, polishing manners, calling up finer instincts; ornamenting, adorning strength with sympathy and valor with constancy, arraying virtue in robes of loveliness, stripping some-

what from war its ferocity, from vice its hideousness; truly, a nobler fanaticism than that which adds torture to ignorance, and better at all events than the beastly customs of feudalism. Acting in conjunction with the holy adventures, and before the creation of standing armies, chivalry played its part in the great work of civilizing man.

But whence more directly came chivalry? About the middle of the tenth century humane men of the nobler sort, fired by self-sacrificing devotion to an unselfish cause, ingrafted upon certain orders of knighthood the sentiments of protection to the weak, and vindication of the rights of humanity. This chivalrous spirit was fostered by the crusades, and in the eleventh century, tournaments, regulated by fixed laws, were established throughout christendom. To eradicate the grosser evils of feudalism, to redress wrongs, to vindicate the right, to merit divine favor by meting out fair justice to man, were among the exalted purposes of this romantic sentiment. Hence woman, as the *ensemble* of all that is lovely and dependent, became the prime object of chivalrous devotion. Here it was that she was first raised from a servile state, and placed beside that divine love of which she is the incarnated essence. Thus we see in the chivalric ideal a blending of things temporal and spiritual; a materialization of christianity. It was an outward manifestation of the inner and hidden life of the monastery. For a time this spirit well accorded with the genius of the age; chivalry became the great religious and social inspiration, and all creeds and customs were made to conform to it. Neither is it strange that in this new glow of manhood the sentiment swelled to excess, nor that this excess, like all excesses, brought about reaction and decline. As in the church, that inordinate zeal, which, amidst filthy poverty and self-torture, wrought out joys ecstatic, thus elevating the mind by debasing the body; as the age of asceticism was followed by an age of clerical gluttony—so this

excessive devotion to holy saints and lovely woman wrought out its own destruction, and ended in licentiousness.

The sentiment became chronic; a sort of chivalric slang crept into language; crusaders were dubbed vassals of Christ; the soldier who at the crucifixion pierced the Saviour's side was pronounced a dastardly knight who thereby disgraced his order; the virgin mother of God was a fair lady, worthy the exalted devotion of every true knight. Even the most beneficial part of the chivalric ideal, the worship of woman, was carried to such an extreme as in the end to result in a lovelier immorality, and into wickedness rendered all the more seductive from being veiled. Nevertheless, the temporary union of chivalry and christianity against wickedness in high places could not be other than a great step toward refinement.

The special political and social state of Spain during the Arab invasion, no less than something in the Spanish character itself, contributed to develop a chivalric ideal of more than ordinary vividness. "Spain gives us," says Hegel, "the fairest picture of knighthood in the middle ages, and its hero is the Cid;" and, adds Schlegel, "the spirit of chivalry has nowhere outlived its political existence so long as in Spain." For this lofty and more than fanciful species of chivalry, Spain is indebted to the Saracens. It has even been held that they originated the system and taught it to Europe. Sismondi affirms that those "notions on the point of honor, which not only possessed a great influence over the system of chivalry, but even over our modern manners, rather belonged to the Arabians than to the German tribes."

Upon the ruins of the knights templar and hospitaller, who obtained large possession in Spain after their return from the crusades, arose three new chivalric orders; Santiago or St James, Calatrava, and Alcántara. The first of these orders was approved by papal bull in 1175. The story of its origin is briefly

as follows: During their struggles with the infidels, the apostle St James had vouchsafed on many occasions to appear in aid and encouragement of the Christians. His body, which had been miraculously discovered, was interred at Compostela, a small town in Galicia. Thither resorted many pilgrims who, in the performance of their pious duty, suffered greatly from the constant annoyances of the Arabs. For the protection of these devout itinerants, several knights and cavaliers united and formed the order of Santiago. The members of this order were distinguished by a white mantle, upon which was embroidered a red cross, shaped as a sword, under which was an escalop shell, this being the device upon the banner of their saint when he appeared to them upon the eve of battle. And many a death-shriek has gone up from the wilderness of America in answer to the terrible battle-cry of the steel-clad Christians: "Santiago y á ellos!" Saint James and at them! The fraternity of Santiago were sworn to obedience, chastity, and community of property. The orders of Calatrava and Alcántara imposed upon their members greater austerity. The obligation of perpetual celibacy was assumed; they were obliged to sit at table in unbroken silence; to eat the plainest food, with but one dish of meat three times a week, and to sleep armed and ready for battle. During the conquest of Granada these chivalric orders vied with each other in presenting an imposing appearance in the field. There always existed between them a generous rivalry; at the first in the loftiness and severity of their vows, and at the last in the skill with which they evaded them.

Chivalry at length met its death at the hand of military art. As early as the fourteenth century knights began to desert their round-table principles, and fight for those who would pay them best. But in Spain the spirit lingered long after the form had departed. Not until Cervantes had published his caustic carica-

ture, a hundred years and more after America's discovery, was the passion for knight-errantry wholly eradicated from the popular mind. The ridiculous antics of the valorous knight of La Mancha were too much for even the sedate Spaniard to swallow, with all his reverence for the past.

With the building of walled towns there is a new shuffle and a new deal in the game of statecraft. The mail-clad barons and their restless retainers find their match in the stout burghers of the cities. This new order, the French *tiers-état*, the English commonalty, is played by the kings against the nobles, and the result is a decline in lawless oppression, and a rise in lawful tyranny. Hitherto every link in the chain which bound men together was forged by injustice. The weak and the wretched, unable to defend themselves, were forced to take refuge within castle walls; and thus the power of the nobles was increased as that of the people diminished. The forming of independent municipal communities, therefore, with a republican form of government, is a long stride forward. Banding and walling themselves in, the commoners are able to bid defiance to their old masters. The sovereign, who is king in name only, regards the rise of this new power with favor; or if not, he is powerless to oppose it.

The towns become cradles of liberty, a refuge for the oppressed. Slaves and serfs resorting thither, and there remaining unmolested for one year, are free men. Wealth, the precursor of refinement, begins to accumulate; laws are made and the machinery of courts adapted to requirements. To enlarge their influence, municipalities join the sovereign against his barons, or forming leagues among themselves, become independent of both king and nobles.

Kingcraft now becomes an art. Baronial castles are thrown down, burying dead feudalism beneath the ruins. A check is placed upon the growing power of

the cities, and surging to the opposite extreme monarchy rises into despotism. A divine power, if not a celestial origin, is ascribed to rulers. The king can do no evil; his word is not only law, but righteous law. The doctrine of balancing power arises—first, domestic, the feudal principle balanced by the municipal, with the ecclesiastical held in reserve to be thrown into either side of the scale as the interests of the church dictate; and finally, as petty principalities coalesce, the states thus formed hold each other in check. That brilliant trio, Charles V., Francis I., and Henry VIII., divide between them Europe and America, then fight each other for the supremacy. These mighty potentates in their lust of pomp and power, actuated by no principle save that of personal aggrandizement, crimson the soil of Europe with the blood of their subjects, and then themselves return to dust.

With artful kingcraft, killing becomes an art. Hitherto men had roamed for prey singly or in small bands; now they unite and establish rules under which their murderous propensities may be more fully gratified. Time was employed not unequally in pursuing those arts which led to taking and to sustaining life. The undrilled artisan, however, made but a poor soldier, while raids and fightings were not the schools of prosperous husbandry, nor were the higher functions of the government less paralyzed by the heterogeneous fragments into which the military force of the nation was split. Grand results can be achieved only by united strength and concerted action. It is only when the resources of the state are firmly grasped and absolutely wielded by one sole sovereign, that tranquillity at home and respect abroad can be maintained. Before armies were established, disputatious cavaliers vacillated, almost at will, between the court and their feudal domains; but however fascinating such a life might be to themselves, it was one little calculated to

elevate the people, or strengthen the arm of the government. In order to mitigate this evil, the sovereigns of Europe, about the middle of the fifteenth century, introduced the system of standing armies. During the turbulence and anarchy of feudalism, except in Spain where the several states were obliged to unite against the encroachments of the Arabs, knowledge of military tactics and the manœuvring of large bodies of troops were in a measure lost. In 1445 Charles VII. of France withdrew from the influence of the barons fifteen hundred men-at-arms, and placed them under pay of the government. His example was followed by other nations, to whom the advantages of the system soon became apparent. The employment of mercenary troops, who adopted arms as a profession, and who were kept in constant training, and under the immediate eye of their king, greatly strengthened the government; while the mass of the people, relieved from sudden and constant calls to do military service, were enabled to prosecute their several vocations with greater advantage to themselves and to the state.

Up to this time the rules of chivalry had prevented gentlemen from appearing upon the field of battle except in full armor and mounted, with all the gaudy paraphernalia of the tournament. And by them the fate of battle was determined; but little dependence was to be placed on undisciplined churls drawn from the baronial estates. All this was now changed by the appearance of a new element in military practice, destined by intensifying war to promote the interests of peace. Gunpowder, an invention of the Chinese, was carried by the Arabs into Spain, whence it spread throughout Europe.

With the use of fire-arms the machinery of war became more complicated, the necessity for discipline was increased; the mounted cavalier, encased in breastplate, helmet, and shield, lost his advantage, and the cavalry became more formidable. But the adop-

tion of any new invention at that time took place but slowly, and not until long after the conquest of America were their ancient implements of warfare laid aside by the Spaniards. A curious medley of death-dealing instruments was displayed upon the battle-fields of the sixteenth century. Cross-bows, battle-axes, pikes, and arquebuses, short-swords, bucklers, daggers, and pistols were placed into the hands of the infantry; while the stately knight, glittering in full armor with lance and sword, sought out some duel better suited to his arm and humor. Besides a clumsy artillery, hurling from various machines balls of stone or iron, there were mounted archers who did good service. The long-bow was a formidable weapon, projecting an arrow two hundred yards through a breastplate or an inch plank. The Saracen knight fought with lance and buckler, mounted on a richly caparisoned horse; the Saracen footmen with cross-bow, cimeter, spear, and arquebuse.

Fortress walls were scaled by the *escaladores*, under cover of mantelets, or movable parapets; and for effecting an entrance into walled towns, large wooden towers, provided with ladders, drawbridges, and all the requisite apparatus, were rolled up to the ramparts, whence the attacking party emerged upon the wall-top and descended into the city.

During the wars of Granada, artillery being the arm most necessary for the carrying of fortified places, their catholic majesties gave every attention to the perfection of this weapon. From Valencia, from Barcelona, from Portugal, from Flanders, and from Sicily powder was brought, and with that belonging to the kingdom, deposited in underground magazines. Artillery officers were procured from Italy, France, and Germany; guns were multiplied; their construction was improved, and more convenient proportions given to their caliber. The batteries increased the rapidity and force of their fire; burning mixtures were brought

into requisition, and the mobility of the guns likewise augmented.

Perhaps no period in the history of human warfare unites so many elements of awful splendor as during this transition, when upon the same battle-field was seen the parting flourish of ancient chivalry, mingling with the sulphurous smoke of scientific warfare. There the gallant knight, glittering in burnished steel, mounted on decorated steed, singled out his foe and rushed proudly to the charge, amid the flash of fire-lock, the twang of long-bow, and the clatter of pike and battle-axe. The camp was brilliant with brave ostentation and rich display. There were gay pavilions, decorated with flaunting pennons and silken hangings; gold-embroidered furnishings, luxurious couches, generous wines, and rich food, served from plate of gold and silver. Upon the battle-fields of Spain there was the stately Spanish knight, little less than king, who brought into the field a thousand vassals, all his own serving-men, and all at his own expense. There were gallant chevaliers from France, with pages and esquires, and English yeomen, armed *cap-a-pie*, who fought with long-bow, pike, and battle-axe.

After the siege of Constantinople, in 1453, in which cannon played an important part, the application of gunpowder to purposes of war rapidly extended, and hastened the decline of chivalry. The Spaniards, who at the first had suffered severely from the artillery of the Moors, at length seized and turned against the invaders their own weapons, and with them finally battered down the walls of Málaga and Granada, and drove their instructors from Spain.

So all things worked together; and as the opposition of negative electricity accumulates and intensifies the positive, so the presence, through succeeding ages, of hereditary enemy and infidel, produced that infatu-

ation of loyalty and superstition which Buckle reviles as the two predominant elements of Spanish character.

With standing armies and gunpowder, the right of individuals to wage private war was discountenanced. Disputes were referred to courts of justice, and heavy penalties inflicted upon those who sought redress for injuries at the head of their retainers. It was a strange bias of intellect, the deciding of judicial causes by mortal combat, the invoking of God's justice by armed champions, and the settling of disputes by the endurance of pain.

Points of law were determined by skill in sword exercises. Even religious disputants referred their controversy to trial by combat. To be vanquished in battle was clear evidence that the cause was unjust. In England, as late as 1571, a trial by combat was permitted by the court of common pleas; and the custom prevailed, in cases where the evidence was not clear, of permitting criminals to obtain an acquittal upon purging themselves by oath.

Many absurd practices, humiliating to reason, were resorted to in the decisions of justice. Endurance in handling red-hot iron, walking upon heated ploughshares, holding the arm in boiling water, standing with arms extended before a crucifix, were among the whimsical methods employed to determine the guilt or innocence of the accused. A direct appeal to the court of heaven was the most infallible means of obtaining justice, and numberless are the instances among the records of the church in which the almighty miraculously interposed his arm in vindication of the right. To such an absurdity was this system of military jurisprudence carried, that in some instances the judge upon his bench, when about to deliver his sentence, might be impeached by the culprit, and defied to mortal combat. Finally, here as elsewhere, the king interposes between heaven and mankind, and appeal is made from the decisions of feudal barons to him instead of to God direct. The accidental discov-

ery in Italy, about the middle of the twelfth century, of a copy of the Pandects of Justinian, tended greatly to promote the study of law and the influence of courts.

Again, in the mysterious workings of mind do we see knowledge begotten of intensified ignorance. That curiosity which led to learning from mediæval torpidity was aroused by a spirit of theological controversy. Disputations between Arian and Pelagian, Peripatetic and Platonist, however absurd in themselves, excited inquiry; and metaphysical wranglings over nonsensical shadows of doctrine was perhaps as good a mental exercise as any other.

While Greece was the empire of letters, Rome became the empire of political power. The arts and culture of Greece were carried by her captors to the world's ends. Greek was the language of letters and refinement, Latin of legislation and religion.

Spanish intellect during the sixteenth century displayed a freshness and versatility unsurpassed by any nation of modern times. The illiterate adventurer, thrown suddenly from the beaten paths of his ancestors into untried fields, exhibited a marvellous fertility of talent for seizing occasion; while in the higher orders of society, literature attained its greatest excellence among those whose lives were most active. The system of paid historiographers instituted by Alfonso the Wise continued; but at this time there had arisen other writers, fresh, active minds, sprung from the ranks of a progressive people, who, for the love of truth or fame, or from an overflowing redundancy of thought, turned from the more practical employments in which many of them had already acquired fame, and devoted their lives to the ennobling occupation of literature. The most eminent poets were also the most famous soldiers; the greatest statesmen were ecclesiastics. Juan Boscan, who introduced Italian versification into Spain, acquired a name for oratory and statecraft before the poet's wreath was awarded

him. Garcilaso de la Vega crowded into a short life of thirty-three years a series of military achievements which shed upon his name scarcely less lustre than his poetical genius, to which the Castilian language is indebted for its sweetest and most glowing pastoral poem. Hurtado de Mendoza served Charles V. as ambassador and military governor. Cervantes, after losing his left hand fighting the Turks at Lepanto, and spending five years in captivity among the Algerines, upon his return to Spain was thrown into prison, and there wrote the first part of his inimitable satire. While following a sailor's life, Columbus not only applied himself to geography and astronomy, but attained proficiency in polite literature, and wrote Latin verses for amusement. Lope de Vega and many other eminent writers were also soldiers of no mean reputation.

The pursuit of letters flourishes with the prosperity of states. Intellectual culture rises, culminates, and declines with the wealth and happiness of the people. The same elements are congenial to both; both are nurtured in the same school of discipline, ripen in the same sunshine of success, and decay alike with luxury and inaction. The functions of the mind are wrought into activity by the stirring events which make great the nation. The heart swells with enthusiasm in battling for God, for country, for the approbation of the fair, and bursts forth in religious and romantic song. In the calmer moods which follow long periods of successful warfare, science unfolds her mysteries, art blossoms, and the comforts and luxuries of leisure multiply. The repose which followed the expulsion of the Moors, the newly acquired wealth of the Indies, and the grandeur attained by Spain under the brilliant reigns of Ferdinand, Charles, and Philip were alike favorable to the pursuit of literature.

A history of literature is but a history of the nation; for not only what is expressed, but the forms of expression, denote the character and progress of the

people. Hence if we would learn the correlative effect of letters upon Spain and Spain upon letters, we must go back to the same source whence other phases of civilization are evolved.

The culture of letters, first carried to the peninsula by the Romans, after sinking beneath Visigothic barbarism, revived under the Arabs. Excepting, as we well may, the miserable theologic drivel of the Gotho-Latin fathers of the Spanish church, science and learning first appeared at Córdova. Schlegel, with the proverbial zeal of a neophyte, and newly converted champion of the church, has tried, without avail, to underrate the Arabic influence. Humboldt, verging to the other extreme, exalts it beyond measure. The Arabs, he says, are the "actual founders of physical science," the authors of chemical pharmacy. They "scared back to some extent the barbarism which had shrouded Europe for more than two hundred years." They had a "far extended and variously developed literature," and they "lead us back to the imperishable sources of Greek philosophy." "The reigns of the two Abderrahmans," says Ticknor, "and the period of the glory of Córdova, which begun about 750 and continued almost to the time of its conquest by the Christians in 1236, were more intellectual than could be found elsewhere." The kingdom of Granada, which succeeded, was scarcely less famed for its learning and refinement than for its opulence and ostentatious luxury.

Scattered over the plain of Granada at the time of its conquest were no less than fifty colleges and seventy public libraries where literature was pursued, and the sciences of astronomy, mathematics, and chemistry cultivated.

Jewish literature attained eminence under the caliphs of Spain. The Moslem schools at Granada, Córdova, Barcelona, and Toledo were thrown open to Israelites, who became proficient in medicine, mathematics, and astronomy.

Then it was in the southern part of Spain that literature first took root. There in the most beautiful climate of Europe, in Barcelona and Valencia, as well as in southern France, was the native seat of that sweet Provençal poetry, "the joyous science." From Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon it passed to Castile. It dates back to the eighth century, but received its great stimulus from the crusades. "The crusades," says Buckle, "increased the stock of fables, and all the fictions of the east were suddenly let loose upon Europe." In the twelfth century nearly every country of Europe had heard the fame of the *gai saber.*

In Spain, as Lafuente has shown, this literary movement did not limit itself to poetry and works of the imagination. It extended also to theology, ethics, history, politics, and jurisprudence. Translations of the bible and commentaries on its chronicles, books of law, of government, and of theology appeared. So great was the respect paid for learning at the close of the fourteenth century, that on the accession of King Don Martin of Aragon, the judicial and political question of succession was neither fought out nor settled by the nobles, but decided by a committee of learned ecclesiastics and jurists.

This general progress of public feeling toward enlightenment contributed much to the creation of the University of Barcelona in 1430, by the ancient magistracy of that city. It was endowed with thirty-two professorships, including chairs of theology, jurisprudence, medicine, philosophy, grammar, rhetoric, anatomy, Hebrew, and Greek. From the intimate communication between the Aragonese and the Italians, the Renaissance, rising in Italy since the fall of Constantinople, was carried to the peninsula. Spain was fortunate in securing Florence as a teacher. When Cosmo di Medici died in 1464, his grandson Lorenzo succeeded to the rule of Florence, and to the guiding of great events. The crescent had eclipsed the cross at the golden horn of the Bosporus; with

the city of Constantine had utterly fallen the last pillar of the eastern empire. The learned men whom the great capital had nursed were scattered abroad, fleeing with their books and instruments, wandering they knew not whither. Lorenzo gathered many to his Tuscan city, and spared neither gold nor care that they and their manuscripts should make their stay permanent. It is well known what such a policy did for Florence; and how this light made many dark absurdities untenable for Europe, and even for Spain. New universities sprang up; Castile took her place in the race, and everything indicated for Spain the inauguration of new and great things. There the sciences were more backward in the fifteenth century than letters. Astronomy, cosmography, physics, and mathematics had, it is true, their professors in the universities of Salamanca and Alcalá. But the information possessed on these subjects was neither equal to that in Portugal since the time of Prince Henry, nor commensurate with the material and scientific revolution that the discovery of the New World had produced. "Salamanca," says Hare, "once possessed twenty-five colleges, twenty convents, twenty-five professors, and twenty-five arches of its bridge; but the last alone remain intact—colleges, churches, convents, and professorships having alike fallen. The university, which boasted above ten thousand students in the fourteenth century, has now little more than one thousand; and the splendid collegiate buildings, palaces worthy of the corso of Rome or the grand canal of Venice, are either in ruins or let out to poor families."

While the Mohammedan contest was raging the fiercest, and the corrupted Latin of the Spaniards was merging into the Castilian dialect, Alfonso X. ascended the throne of Castile, and for his zeal in promoting the intelligence of his people, was surnamed The Wise. To his Arab tastes he was indebted for this title. He labored to introduce into Europe the sciences, arts, and manufactures of his Arab neighbors.

He was something of an astronomer, something of a chemist, and he proposed a system of the heavens based upon the Ptolemaic scheme. He patronized letters, and his own writings contributed not a little to their advance, and to that of science. He invited many eastern philosophers to his court, and he had many of their works translated into Castilian. Of the more material advantages, gunpowder, our minerals, paper, and the compass, though not discovered by the Arabians, were introduced by them to European use. The first schools and libraries in the peninsula, in mediæval times, were those of the Mussulmans. "The number of Arabic authors which Spain produced," says Sismondi, "was so prodigious, that many Arabian bibliographers wrote learned treatises on the authors born in particular towns." Was it any wonder, then, with all this, that to the Arab colleges, academies, and libraries there resorted in great numbers, not only the sons of the faithful, but also Christians from different parts of Europe? So much for the eastern, for a long time not only the principal but the only source of learning and culture in Spain.

Up to this time, which was the middle of the thirteenth century, the literature of Spain consisted of romantic poems of the order of *El Romancero del Cid*, and a multitude of chivalric ballads of like quality. As manifestions of temperament, these effusions are not without value. For hundreds of years heroic romances and tales of knight-errantry constituted the popular literature of Spain, and these monstrous fictions were devoutly accepted as true history. No absurdity was too great for belief; and although this folly was effectually crushed by the renowned Don Quixote toward the latter part of the sixteenth century, shortly before which time the passion for reading books of chivalry was never more absorbing nor the influence more baneful, its impress remains indelibly stamped upon the Spanish mind. Their dramatic writings consisted chiefly of religious farces and alle-

gorical plays, which can scarcely be ranked as literature, much less poetry. Alfonso digested the then existing opinions concerning morals, religion, and legislation, into a uniform system of laws, applicable to the various conditions of his people. This work was called *Las Siete Partidas*, from the seven parts into which it was divided. The learned monarch drew largely from the code of Justinian, as well as from other sources. In this compilation was laid, not only the foundation of Spanish jurisprudence, but it embodied such sound ethical maxims as to affect, not only the polities of Spain, but of the colonies of Louisiana and Florida, and through them to exert a modifying influence upon the government of the United States.

But unfortunately, the paths of literature for the two succeeding centuries lay not through fertile fields nor by clear running streams. In place of a natural growth, advancing step by step from barbaric ignorance, the Spanish intellect plunged at once from the dreamy languor of chivalric ballads into the depths of mysticism and theological speculation. Imagination still usurped the domain of reason; the battle was between nominalism and realism; men fought, not for the truth, but for the abstract idea. The faith for which the Spaniards had so long struggled clouded their understanding, and prevented that unprejudiced inquiry into causes which lies at the foundation of all progress. Only the theological subtleties of the Greeks had been absorbed by the Latins, while the more sensible Arabians seized upon Aristotelean philosophy, and applied it to useful arts. The church was by no means unwilling that her secrets should be guarded by a dead language. Cardinal Bembo seeing one day a priest engaged in translating a portion of the bible exclaimed, "Leave off this child's play; such nonsense does not become a man of gravity." Latin therefore continued to be the language of the church, and as the clergy only were taught, the church monopolized learning. All through the dark

age there glimmered beams of light from Constantinople, from Bagdad, and from Córdova. The Ommiades kept up regular communication with the Byzantine emperors. To the papacy as the temporal and ecclesiastical power of the church of Rome was opposed the caliphate as the temporal and ecclesiastical power of Mohammedanism. While the bishop of Rome held undisputed temporal and spiritual sway in Italy, in Castile, and over the entire north of Europe, the caliph of Mohammed held undisputed temporal and spiritual sway at Córdova, as well as at Samarcand. The bishop of Rome was pope because he was emperor; the caliph of Mohammed was emperor because he was pope. As intercourse with the Greeks and Saracens increased, there was manifest throughout Europe an awakened interest in learning. In Constantinople Greek was a living language until that city was conquered by Mohammed II. in 1453. In 1458 it was first taught at Paris, in 1481 it was printed at Milan, and taught at Oxford in 1488. With the restoration of Greek literature in Italy, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, began a new era in the extension of knowledge. It was this light breaking in from the east that dispelled the long darkness. Latin, which as the language of the learned had hitherto kept wrapped within its mystic folds the wisdom of the ancients, fell into disuse. From vulgar and aboriginal dialects modern languages were formed, and literature was taken from church control and spread before the people. Schools arose, and laymen as well as clergymen were taught. Inquiry and argument left the unprofitable fields of windy scholasticism, and entered the more practical paths of science. Penetrating eyes were cast upon human affairs, and saw therein elements not reached by the meditations of the cloister. Men dared to give license to thought, to give rein to reason, and with it to invade the sacred precincts of old delusions, and demand of bigots the why and wherefore of their ab-

surdities. Italy again becomes the seat of learning and refinement. The Byzantine school of art, transplanted with Greek literature, breaks forth in dazzling splendor. The divine in man assumes form. A new music floating through the chambers of the soul finds vent, coagulates upon the canvas, and concretes in marble statues and cathedral domes. Popular literature finds expression in Ariosto, Poloziano, and Pulci; and art in Michael Angelo, Tiziano, and Leonardo da Vinci. The subtle disputations of scholastics fade before the more philosophic reasonings of Machiavelli and Lorenzo. The Ptolemaic idea of astronomy, which placed the earth in the centre of the universe and sent the whole heavens whirling around it, is exploded by the theory of a solar system promulgated by Copernicus.

And as if all this were not enough for the enfranchisement of the intellect, another and still mightier power appears—the art of printing. Beside this artifice, simple yet wonderful, all the inventions of man sink to insignificance. Transfixing thought, giving perpetual speech to the wisdom of ages, bringing up the dead past and surrounding the present with myriads of tongues, it is more magical than magic, more cunning than sorcery. The power of the pulpit was thenceforth doomed to give way before the power of the press. Although printing was invented in Germany about 1440, the art was not established in Spain until 1474; and while destined eventually to effect the complete emancipation of learning, it was so pampered at first by the jealousy of the clergy and the restrictions of government, that its influence was greatly retarded. Under the pontificate of Alexander VI. a censorship of the press was decreed, and no book was suffered to be printed without special permission from the clergy, under pain of fire for the book and excommunication for the author. Four centuries have since passed away, and these fetters are scarcely yet entirely removed.

By a singular coincidence, says Lafuente, printing was introduced into Spain in the year Isabella began to occupy the throne of Castile. She received and protected the art with ardor. By an ordinance made in Seville the 25th of December, 1477, and directed to the city of Murcia, it was commanded that Teodorico Aleman, "printer of books in these kingdoms, be freed of all taxes and duties whatever—he being one of the chief inventors and practisers of the art of printing, having dared the many perils of the sea to bring it to Spain." By means of this and other wise measures emanating from the lively protection of Queen Isabella, and notwithstanding it was so completely muzzled by fanaticism, the marvellous art of Gutenberg spread itself throughout Spain. And from the printing of the *Cantares á la Virgen*, in Valencia, till that of the polyglot bible, appeared a multitude of important books. Before the end of the fifteenth century there were printing establishments in all the principal cities of Spain, in Valencia, Barcelona, Saragossa, Seville, Toledo, Valladolid, Burgos, Salamanca, Zamora, Murcia, Alcalá, Madrid, and in others of less consideration.

With Granada fallen and America discovered, Spain was becoming unified, and Castile, indeed, was in some sort becoming Spain. All literature showed life. Chronicle writing was abundant, and began to crystallize into history. Isabella then turned her attention to the cultivation of letters with all the ardor of her nature. She summoned to her court the learned Milanese, Peter Martyr, and directed him to open a school for the reclamation of noble youths from ignoble pursuits, by inculcating in them a taste for literature. She encouraged the most eminent Italian scholars to take up their residence at her court, and to excite emulation applied herself to the study of Latin, which she had first began after her accession to the throne. Under royal auspices a spirit of intellectual rivalry sprang up, and for the first time in Spain the profession of letters rose to an equality with the profession of arms. Men

and women of all classes were stimulated to seek distinction in letters. But even this generous ambition must rest subservient to the fierce bigotry of the times. While Isabella thus fostered the advancement of knowledge among her people, her minister, Ximenez, was zealously collecting from all quarters the heretical manuscripts of the Arabs, to which Spanish scholarship was most greatly indebted, and burning them in huge piles in the public square of Granada. Two centuries later with Velasquez and Murillo the glory of Spanish art departed, and with Solis and Calderon the brilliant reign of Spanish letters terminated.

Throughout all this extravaganza of expanding thought the ministers of superstition were not idle. Raised to power by the murky moisture of intellectual night, they saw and seized their opportunity. Nor for this are they entitled to special blame. It has long been the fashion to heap upon rulers, temporal and spiritual, the odium attaching to the sins of the people; as if kings and priests made man, forged his fetters, and whipped him into servitude. In a sociological sense, even in despotic and superstitious times, rulers and ecclesiastics were none the less servants and ministers of the people than now. They were simply the incarnation of the spirit of servility, of intellectual fear, and of abasement inherent in the masses. Nor were they more cruel, or designing, or hypocritical than other men. The king believed himself the Lord's annointed; the priest believed himself God's vicegerent; in this there was nothing strange, so long as their subjects held faith in miracles, witchcraft, apparitions, and monsters. It is true that priests, by surrounding an appearance of learning with the paraphernalia of imposing forms, may by persuasions, and threatenings of supernatural visitations, long hold the unthinking mind under bondage of fear; but this can never be unless the people first bestow the power. The religion of a people, like their gov-

ernment, is of their own making or of their own enduring. It is never much above or below the moral ideal of the masses. But for the people to forge for themselves fetters, thrust their willing hands into them, and then cry that they are held, is childish; and it is scarcely less so for writers of history to inveigh against one of a nation, or one class, for performing the functions of an office in which they are sustained by the people. When we hear rattle the chains of the struggling mind, we are too apt to forget how they came there, to forget that bondage is an inheritance, and to blame human holders of power for not behaving more than godlike, and hasten to lay it down and free the race. These teachers are not the crafty serpents their biographers make them; they are worms like their fellows; not possessed of any superhuman knowledge more than are our teachers of today. There is no Serbonian bog of more hopeless depth than the teachings of ignorance.

Nevertheless, as we shall see, the Spanish ministers of Christ were not wholly consistent in their practice with the teachings of their divine master. Their practice was not wholly consistent with their profession; they taught charity, mercy, peace; and for the enforcement of these mild precepts they brought carnage, inquisitorial tortures, and all the demoniacal passions the nature human is heir to. It will not do to survey ecclesiastical morality by the light of ecclesiastical history. The pathway of Christ's followers is red not alone with the blood of the saints; the history of persecution is the history of the church; for every martyr to Christ's love ten have been martyred for the love of Christ. Not that the Christians of the fifteenth century were more cruel or less sincere than the Christians of the first century. Both were eaten up of zeal; but in the authoritative elaboration of its dogmas latter-day faith grew ferocious, and subtle disputations over forms of infinitesimal importance were followed by copious blood-lettings. The schisms

and slaughterings of the several branches of the church during the second and third five centuries of its existence were more foolish than the quarrelling for the shadow of an ass. With the Bigendians of Lilliput it was a matter of no small consequence, and a point of orthodoxy, that all eggs should be cracked at the big end, wherefore the Smallendians denounced them as vile and heretical, because any one but the most bigoted and abandoned of God could see that eggs should be broken at the small end. Profitless disputation has not wholly ceased even in our own day.

The moral ideal of the Greeks and Romans was patriotism; that of the early Christians, fraternity; that of the mediæval Christians, asceticism and self-torture. When pagan civilization lapsed into the dark age, political unity was destroyed, and religious unity usurped its place; just as in the national unfolding from savagism, superstition follows, if indeed it does not accompany, despotism. Creeping, trembling humanity must have something to cling to; if not substance, then it seeks to embrace shadows. No sooner, however, than the mind, enlightened by experience, is able to distinguish between idle fancies or personalities placed by the imagination behind appearances, and the concrete fact that this deadly fear, mother of the twin cubs superstition and ignorance, begins to lose its power, and gradually fetich worship, dead-hero worship, king worship, image worship, and the like disappear.

Christianity was taught in Spain as early as the second century—some say earlier—entering the country probably from Africa. By the end of the third century churches were established. The arrival of the Visigoths made no change in religion, they, too, having already embraced christianity.

Spain was early noted for an extreme religious zeal. Nowhere in Europe did the clergy acquire such unbounded influence over the minds of the people.

Sismondi, it is true, asserts that not until the time of Charles V. did the Spaniards become in any special degree bigoted or slavishly religious; but maintained in a great degree their independence against that church of Rome of which they subsequently became the most timid vassals. This view, however, is hardly that of his brother historians. Buckle, for one, not only affirms the early superstition of Spain, but sees physical, *a priori* reasons why it should have been so. Famines, epidemics, earthquakes, and general unhealthiness of climate, he says, are among the most important physical causes of ultra-religiosity; both by their effect in inflaming superstition and overawing inquiry, and in their shortening their average duration of life, thus increasing the frequency and earnestness with which supernatural aid is invoked. In these unfavorable natural features, no European country has been so unfortunately situated as Spain.

In this theory, Mr Froude thinks there is a great deal of truth; though at the same time he instances, on the other side of the question, "Japan, the spot in all the world where earthquakes are most frequent, and where, at the same time, there is the most serene disbelief in any supernatural agency whatever." It seems, on the whole, a mere question of the comparative influence of certain admitted powers, none of which were likely to be at all favorable to cool, fearless reasoning. Look, for example, at the fitful, precarious life of the Spaniard himself, through so many generations of his early national existence, while the Toledo kept as best it could against the cimeter the western gates of Europe. In such times "thought and inquiry were impossible; doubt was unknown; and the way was prepared for those superstitious habits, and for that deep-rooted and tenacious belief, which have always formed a principal figure in the history of the Spanish nation."

So much for Buckle; it must be recognized, however, with regard to the effects of this latter cause,

that before the Saracens had at all set foot in the peninsula, "no kingdom was so thoroughly under the bondage of the hierarchy as Spain." This is what Hallam thinks of it; while Lafuente, treating of the Gotho-Spanish kingdom as early as the seventh century, speaks of "the influence and preponderance of the clergy, not then only in ecclesiastical matters, but also in the policy of the state." In fact, of the national councils held at that time, it is not easy to determine whether they are to be considered as ecclesiastical or temporal assemblies. Milman affirms them to have been both. To such an extent had the clergy insinuated themselves in the affairs of state.

Turn again to the results of the Mohammedan invasion as set forth by the historian of English civilization: "There were three ways in which the Mohammedan invasion strengthened the devotional feeling of the Spanish people. The first was by promoting a long and obstinate religious war; the second was by the presence of constant and imminent dangers; and the third was by the poverty, and therefore the ignorance, which it produced among the Christians."

The war which drove the infidels from Spain was a war for the faith, a crusade no less than a conquest. The interests of the church, as well as the interests of the nation, were at stake; hence in martial matters the clergy took active interest, and played therein no mean part. Not only did they animate the soldiers by their enthusiasm, and comfort them with promises of divine approbation, but abbots and bishops joined in councils of war, and led armies to battle. While the king fought for the church, the church could do no less than to inculcate such maxims as should tend most to the service of the king. Likewise the king stood by the church and dearly regarded its interests. And now these two great powers, which had marched hand in hand for ten centuries and more, were approaching the meridian of their glory. The courts of Isabella, Ferdinand, Charles, and Philip, with all their

forms and august pageantries, might well have passed for models of celestial mansions; as if the gods had come down and taken up their abode with men. And so, indeed, many regarded it. "Whatever the king came in contact with," says Buckle, "was in some degree hallowed by his touch. No one might mount a horse which he had ridden; no one might marry a mistress whom he had deserted. Horse and mistress alike were sacred, and it would have been impious for any subject to meddle with what had been honored by the Lord's anointed."

The despotic power embodied in a united church and state brought the Spanish people into a state of servile homage to king and clergy, and imprinted on their character its deepest color. Fired by earthly hopes on the one side, and heavenly hopes on the other, the mind became greatly inflamed. It became part of their religion to be loyal, and part of their loyalty to be religious. Upon the eve of battle the priest, to stimulate their zeal, wrought miracles, declared omens, and conjured to their aid the potent elements of heaven. The most trivial circumstances were seized as tokens of success or failure.

As the learning of past ages lay hidden in the languages understood only by the clergy, such expositions and interpretations could be placed upon it as best suited their purpose. Thereby, in the eyes of the ignorant, they were clothed in mysterious powers; they were special confidants of the deity, and held the disposal of earthly and heavenly blessings at their command. Hence all united to do them reverence. A large share of the spoils of battle fell to them. In every province wrested from the Moors, extensive grants were made for ecclesiastical institutions, and any attempt to curb their avarice, or dispute their authority, was denounced as impious and heretical. Priests were kings, ministers, lawyers, or soldiers as the interests of the church demanded. They engaged in trade, and owned manufactories.

A monk could travel from one end of Spain to the other without money, his blessing being more than compensation for his entertainment. The proudest grandees servilely attended the clergy on occasions of great display, such as the burning of a heretic, or in celebrating mass, gladly embracing every opportunity of manifesting their zeal for the church by humbling themselves before its meanest functionaries. The abbess of Huelgas ranked above all the ladies of Spain save the queen. Few throughout christendom were higher in ecclesiastical dignity than the archbishop of Toledo, *ex officio* primate of Spain and grand chancellor of Castile. His was the metropolitan church whose canons dwelt in stately palaces, and whose revenues were princely rather than priestly.

In 1549 a convent was founded by Ramon Berenguer in Catalonia, on the spot where the body of Poblet, a holy hermit, had been revealed by mystic lights. The shrine became famous. Monarchs enriched it with their wealth and honored it with their remains. If we may credit Hare, "five hundred monks of St Bernard occupied but did not fill the magnificent buildings. Their domains became almost boundless, their jewelled chalices and gorgeous church furniture could not be reckoned. The library of Poblet became the most famous in Spain, so that it was said that a set of wagons employed for a whole year could not carry away the books. Poblet grew to be the Westminster abbey of Spain, and its occupants became more exclusive. Their number was reduced to sixty-six, but into that sacred circle no novice was introduced in whose veins ran other than the purest blood of a Spanish grandee. He who became a monk of Poblet had to prove his pedigree, and the chapter sate in solemn deliberation upon his quarterings." Every monk had two servants to attend him, and when he went out he rode upon a snow-white mule. The whole peninsula was searched for these mules, and they commanded an enormous price.

Nowhere in christendom did religion enter into the daily life of the people as in Spain. Every house was a school of superstition. Every guild had its patron saint. Thousands of vulgar conceits, omens, prognostics, tales of witchcraft, magic, and diabolic holiness were current among the masses. Piety was made practical. "God and St Bridget bless you!" cries the milkmaid to the cow, and there were no more kickings. She who would know the Christian name of her lover had but to stretch a thread across the doorway, and the name of the first man who stepped over it was the name of him whom she should marry. The distaff must not remain loaded over Sunday, or the linen of the following week would be of bad quality, and thousands of like absurdities. In French falconry, if we may believe Paul Lacroix, before hunting, the birds were sprinkled with holy water, as on St Hubert's day hounds and accoutrements of the chase were blessed by the priests. The enemies of the falcon were then solemnly addressed in the manner following: "I adjure you, O eagles! by the true God, by the holy God, by the most blessed Virgin Mary, by the nine orders of angels, by the holy prophets, by the twelve apostles, to leave the field clear to our birds, and not to molest them: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Emblematic of all industries and interests was the cross. The body is fashioned like a cross; churches were built in the form of a cross; seas could not be safely traversed except in cross-masted vessels, nor the earth made fertile by any other than a cruciform spade.

To impress the popular mind, mystery-plays or passion-plays were introduced, in which scripture incidents were arrayed in the gaudy paraphernalia of the drama. In these repulsive exhibitions, ecclesiastics appeared upon the stage in the characters of the patriarchs and apostles, and even of the deity. Adam

and Eve paraded before the chaste audience naked, and Lucifer stalked the boards with horns and cloven hoof and forked tail. There the Christ was crucified, the creator sat in judgment, and the fires of hell were brightly burning. Later, when taste became refined by art, these spectacles were modified or abandoned for the more impressive grandeur of architectural piles, vaulted aisles and pictured windows; pointed spires and deep-toned bells; with statues, incense, tapers, and the imposing ceremonials of the mass. In Spain more than elsewhere art was subordinated to religion; image worship was the most fertile field of the sculptor and painter. Science, if used at all, was employed only to elucidate some doctrine of the church. In every way, by interpolation of scripture, by exalting blind faith, by nursing besotted ignorance and trembling credulity, science was smothered and rationalistic thought crushed. Innovation, deviation from time-honored tenets, was heresy. To think was a crime; to study nature, magic; to attempt to interpret nature by a natural, or any other than a biblical, standard was sorcery.

In every village was a sorcerer, wise man, or magician, a most useful member of society, who, being in correspondence with agencies infernal, wrought miracles, cured the sick, and brought to light that which was lost. Days lucky and unlucky in which to buy and to sell were duly noted in the almanac. Joan d'Arc not only heard voices in the air, and beheld strange visions, but she made the French and English soldiery see them. Columbus, on first sighting San Salvador, saw the western coast of Asia, and he commanded every one of his men to see in that island Asia, and to believe and know that it was the veritable Cipango, the Japan of India, that they saw under penalty of having the tongue of every doubter cut out. What had men to do with their senses, with reason? The sum of duty in those days was very simple—only believe. Whatever could not be understood might be

attributed, with Don Quixote, to enchantment, or the work of some wicked magician. And so John Faust, the printer, was a witch; and storms and deaths and all evils were attributed to witches; and witches were burned by thousands.

Sorcery and witchcraft were for centuries defended by the ablest scholastics. Thomas Aquinas, St Augustine, Gerson, and Bodin fought as hard against scepticism in witchcraft as in worship. Neither ability, purity of intention, nor a self-sacrificing search for truth were proof against error; instance Martin Luther blackening the wall with his inkstand hurled against an imaginary devil, and the puritan fathers who fled persecution, only for Christ's sake to persecute each other. Whoever attempted to question the truth of witchcraft was hushed by passages from scripture, by which or from which anything or nothing can be proved. The logic of superstition was a measuring of error by error, by which method the truth has never yet been meted out.

Toledo was famous for its witches. At Calahorra in 1507 thirty women were burned for witchcraft. Hundreds of instances might be cited where women and men were thus tortured to death by these profoundly blind and pious men. The unfortunates who thus suffered were deemed criminally depraved, accursed of God, children of Satan, whom to send by an excruciating death to eternal torment were a righteous duty. So clergymen dealt with the tainted of their flock, so magistrates dealt with the accused, so dealt friend with friend, and mothers with children.

Any man having aught against another had but to twist his body into a knot, call the semblance of agony to his face, cry witch, and charge the evil on his enemy to be forever rid of him. As late as 1484 Innocent VIII. complains by papal bull "that numbers of both sexes do not avoid to have intercourse with the infernal fiends, and that by their sorceries they afflict both man and beast. They blight the marriage bed, de-

stroy the births of women and the increase of cattle; they blast the corn on the ground, the grapes in the vineyard, the fruits of the trees, and the grass and herbs of the field." Strange that the creator and preserver of all things should stand still and see the innocent suffer for what he has done, and open not his mouth!

Patristic writings are full of their jugglery. Among the long catalogue of miracles deemed authentic by St Augustine were five cases of bringing the dead to life. During life birds brought fruit to the anchorite, and at death lions dug his grave and howled his requiem. Often the virgin descended, and lifting the pious supplicant from his knees, comforted him. Images everywhere cured the sick and winked and blinked upon the worshippers at their shrine. Under direction of the Virgin of the Pillar at Saragossa chronic diseases were cured and amputated limbs restored. Every village had its shrine; every temple its miracle-working relic. So rapidly grew the hair of a Burgos crucifix that it required cutting once a month. Even fishes left their element and thronged about St Anthony to hear him preach. By the angelic host were scattered the armies of princes opposed to the church. Missionaries, led by duty into the wilderness, were there either supernaturally protected or granted glorious martyrdom. All this smacks somewhat of pious fraud, but yet more of mental aberration.

To-day Hare affirms that fifty thousand pilgrims flock to Saragossa on the 12th of October, that day being the festival of the Virgin of the Pillar. "God alone," says Pope Innocent III., "can count the miracles which are there performed," and Cardinal Retz, who was at the place in 1649, solemnly declares that "he saw with his own eyes a leg which had been cut off grow again upon being rubbed with oil from one of the virgin's lamps." St Vincent Ferrer of Valencia made those who were born blind to see; he made the lame to walk, raised the dead, converted thirty-five

thousand Jews, and performed many other minor feats. Ponderous volumes are filled with the miraculous doings of holy men, with the visions they had seen, and the visitations made to them. Thus were children taught by their parents, pupils by their teachers, soldiers by their king; thus were men assured of the truth by those whom they regarded as the ministers and representatives of God's will and power on earth. Such was the atmosphere in which the belief of our New World adventurers was formed.

The clergy easily obtained permission to establish courts for the decision of all questions relative to their creeds and to their property. By extending under various artifices the jurisdiction of these spiritual courts, they were made to include the greater part of all cases arising for litigation. Codes of laws were formed, and rules established whereby uniform and consistent decisions were made. The fulmination of ecclesiastical edicts became common, and were more dreaded than bodily punishment. Their system of jurisprudence gradually superseded arbitration by combat, and their courts were regarded as more strictly temples of justice than those of the feudal magistrates. Finally a system of canon law was framed in accordance with their pretensions, and thereafter the church refused to submit her affairs to the decision of temporal tribunals.

Joining the king against the nobles, the clergy plunged deep into political intrigue, directing the affairs of government, and entering largely into jurisprudence. Priestcraft, an essential constituent of chivalry and the crusades, became the dominant power of civilized societies, and gave coloring to all religious wars. Wealth followed as a natural sequence. One half the property of Spain was at one time under control of the church, and all of it exempt from taxation.

The court of Rome, during the latter part of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries, was at the height of its power, and the depth of its

corruption. The popes, after the council of Constance, added to their spiritual and quasi-temporal sovereignty over christendom a complete civil and secular authority in the papal states. The primacy of St Peter, at first a state of simple guardianship, became powerful through the power of the Romans. The authority over provincial churches which the city of Rome, as mistress of the world, gave to the early pastors of Rome, upon the advent of Mohammed and the fall of the sees of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, was left supreme. The superiority, at first conceded by virtue of parental protection, was then claimed as a right. As the empire of Rome declined, the empire of St Peter maintained the supremacy, and in the eleventh century Hildebrand, under title of Gregory VII., promulgated the bold conceit that the successor of St Peter as vicegerent of the creator is sovereign of the world. Thus the patriarch of Rome became the pope of Rome. Although subscribing himself *Servus Servorum Dei*, servant of the servants of God, he was content to be nothing less than master of the masters of men. Twelve hundred years after Christ, the vicar of Christ assumes that temporal authority which Christ himself declared to be no part of his mission. The exit of Colonna, as Martin IV., from Constance, was more glorious than Christ's entry into Jerusalem. Arrayed in gorgeous robes, and mounted on a richly caparisoned mule, forty thousand horsemen, among whom were kings, princes, and prelates, knights, and learned doctors, escorted him beyond the city walls. On one side rode the emperor, and on the other the elector of Brandenburg, each holding a rein. His housings were supported by princes, and he rode beneath a canopy borne by four counts.

The mighty and noble being thus brought under the yoke, such fatherly precepts were instilled into their minds as should keep them zealous and tractable. A system of rewards and punishments was invented. Pet names were given in return for emi-

nent services. Ferdinand of Spain for expelling the Moors was permitted to call himself Most Catholic Majesty; the king of Portugal was dubbed Most Faithful; Louis XI., Most Christian; while Henry VIII., for opposing Luther, was styled Defender of the Faith, and for opposing the pope was anathematized. Christian monarchs, faithful to the church, were confirmed and strengthened in their government, and their dominions enlarged; while maledictions were hurled at those who dared to disobey; crusades were preached, not against infidels alone, but against Christian nations whose rulers refused to bow before the papal power. Multitudes from every land flocked to Rome, as formerly pilgrims flocked to the holy sepulchre.

It is inconsistent with earthly affairs for greatness like this to last. The fruit of it ripened and decayed. The pope who made himself higher than man lived lower than the brute. Sixtus IV. who reigned from 1471 to 1484 was led by his nepotism into base intrigues and treacherous conspiracies. Innocent VIII., 1484–1592, is accredited by his mildest historians with seven illegitimate children, offspring of various women. The very name of Alexander VI., 1492–1503, the father of Cæsar and Lucretia Borgia, is synonymous with cruelty and licentiousness. "The impure groves of antiquity," says Merle D'Aubigne, "probably never saw the like of the wickedness perpetrated under his roof." He secured his election by buying every cardinal at a fixed price; and on the day of his coronation he made his son Cæsar archbishop of Valencia and bishop of Pampeluna. This youth, worthy of his illustrious father, first murdered his brother and threw the body into the Tiber, then strangled his brother-in-law, and finally becoming jealous of his father's favorite, stabbed him to the heart in the very presence of the pontiff. He kept a band of hired assassins constantly at hand to do his bidding. Lucretia Borgia, twice married, lived in-

cestuously at the same time with her father and two brothers. The Borgias, father and children, turned the imperial city into a harem. Falling at length a victim to his own diabolical cunning, the pope died of poison which he had prepared for others. Yet in justice to Alexander VI., it may be said that notwithstanding his incestuous debaucheries he was one of the most able princes of his age. He successfully quelled the refractory spirit of his barons, although he did not scruple to use poison and poniard in effecting his purpose. He was devoted to the welfare of the people, and kind to the poor. Julius II., 1503–1513, notwithstanding his love of war and his encouragement of art—became prematurely old from intemperance and sensual excesses. With such pastors, what may be expected of the people?

The wickedness of the pontiffs did not die with them, but spread like a pestilence through all ranks of the priesthood, and infected every grade of society. Simony and licentiousness were of the most common occurrence. While the church was burning heretics for simple differences of opinion, one half of her priesthood purchased their preferments, and lived in open concubinage.

Yet civilization owes Roman Catholicism something; for example, the unification of society during the dark age; restraining the passion for war consequent on the subordination of political power to divinely deputed papal power; the unification of the Christian church, growing out of the doctrine of papal infallibility; the abolition of slavery; the softening and refining of manners, and multitudinous social courtesies and benefits.

Thus we have seen how the people of Spain were educated into ignorance and fanaticism; how truth was hidden away, and falsehood and superstition clothed in the semblance of truth; how devotion to the king and to the church was rewarded, and devotion to

country and conscience punished. Now let us see how proselytes were made in Spain in the sixteenth century, as I have elsewhere in this series fully described the engines of conversion in America. And I ask the reader to compare the human sacrifices of Europe with the human sacrifices of America; compare the bloody butcheries of the Christians with those of the Aztecs; compare the diabolical savagism of Spain and England and France, about the time of the conquest, with the worst that was found in the New World.

So dear was the purity of the faith to both spiritual and temporal rulers, that in the twelfth century inquirers, or inquisitors, were appointed throughout Europe to examine persons suspected of heresy. If spiritual chastisement failed to make plain the mysteries of religion, the unbeliever was turned over to the secular arm. Made fertile by the copious effusions of Mohammedan blood, no soil in Europe was better prepared for growing these rank weeds of coercion, none more prolific, than that of Spain.

Following Lafuente in his notice of this institution, it appears that as early as 1232 Gregory IX. directed the archbishop of Tarragona, as to the establishment of its courts, in Catalonia, Aragon, Castile, and Navarre. The inquisitors were Dominicans as usual. The king of Castile, St Ferdinand, proved his religious zeal by helping with his own shoulders to carry the wood for the burning of heretics. The king Don Diego of Aragon attended with his sons at the torture of Pedro Durango de Baldach, burned by sentence of the Inquisitor-general Burguete.

In Castile, at least, this tribunal presently fell to pieces; so that in 1464 in that kingdom no inquisition was to be found, but many desired its reëstablishment. No steps, however, were taken in that reign. In 1478, at the request of Isabella, who was acted upon by her spiritual advisers, Sixtus IV. empowered the catholic kings to elect three prelates, and other eccle-

siastical doctors and licentiates, of good life, to inquire after and proceed against the heretics and apostates of the realm, according to law and custom.

The modern inquisition was established in the convent of San Pablo de Sevilla, whence it moved in 1481 into the fortress of Triana. In appearance, this odious institution harmonized with the orthodox faith; in reality, the Spanish inquisition was less an ecclesiastical than a political tribunal. It placed in the hand of the sovereigns a powerful instrument for suppressing faction and strengthening royal despotism. The mechanism of the modern inquisition was prepared more especially for the conversion of Jews and Mohammedans. As the order-loving citizen looks complacently upon the gibbet erected for the punishment of crime, so orthodox Spaniards at first regarded this ominous instrument, which was to punish usurious unbelievers and turbaned infidels, with favor rather than with fear; but in the end they found, to their cost, that hidden power should be wielded only by the hand of omniscience.

Forty-five inquisitors-general, with the Dominican Torquemada at their head, were appointed by their catholic Majesties and the pope conjointly. Thirteen courts were organized, and edicts issued calling upon all persons to give information against any suspected of heresy. Every now and then some member of a society mysteriously disappeared from his accustomed haunts, never again to be seen. When arrested, the prisoner was conducted to the secret dungeon of the inquisition, and all intercourse with the world forbidden him. Evidence was given in writing, but the name of the witness was known only to the judges. The accuser and the accused were never brought face to face. Often the prisoner knew not for what crime he was accused. Secret and presumptive testimony was allowed, and the most absurd proof admitted. To convict of Judaism, it was only necessary to eat with a Jew, to wear better clothes than usual on the Jewish

sabbath, to drink Jewish wine, or keep a Jewish mistress. After undergoing a mock trial, those who refused to confess the crime charged upon them, whether guilty or not, were put to the torture.

Three ordeals were practised in Spain for determining the guilt or innocence of the prisoner: the cord, water, and fire. Trial by the cord was performed by fastening the hands of the victim behind his back with a strong cord, one end of which was passed through a pulley attached to the roof of the chamber. The executioner then raised the victim to the ceiling, and after holding him suspended for a time, suddenly loosened the cord, permitting him to drop within a foot of the floor, when his fall was suddenly checked. By this terrible shock, the cord was made to cut into the flesh, and the joints were dislocated. The shocks were repeated until confession was made or life endangered. The ordeal by water was performed by bending the body over a wooden horse, in such a manner that the feet were higher than the head, and respiration extremely painful. A lever and cords were then employed to distort the body and cut the flesh. While undergoing the most excessive agony in this position, in order to render torture yet more active, the mouth and nostrils were covered with a piece of fine linen, wetted, through which the victim with the utmost difficulty respired. Water was then poured upon the face, a small quantity of which slowly filtered through the linen. In the frantic efforts of the sufferer to swallow and to breathe, blood-vessels were ruptured, the linen was saturated with blood, and the body broken and lacerated by the cords in a horrible manner. In the ordeal by fire, the feet of the victim were placed, firmly bound, near the fire. Oil or lard was then rubbed over them, until the flesh was literally cooked, and the bones protruded. Such are the sickening details by which alone we may show how Christians labored for the salvation of souls only four hundred years ago!

The demoniacal solemnities of the inquisition culminated in that grandest and most imposing ceremonial of the church, the *auto-de-fé*, or act of faith, upon which occasion punishment was inflicted upon the condemned. Once more I would ask how to distinguish the radical difference between the human sacrifices of the Mexicans and Peruvians and the malignant enormities of the inquisitorial tribunal, except that the former was attended by far less passion and cruelty than the latter. Punishments of persons convicted by the court of the inquisition were of various grades. Property in every instance was confiscated; and as a great part of the wealth of the kingdom was in the hands of heretical Jews and Moors, convictions were rapid and easy. Some were condemned to be burned, others who could not be found were burned in effigy. Some were condemned to be reconciled—by which term is meant fines, imprisonment, or disenfranchisement.

On the morning of the day appointed for the dismal spectacle, the populace were awakened by the muffled sound of the cathedral bell, and soon a crowd of eager spectators thronged the streets and public square. The dungeon doors of the tribunal were then thrown open and the unfortunate victims were brought forth. First in the procession were placed the penitents, or those condemned to do penance and be reconciled. Next, barefooted, clothed in *san benitos*, or long yellow frocks, decorated with scarlet cross, and pictures of imps and fires of hell to which the wearer's soul is doomed, with a high pointed-crowned hat upon the head, and a large crucifix borne before them, were those condemned to death. Then followed effigies of uncaught heretics; and in black coffins garnished with infernal symbols, the bones of those who had died under torture or during confinement. The Dominicans of the holy office, arrayed in sable robes, with the banner of the inquisition borne aloft, led the procession, while long files of monks in sacerdotal livery

brought up the rear. Nobles and grandees joined in the ceremony, zealous to set the seal of their approval upon this sanguinary sacrifice to their faith.

The dismal cortege then marched through the principal streets of the city to the church. Then a sermon was preached, and the sentences pronounced; at the close of which an officer of the holy office struck each victim upon the breast with his hand, signifying that the inquisition thereby abandoned the condemned to the civil authorities, chains were then placed upon the prisoners, and they were led forth to execution. Those who recanted at the last moment were kindly strangled before being cast into the fire; otherwise, they were denied that favor, and burned alive. Thus were punished between 1481 and 1808 340,000 persons, of whom 32,000 were burned. Such were the measures adopted to turn the hearts of men to the mild teachings of Him whose name and mission was love. Such were the arguments used to impress reason with the truths of religion. Who can wonder that cruelty and fanatic zeal characterized the Spanish adventurers to the New World, when at home such foul acts for the stifling of human thought were pompously performed by mighty sovereigns and holy ecclesiastics?

In 1561 Ferdinand was succeeded by Charles, a sincere, honest, and by no means bad-hearted man. Yet the religious current into which he was cast swept him into the most barbarous and bigoted extremes. A terribly fervent light, and hid under no bushel, was his to the heretic. To buy a heterodox book was death. To be a heretic was flames and fire, both in this world and that which was to come. In the low countries the deaths for this cause were estimated at one hundred thousand. Almost the last deed of the old emperor was to add a codicil to his will, abjuring his son to show no mercy to the accursed plant of Lutheranism.

Right well did Philip keep his father's precept.

His motto was, "Better not to reign than reign over heretics." A life guided by this loadstar left such a blood track as may be imagined; and so thoroughly did he his work that heresy, which convulsed all Europe, was in Spain practically dead by the year 1570. From the Pyrenees to Gibraltar all were loyal, all were orthodox. Then further aimed the benignant Philip, even at the empire of Europe, that he might utterly away from the earth with those rude doctrines that still offended his nostrils from many a quarter. Thus the spirit of intolerance, kindled by the Mohammedan wars, and fanned into a fierce flame by the reformation, was kept alive by the mighty power of these royal bigots.

The revival of letters, which acted as a powerful stimulant in mental development, produced a corresponding advance in morals. As laymen were enabled to read for themselves, they were no longer dependent upon the clergy for an interpretation of sacred and secular writings. Men began to think and to judge for themselves. The clouds of superstition were dispelled by the revelations of science. The dogmas of the church and the lives of the clergy were compared with the teachings of the apostles. The foul diseases bred by ecclesiastical excesses threatened ruin to the church. The reformation which broke out about 1520 under Luther in Germany and Zwingli in Switzerland divided Europe anew. The unity of the church was forever broken. A power mightier than that of armies and rituals had arisen—the power of thought, the right to judge, moral and intellectual freedom. The impulse thus given to thought can scarcely be understood by us. We can probably never fully realize, first, how thoroughly the black pall was flung over learning and reason by the mediæval church; and secondly, how vehemently it was torn asunder with the rise of speculative discussion. But in Spain protestantism was destined to a short career.

That implacable hatred for heretics which for so many centuries had nerved the arm of the nation, and kept in a fervent glow the spirit of fanaticism and persecution, had not yet time to cool. Luther's doctrines were fiercely met by the inquisitors; his books were seized and burned as fast as they appeared, and those who read them were excommunicated. Soon after the *Index Expurgatorius*, or list of books condemned by the inquisition as dangerous to Spain, was published, and any person in whose possession a copy of one of those books should be found was condemned to death. Thus the rising spirit of inquiry, destined to regenerate all Europe, was crushed, and bigotry and fanaticism still held rule in Spain.

The effects of the reformation were nevertheless keenly felt upon the peninsula, and the church herself set about correcting those abuses which heretical reformers were not allowed to touch. Arms and missionaries were liberally bestowed upon the New World, and the colonists charged to exert their utmost powers to extend the faith to the benighted natives. While Luther was nailing his theses to the church door at Würtenberg, Cortés was thundering at the portals of Mexico. "God clearly chose this bold captain, Don Fernando Cortés," says the pious Mendieta, "and adopted him as an instrument to open through him the gate, and prepare the way for the preachers of his gospel in this New World, where the catholic church might be restored and recompensed in the conversion of many souls, for the great loss and injury which the accursed Luther was to cause, at the same epoch in the old christianity."

Yet another reaction. The zealot to please God first plunges into the depths of poverty and woe; then basks in sunny sloth and fatness; then growing ambitious, soars to eminence in statecraft, war, and wealth, only to be thrust down by the jealous arm of royalty. Before corruption had reached its height, or a reformation had been thought of, papal sovereignty began to

decline. It was the wealth of the clergy, however, that was taken from them, rather than their religion. Ferdinand and Isabella were no less vigilant in suppressing ecclesiastical power than in curbing the pretensions of the nobles. They claimed as a right the nomination to episcopal sees; the utmost care was taken by the crown to obtain and hold the sovereign jurisdiction in church affairs. Although the reverence of Ferdinand for the church was unbounded, his crafty zeal preferred himself as spiritual overseer, and he took care to have all ecclesiastical dignities and emoluments throughout his entire dominions at his own disposal.

Queen Isabella watched with solicitous care ecclesiastical morals, and endeavored by every means in her power to elevate and purify the church. Besides a system of vigorous purgations, and introducing the most wholesome reforms, new zeal was imparted to the church by new ecclesiastical orders. In 1534 Ignatius of Loyola founded the society of Jesuits, denouncing luxury and self-indulgence, holding in abeyance the senses, and renewing the ancient obligations of chastity and poverty.

Thus I have sketched lightly, but I trust not with undue proportion, the salient points of church influence in Spain; more lightly still the reformation which was strangled in its swaddling-clothes. What had Spain to do with such things? She could see no sheep not of this fold. She had only for such sheep nameless torture and execration. She worshipped blindly, fervently, wholly; no Laodicean drop in all her bottomless devotion. Father Juan Francisco de San Antonio spake with the voice of Spain when he said: "The pope, then, is our visible monarch and emperor, in things spiritual, in things temporal; the living God of the earth, or vicar of God; the two constituting on earth a single tribunal.

"Papa stupor mundi, qui maxima rerum.

"Nec Deus est, nec homo, quasi neuter inter utrumque."

As I have said, the world is not without obligation to the church for the part she played in the darkest ages, even though her influence did bring that darkness down on the noon of Greek and Roman culture; and that obligation still exists for manifold reasons to this day. And while we remember with horror the past crimes of civilization, let us beware for the future of those delusions which swallow as in a black gulf all the nobler attributes of soul and sense.

Popular representation existed in the several kingdoms of Spain at an early period. According to Ferreras the first cortes or congress of Castile was held at Burgos in 1169. It was composed of three estates, the clergy, nobility, and commonalty. In Catalonia the third estate was the representatives of cities, and the presence of the clergy was not indispensable. The king summoned and presided over the cortes in person. Spain before the coalescence of Aragon and Castile was separated into minor provinces and petty kingdoms, whose rulers possessed authority but little superior to some of their most powerful subjects. The cortes of Aragon was composed of four estates: *ricos hombres*, or nobility of the first class; *infanzones*, knights or nobility of the second class; deputies of towns and representatives of the clergy. In ancient times the power of this body was supreme. Twelve members constituted a quorum, and no measure could be adopted without a unanimous vote; kings were created and deposed by this body at will, and every branch of public affairs was under its control. Upon the coronation of a king the monarch was conducted before the assembly, the Gran Justicia being seated on a throne and surrounded by the grandees and prelates of the realm; the coronation oath was administered, whereupon each of the nobles drew his sword, and placing its point upon the king's heart, exclaimed: "Nos, que valemos tal que vos y juntos podemos mas que vos, vos facemos rey para que guardeis la ley e si non,

non." We, each one of us your equal, and together mightier than you, we make you king, that you may keep the law, and if not, not.

Upon the union of the several kingdoms of the peninsula under one monarchy, the local legislative bodies were merged into one national cortes composed of two bodies, a senate, and a chamber of deputies, whose deliberations must be apart from each other, and apart from the presence of the king. An act of the cortes must be sanctioned and promulgated by the sovereign before it becomes a law; but in the absence or incapacity of a monarch their authority of the cortes is absolute. Ferdinand and Isabella brought forward several engines to weaken the power of the cortes. The inquisition—by silently removing objectionable persons; balancing one element of the assembly against another so that the whole could be easily wheedled; by the establishment of the military orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, and the formation of a military police, called the *santa hermandad*, or holy brotherhood. This fraternity was a sort of feudal vigilance committee, a legally organized company of knights-errant, formed by the villages for the purpose of preventing enormities which were prevalent beyond the settled portions of the country. Each pueblo, or town, elected two alcaldes, or justices of the peace—one noble, the other plebeian, under whom were placed inferior officers having at command a cuadrilla, or company. The cuadrilleros or members of this association, sometimes attended by the alcaldes, at other times independently, scoured the country for evil-doers who when caught were tried and executed on the spot, or taken to the village and there confined. This fraternal engine wielded by the king against the unrighteous seigniorial justices, and the unjust oppressions of the nobles, greatly assisted to increase the power of the throne, which had hitherto been unable to prevent the intestine disorders which captious subjects constantly occasioned. In time the santa her-

mandad deteriorated, and the association was abolished. That justice which works in secret is never permanent; its influence becomes pestilential, and if continued, oftentimes turns and wreaks a deadly vengeance upon its author.

I have here dwelt upon Europe's savagisms and civilizations, from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, more fully than America's, from the fact that the latter, so far at least as the Pacific States are concerned, has been fully presented in my *Native Races*, to which the reader is referred for further comparisons; suffice it to say in conclusion that in all the phases and stages of human progress in all parts of the world, and in all ages of mankind, there are present innumerable parallelisms, the lowest savagism having in it appparently the germ of the highest civilization. We see in savage tribes the same necessities met by similar means, the same progressional phenomena present in uniform sequence in all human societies, rude or cultured.

As regards religions, superstitions, witchcraft, and priestcraft, the Americans were no whit behind the Europeans; they could not surpass them in absurdity. Every nation had its theory of creation and a future state. The Pimas had their deluge as well as the Hebrews; the Pueblos their sacred fire; the Californians their sanctuaries of refuge; the Miztecs their straight and narrow way to paradise; and the people of Yucatan their phallic worship. I can understand the Yakima word for soul as readily as I can that of the Buddhists, or Christians, or Mohammedans. The Eskimos enjoyed witchcraft long before the Salem puritans, and the Thlinkeets gave to certain animals a humanity before Darwin was born.

Every American nation had its order of priesthood; one of the principal cities of the Zapotecs, Topaa, was ruled like Rome by a sovereign pontiff. The people of the Mosquito Coast had their pantheon as well as the Greeks. The Mexicans had their ceremonial cal-

endar, and prayers and offerings were everywhere. The Chinese had their Confucius, the Christians and Mohammedans their respective originators, and the Aztecs their Quetzalcoatl as well as their Nameless One, their Supreme Creator, their only living and true God. They had their monasteries and religious festivals.

It is a slander upon savagism to talk of its extraordinary treacheries and cruelties in view of the facts of European civilization. Compare the barbarities of the chivalrous Pedro de Alvarado, not to mention Francisco Pizarro, and the tortures inflicted on Spaniards by the Frenchman L'Olonnois in the West Indies, with those of any wild men the world has ever seen. Yet more: compare the most horrible savagisms of any age or land with the barbarities of Englishmen in India within the present century.

As regards government and society, it is hardly necessary to refer again to the absolute monarchies of the Nahuas and Mayas, with their scores of subordinate limited monarchies. Outside of them all was Tlascala, with its aristocratic republican system, and parliament, or senate; and the confederation of states in Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, capable of acting in some respects only as a whole, while the authority of each at home was supreme. Where among five hundred others did the Aztecs get their idea of the ceremony of anointment and coronation, to say nothing of zoölogical gardens, revenue system, orders of nobility, women consecrated to chastity, national games, dancing, and gymnastics, social system of aristocracy, plebeians and slaves, tenures of land and taxation, and knightly order of tecuhtli?

I cannot speak here of the manuscripts, alphabets, calendars, and system of the Mayas; the cremation rites, chronological records, cloth and paper manufactories, code of laws, courts of procedure, and gladiatorial combats of the Nahuas; or of the currency, government, religion, slavery, ornamentation, court-

ship and marriage, war-weapons, feasts, houses, and dress of the Chinooks, the Nootkas, and all the rest of them.

Glancing at the primitive history of the American peoples we discover in more nations than one traces of a bright age and a dark age, with numberless turnings and overturnings, until, as in the Old World, feudalism and chivalry are passed, and standing armies, learning, and persecution for opinion's sake are reached.

I would not be understood for a moment as one attempting to place the aboriginals of America on an equality with Europeans four hundred or eight hundred years ago. The Indians, savage or civilized, were far behind the Europeans; yet not so far as many affirm. I say only that it is striking, the similarity of humanity, of nature, and progress everywhere on this planet. It shows that if God made man in Europe, he made the men of America, and that the God of the crusader, the God of the pirate, of the inquisitor, of the modern college professor, the modern counterfeiter, the modern monopolist, and corruptionist, the God of the Mohammedan, the Christian, the Jew, and the Aztec, is one and the same being. Or, if it be nature, and man is indigenous, his unfolding is but part of the general evolvings of the universe which makes one all worlds and systems of worlds.

CHAPTER II.

COLONIAL POLICY OF SPAIN.

I do not know anything more ludicrous among the self-deceptions of well-meaning people than their notion of patriotism, as requiring them to limit their efforts to the good of their own country; the notion that charity is a geographical virtue; and that what is holy and righteous to do for people on one bank of a river, it is quite improper and unnatural to do for people on the other.—*Ruskin.*

Politics as a science is too young yet to tell altogether from what has been what shall be. And yet, few philosophers are found with sufficient assurance to speculate upon the progressional vagaries which three or five centuries hence shall stand out against the feudalisms, the knight-errantries, trials by combat, rack and thumb-screw conversions, and religion-revolutions of five or three hundred years ago. But unless human nature be born anew, there is little fear that our successors will not find their full quota of follies to tilt for withal. We are not quite ready to place colony-planting in the category of infatuations such as holy-sepulchre crusading, yet those who shall come after us may be. Nevertheless, the twenty-sixth century may derive benefits from the experiences of the sixteenth.

The two hundred years following the discoveries by Columbus, the Cabots, and Vasco da Gama were the world's great age of colonization. Before the sixteenth century, and after the seventeenth, there were distant settlements established by parent states, but none such as then appeared. And none such will appear again until for civilization time bridges another

Sea of Darkness, and some new christianity finds fertile heathen fields to plough.

Plantation, corresponding to the Dutch *volk-planting*, stands as the early English equivalent for the word colony, from *colo*, to till the soil and dwell in a place, as originally applied to the grants by Roman generals of conquered countries, similar to the settlements made later by the Russians in Central Asia, which were at first military centres and afterward towns. Yet the former terms referred rather to countries than to cities. Long before this, however, we recognize the colonization idea with different motives—for purposes both of trade and agriculture, as among the Phœnicians and Greeks; for purposes of migration, conquest, plunder, and occupation, as among the northern barbarians; from excess of population, from a love of gold, for purposes of proselyting, and in order to escape servitude, religious persecution, or other kindred inflictions. Those who go, dream of acquisition in one or more directions; those who send, expect advantage. Carthage, herself a colony and the mother of colonies, defined a policy by which she established a great navy, and controlled Mediterranean commerce. The Greek colonies were nominally free, but sometimes tributary to the parent state. The causes actuating or underlying colonial migrations have not arisen as a rule from any noble impulse or principle. The Puritans, landing on the wild shore of New England, present the sublimest picture in colonial history, and almost the only one at all sublime. Neither for greed nor glory did they leave comfortable homes; neither to defraud the natives, nor fasten on them a strange religion, did they brave the wilderness. It was intellectual freedom they would have, the highest, holiest aspiration humanity is heir to. It is somewhat significant in this connection that the descendants of these people did not long remain colonists. Yet even here, if the truth must be told, was conduct incompatible with justice and strict moral principle, by a people

who claimed to have sacrificed all for these same principles of justice and morality.

This business of colonizing in its earlier stages was seldom pleasant or profitable, either to parent or offspring. The first attempts were almost always failures so far as the happiness of the latter was concerned. There was usually too much of the fighting and governing elements among the emigrants, and too few hands accustomed to the axe, and spade, and like implements for the building of substantial commonwealths. Neither have the sovereigns of Europe played any noble part in this people-planting. How the Genoese was obliged to importune them for the use of three or four small vessels! Ferdinand spent some money on succeeding voyages, and then like Henry of England graciously permitted his subjects to discover and colonize new lands at their own cost; and after receiving a royal share of whatever was purchased or plundered from the natives, he held all as crown property and crown vassals.

After the Latin races of Europe had wrested from savage or half-civilized nations three fourths of the world, the larger part of the territory so seized was taken by the Teutonic races and divided into commonwealths, which were in some instances united in federations more free and forward than their originals. It strains our credulity somewhat to believe it, but probably Pope Alexander, Ferdinand, John of Portugal, Elizabeth, and Charles II. were serious when they issued maxims under which the world might be righteously partitioned and possessed, ordering all heathen lands to be seized and their inhabitants if need be slain. We should call such doings to-day piratical, abominable, only some captious critic might choose to place in the same category such transactions as the seizure and annexation to the United States of Texas, California, and the lands intermediate, the British conquest of Scinde and the Punyaub, and the French occupation of Algiers and Tahiti.

The European occupation of America was by means of colonies. The whole territory from Patagonia to Labrador was early cut into unequal parts claimed by different European powers. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, America was popularly designated 'The Colonies.' Then from five America-holding nations prior to 1674, the number was reduced to four, and after 1763, for the most part to three; between 1775 and 1825 European domination in America became almost extinct; meanwhile in the United States arose the political principle called the Monroe doctrine, which declared that any attempt on the part of European nations to extend their system or control over any part of this continent not already occupied by them, would by the United States be regarded as dangerous to their peace and safety.

Judging from our present stand-point, greater results, ethical, intellectual, and material, have arisen from the colonizations of Great Britain than from those of any other nation. I refer to voluntary offshoots rather than to colonizations at the cannon's mouth. Though the first century of Spanish-American history was mediæval rather than modern, Spain's colonists in America were not persons impelled to escape the trade-guilds, or commercial, political, or religious domination of imperial cities that ground them under imposts and intellectual tyrannies. Spaniards did not wish to free themselves from anything. They were satisfied with their country and all its despotisms and fanaticisms. Even before thinking of themselves, they conquered and colonized for their king. And their establishments when founded were like neither the Phœnician factories nor the Roman garrisons; take from them their gold mines and repartimientos, and there was little of them one would accept as a gift. Immediate gain with glory, spiritual gain and material gain with the glory of conquest and lordly domination, was the purpose of the Spanish colonist. Like a child or a savage to gratify a passion or achieve a

proximate result he would undergo any hardship; but in that thorough and persistent application for remote advantages which characterizes the higher order of intelligence he was found wanting. His passionate energy differed widely from that persistent industry which reared the political fabric of the Anglo-Saxons in North America.

The English colonist thought of the future. Whether he remained at home, or wherever he walked upon the earth, he could not beguile himself of the idea that he was a free man. He had no thought of murder and rapine as means of subsistence, but betook himself to agriculture, laboring with his hands, and instructing his children in those natural rights of which men must always stand ready voluntarily to relinquish some for the better securing of others; yet not with sufficient regard for the rights of others, I regret to say. So far as their own people were concerned, the Anglo-Saxon were ready enough to fill their breasts with a love of liberty in all its highest and purest forms. In these sentiments, which were already necessities, lay the security which bound them first in states, and later in federations. Thus while the southern American colonies were kept weak and puerile by the excessive legislation of the parent government, as we shall presently see, the New England colonies, content with nothing less than a political liberty which should enable them to make their own laws and rear their own institutions, grew strong in the exercise of natural and inherited rights. Subsequently, when the yoke of Spain dropped off by reason of its own rottenness, all Spanish America lapsed into a state of revolution, which became the primary condition of their progress, while revolution to the Anglo-American is upon instinct abomination.

The difference then between Teutonic America and Latin America is not circumstantial but an inherited difference. From their mother one received the germ of strength which unfolded in magnificent civility; the other weakness, with its attendant stagnation and

death. One sought the conquest of savages, the other the conquest of self. The colonization of the one was a birth; that of the other a burial. It cannot be charged to climate. We all know what a garden of wealth blossomed in the West India Islands after they were wrested from the Spaniards by the French, English, and Dutch, little enough having been made of them before that time.

In all which, there is not so very much after all for England to be proud of. Yet she is proud; and she would tell you it is because these founders of new nations were Englishmen, whose descendants have continued the work and upheld the great principles of freedom underlying English institutions. She will tell you bad rulers and not the English people attempted to deprive the colonists of their rights; but is it bad rulers, or is it Englishmen, who even while I write are still practising their old-time atrocities? As to English colonies, British America and Australia are less English colonies than sovereign states. Her treatment of the American plantations and the people of India add nothing to her glory. It is the irony of honesty and humanity to hear English statesmen talk of the honor of it—the honor of the parentage of nations not one of which was brought forth save in cruelty and injustice. I shall have much to say of the narrow and suicidal colonial policy of Spain, yet I find little in that of other nations at that time better or more liberal. I find nothing so impolitic as the peremptory measures by which the attempts of the American colonists to manufacture certain articles for themselves were met by the British parliament, not to mention imposts and other tyrannies. Read the declaration of independence if you would know the rest. Besides her colonies, England's pride has been her maritime strength, employed sometimes in carrying bibles, sometimes in forcing on unwilling nations negro slaves, tobacco, opium, and in other

like detestable traffics injurious to men and morals. Though we have less of Asia in America than yet clings to Europe, we may still find here, up to a recent period, slavery apart from savagism, and polygamy without Mohammedanism. English policy shows no systematic attempt to raise savages from their low estate, or otherwise to improve them solely for their own good, such as we find among the Spaniards. The English generally found it to their interests to maintain friendly relations, and some few feeble efforts were made to christianize after a fashion; but Spaniards established for the natives thousands of churches, colleges, and schools. The horrors of conquest over, the policy of the Spanish government toward the natives became exceedingly benign. On many occasions it encouraged colonial industries with exceeding disinterestedness and liberality. Even while George III. was crowding his colonists into open opposition, Cárlos III. was pacifying his New World subjects by every means in his power. It is asserted of the latter, Spain's best and most liberal-minded monarch, and of his minister, the conde de Aranda, that they soberly had under consideration at one time the policy of giving the American kingdoms autonomy, or independence, and that such policy was not carried out through fear lest the small white population should be overwhelmed by the natives. The aim of the government certainly was that communities in its American kingdoms should be as highly cultured as any in Europe. It is but fair to add, however, that the Spaniards in these efforts had to deal with civilized nations; in their intercourse with the Apaches, Comanches, and other fierce tribes they were as unsuccessful as the English.

Notwithstanding her many benevolent motives and acts, Spain, like England, imposed many evils in fettering political and intellectual liberty, in restricting commerce, manufactures, and the like. How then came British rule to be of so much shorter duration

in New England than Spain's rule in Mexico? Because, as I have said, New England was settled by men who left their country through a love of liberty, and this they were determined to have in its broadest sense. The Spaniards, on the other hand, left home to rule negroes and Indians; they soon saw their mistake in killing so many of the natives; and after that they treated them better than the English, who found them unprofitable laborers, particularly if forced. The Spaniards were satisfied with luxury and laziness; they desired rather to enslave others than to be free themselves; and so long as their grim superiors but smilingly frowned on their irregularities and shared the proceeds, all was serene enough.

The fact is, the system of holding foreign communities permanently subordinate and contributory to the mother community, as we shall all in time conclude, is unnatural and unjust. Colonies are ephemeral; they will not last. A parent may rightly govern a child, but the mature offspring is as independent as himself. So states may justly protect, and while protecting govern their colonies until they can stand alone; after which it is optional with the latter to be ruled or not. Further than this, it is unjust to the members of the home government to undergo taxation for the benefit of any community other than its own. All men, all nations, all communities, young and old, have equal rights; in natural justice the colony has as much right to share in ruling the mother country as has the mother country to interfere in the colony. And being unnatural and unjust, permanent subjection of colonists will disappear as have feudalism and the crusades. England to-day in India is trying to pour the new wine of western civilization into the old bottles of eastern civilization. From first to last, that is, so long as anything like rule continues, discontent has reigned among the British colonies. Comparatively seldom have the Spanish colonies manifested irritation, or displayed symptoms of rebellion: not that they had

less cause, but by reason of their loyalty and content. It is true that three or four viceroys were deposed by the people, Spaniards and natives acting together, but disloyalty or discontent with the home government had little to do with these acts. Governments are permanent only as they fairly represent the national character. For centuries in Mexico and elsewhere, there existed this essential congruity between political forms and the people. The trouble in the end was that, fast as the colonists had degenerated, the parent government had degenerated faster; weak as was Mexico, Spain was weaker.

It has taken governments a long time to learn, and there are some statesmen who seem yet unaware of it, that liberty and equity alone are conducive to gain. Trade has been the never-failing excuse; but experience shows that self-governing English-speaking states buy far more in England than do her huge colonial infants. And it is now quite well understood by the philosophers of England, if by no one else, that loss entails on the acquiring and ruling of distant territory; that bare acres politically added to national domain are a minus quantity, beneficial to individuals, perhaps, but prejudicial to the interests of the community at large. Undoubtedly, benefits accrue to some by relieving overcrowded civilized populations; but let this be a private and business affair. Governments should practically stay at home. For the benefit of both, those who remain may help some to go; but let not such help be given with a view to subsequent imposition. Leave colonization and trade, where religion and all ethics are or should be, to natural channels, if we would see the most made of them. The good old right to steal lands, and to kill and enslave ad libitum unoffending men, formed the main features of colony-planting, followed by others no less onerous to the colonists; hence its later history is a record of decline. We may rule servants, but not sons.

There were three prime factors in the Spanish colonial fabric, the government, the emigrants, and the pacified peoples. All colonial power and property were vested in the crown; America had been a free gift to Isabella and Ferdinand by the pope, who derived title from St Peter, and he from the creator. From the sovereigns flowed all grants, and to them reverted all lands. All governors, magistrates, and officials, civil and ecclesiastical, were created and deposed at pleasure. To the settler belonged no rights or privileges apart from the crown. To municipalities was given the liberty of electing their officials, but from the people sprang no political power. It is a significant fact that the king of Spain likewise called himself king of the Indies; indicating thereby that his transatlantic possessions were provinces, and integral parts of the crown domain, rather than colonies in the ordinary sense. The *cédulas reales*, by which the royal pleasure was expressed, formed in reality the first legislative code of the kingdom of the Indies, embodied in the *Recopilacion de las Indias*, back of which was that of Castile, and *Las Siete Partidas*, or the common law of Spain. After the establishment of the council of the Indies, legislative power vested in that body, under the king; executive power, in the captains-general and viceroys, under the king.

I have fully narrated in the first volume of my history of *Central America* how government was established in the Indies, first under the Admiral of the Ocean Sea, and continued by his successors, and secondly under the audiencia of Santo Domingo. Following the continental conquests, New World affairs were divided into two great governments, with the viceroy of New Spain at the head of one, and the viceroy of Peru at the head of the other. Subsequently this division becoming inconvenient, a third viceroyalty was established at Santa Fé de Bogotá, whose jurisdiction extended over the kingdom of Tierra Firme and the province of Quito, and later that

of Rio de la Plata. In forms and paraphernalia, governors of the smaller colonies imitated the viceroys, as the viceroys in turn imitated royalty. Within their respective territories the viceroys exercised sovereign authority, representing the person of the king and invested with his functions. They were supreme over every department of government, civil and military, and were the embodiment of the two great powers, legislative and executive. They appointed to all vacant offices ad interim, and nominated to many high posts, that is to say, when the king's jealousy permitted him to leave so much power at the disposal of any servant. The viceroy's court was modelled on the court of Spain, having a regularly established household with guards of horse and foot, parasites and courtiers, and numerous officers and attendants. He might employ the royal 'we' in speaking of himself, but this was not common; he was legally addressed as 'excelentisimo.'

Next in authority were the audiencias, or sovereign tribunals, elsewhere explained. With these the viceroy might not intermeddle; indeed, though not subject to them his acts were sometimes brought under their review by way of legal restraint interposed between the sovereign and the subject. The viceroy exercised no judicial or ecclesiastical powers. Yet after all the audiencia might only advise; in case of collision, the will of the viceroy generally prevailed. In the absence or death of the viceroy, supreme power vested in the audiencia.

And notwithstanding all this viceregal pomp and power, such of the laws of Spain, however just and desirable, as were obnoxious to the settlers, received little attention in the colonies. There were many honest viceroys and other officials, but often the viceroy was as ready as any one to wink at popular irregularities—for a consideration. At one time it was difficult to find either in Spain or in the Indies a revenue officer who would not take a bribe. The

contraband trade was in volume equal to one third of all the colonial traffic. Justice and injustice could be bought and sold, and the natives were abominably misused in the face of what were intended as the most righteous laws in their favor. And so notorious was national delinquency at one time that 'Spanish honesty' became synonymous with 'Punic faith.' The fact is, the government was so ponderous and unwieldy as to be in some directions inoperative, and justice was overwhelmed by the endless forms and display by which it was surrounded. The innumerable offices, boards, and tribunals incident to this complex and useless machinery, occupied an army of officials, few of whom were endowed with political or commercial morals higher than the filling of their pockets without incurring punishment. It was no disgrace to steal from the government; there was no disgrace in being caught at it, provided the method of it had not been bungling, and some certain things, such as the king's fifth, had not been profaned.

Those were the days of much governing. Isabella and Ferdinand had early determined that their duty in this respect should not be neglected in the Indies. Upon neither the Portugese, French, nor English in America was inflicted the protection of the parent state to any such extent as in the Spanish colonies. Lands lacking silver and gold possessed little in the eyes of royalty worth protecting; and so their subduers were for a while left to struggle and grow strong unmolested. Acquainting themselves with the soil and climate of their new possessions, and the character of the natives, the Spanish sovereigns set themselves about to regulate everything. The fruits, vegetables, and domestic animals of the Old World were transplanted to the new. Emigration was encouraged; free passage offered; grants of land with Indian laborers were freely made, as God had given them much in this direction, and at little cost; colonists were exempt for a time from taxation. Five

hundred artisans, scientists, and agriculturists were sent to Española; and to any one promising to cultivate land for four years, besides a repartimiento, were given seed and stock. Towns were endowed with privileges equal to any in Spain. Married men were particularly favored.

Thus we see if their catholic Majesties governed much and demanded much, they gave with a liberality in marked contrast, not only with that of other nations, but with their own subsequent policy. Presently they tired of sowing, and determined to reap. An avalanche of edicts was hurled at the heads of the defenceless colonists. A heavy tax was put upon gold, first two thirds, and subsequently one fifth, and all minerals, precious stones, and dye-woods were reserved to the crown. Then for a time enterprise languished, for this was prior to the epoch of systematic peculations. Under the system of licenses to private persons for purposes of discovery and trade, colonization revived, for here was opportunity. The natives were naked and possessed much gold, and there was no king's army present to protect them. Erelong it became necessary to establish the Casa de Contratacion, or House of Trade, and the Consejo de las Indias, or Council of the Indies, for the more perfect management of colonial commerce and colonial government. And so protection became oppression; and the Spanish sovereigns would have smiled had any one told them that, in order to insure greater and permanent good, the more widely extended the commonwealth the simpler should be its laws and forms of government.

At first Spain's revenue from her American kingdoms was not large. The Netherlands gave Charles V. four million to one million from the Indies. Then industries were established in the colonies, and the yield increased, until Cárlos III. was able to boast, after paying one hundred thousand well-disciplined

soldiers, the cost of one hundred ships of the line, and all other expenses of government, one hundred millions of dollars in the treasury, and all from America. Then came mismanagement. And later, though the revenues from the colonies were large, government expenses there and everywhere grew large also; so that neither the parent state nor the colonies were benefited by this excessive governing. Besides the king, only the rapacious official, who, himself impressed by hollow show, sought by the same means to impress others, and the clergy, who came in for a large share of the spoils, sucking substance from every industry, derived much benefit from the system. As among our legislators to-day, more ingenuity and brain-power were employed by the officials to keep their places, and increase their already enormous perquisites, than in the entire administration of public affairs. The viceroy's salary, reaching to thirty thousand dollars per annum, was but a small part of his income. By the sale of lucrative offices, the monopoly of certain branches of commerce, and by innumerable frauds and abuses of power, the viceroy might accumulate such sums as would enable him after a few years of service to return to Spain with a princely fortune. It is said that a viceroy received fifty thousand dollars on one occasion in birthday presents. On the other hand, several viceroys entered office rich and abandoned it in debt, and some refused all presents.

Finance, as well as everything else, was founded on the theory that the king was proprietor of the land. Certain of the natives paid a capitation tax; some a *primicias*, or first-fruits tax; others gave eighteen months' service in the mines, not all at one time, between the ages of eighteen and fifty. A tenth of the proceeds from cultivated lands went to the church in the form of tithes, which, added to the many subsequent requirements of the crown, imposed upon the planter taxation at every turn. After the raw material paid a tenth, the prepared article, such as indigo,

cochineal, and sugar, paid again. Then there were the customs duties, the *alcabala*, or vendor's duty on articles of commerce, and the quinto, or fifth, of the proceeds from the mines. The sale of tobacco, salt, and cards was monopolized by the king's officers; the postal revenue belonged to the crown. For keeping a ferry, for keeping game-cocks, and for selling liquors, special duties were paid in some of the provinces. Between 1522 and 1645, certain offices were made salable by law; such as those of high sheriffs, notaries of all classes, clerks of audiencias and inferior courts, receivers and proctors, councilmen and clerks of councils, inspectors of weights and measures, collectors of judicial penalties, all officers and servants of the mint, the postmaster-general of New Spain, assessors, auditors of royal accounts, official sellers of stamped paper, and many others. These offices, whenever vacant, were put up and sold by auction to the highest bidder; they were heritable, descending from father to son, and were so held during good behavior, and also provided the *anata*, or yearly tax, was paid to the crown. The owner dying leaving no heir, the office reverted to the king and was sold again. "The king of Spaine," growls Lopez Vaz, "because hee hath many other countries under him, hee doth little esteeme of this countrey, but doth take out of it all things that are for his profit, having used those people with great crueltie, and taking of them much tribute."

It was the policy of the king to keep the colonies in a state of perpetual puerility, and he succeeded. It is impossible for free progressive institutions to germinate among a people having no desire for liberty or knowledge. Offices and exactions were the dominant idea of Spaniards in taking possession of the New World. Every one of them must have something to rule—if not Spaniards, then Indians or negroes. The highest ambition of the colonist was to imitate Spain and Spanish institutions, not to throw them off

or improve upon them. As their parent government had fettered and flogged them, so would they fetter and flog others; meanwhile thanking God for a fresh people so to christianize and civilize. And yet the time came when among those who made Mexico independent were Spaniards themselves, to be buffeted and abused for their pains a little later.

We have noticed in Ferdinand's instructions to Ovando in 1501, how first he was to worship his God, and make the natives worship the same deity; to good men only should be given office, and there must be exercised kindness and humanity in practising the imposition of repartimientos. He must be moderate in his household expenses, and make others so; he should leave judgment to judges, be kind to all brotherhoods, pay no heed to tale-bearers; he should be considerate in council, careful in example, discouraging idleness, attentive to business, displaying courage and brevity in all things, yet not hasty or passionate; but when punishment was necessary he must send it swiftly and surely.

The Spanish sovereigns were exceedingly jealous of their prerogatives, not only as against foreigners, but as against their own subjects; and this spirit increased with the increase of their knowledge of the extent and value of their American possessions. Commerce, mining, agriculture, and every art and industry were placed under a system of severe restrictions. No foreign vessel might trade with the colonies; no foreigner might visit them under penalty of death and confiscation of property. All merchandise to and from the Indies must be carried in Spanish bottoms. For a time even intercolonial commerce was forbidden. Between Mexico and Peru, between Guatemala and Chile, there must be no civilizing intercourse. But this highly impolitic restriction was formally removed by Cárlos III. in 1774.

Many manufactures were prohibited, and even the

cultivation of the olive and the vine. Whatever it was best for them to have, the mother would kindly supply—their furniture, their clothes, and no small portion even of their food. Her own welfare first, the welfare of the colonies second, was Spain's maxim. And lest the sovereign's subordinates in America should learn to love themselves more than him, and the new homes better than the old ones, it was finally ordained that natives of Spain should fill the higher and larger proportion of offices in Spain's colonies; and these must be of the purest rank, *chapetones*, of old Christian families untainted by Jewish or Mohammedan blood, uncensured by any inquisition. From first to last, however, many natives of America have also held high office there, political, judicial, and ecclesiastical, under royal appointment. And then it must be remembered that in Spain even, high office could not be held in the occupant's own province. What folly to try to make communities at once self-operative and dependent!

Its exclusiveness was the most hateful feature of Spanish colonial commerce. Monopoly is to commerce what coercion is in religion, the most outrageous of tyrannies; and the day will come when a free people will no more submit to monopolies, or iniquitous combinations in railway, wheat, or other traffics, than they would bow before the unjust mandate of a royal despot. Monopoly is but a form of robbery, in which, under guise of fair dealing, the strong extort from the weak without due compensation.

The old-time delusion was still entertained that money was not only wealth, but the most valuable and imperishable of property; hence that commercial policy was best which brought into Spain and kept there the largest amount of gold and silver. The resources of the country were strained to produce this result. Every article of foreign growth or manufacture must be furnished the colonies by Spain alone, and to Spain must be sent all products from the soil

or mines of her dependencies. The quantity, quality, kind, and price of all merchandise sent to the colonies were determined by the considerate mother. And it was the aim of both government officials and monopolizing merchants to make the supply always fall short of the demand, so that buyers would be eager and prices buoyant. That equity attending all healthy transactions, which benefits the buyer as much as the seller, was wanting.

For a time all Europe was obliged to go to Lisbon for Indian products, as previously Alexandria had been the depôt. So in Spain all American commerce was restricted to one port, Seville at first, and afterward Cádiz; and in America to Portobello and Vera Cruz. Between these ports passed the annual fleet, convoyed by vessels of war. And on the other side of the continent for two centuries and more the Spanish galleons were carried by the trade-winds straight across from Acapulco to Manila, returning by a northern circuit. The Genoese had sailed at Spain's cost in search of the Indies, and the ambitious Spaniard was not satisfied until they were found, nor until the papal partition bull had been construed to fit Spain's pretensions at the Philippine Isles, nor until this rich traffic was established between Asia and America with a Spanish entrepôt at either end of the line.

It was to the single port of Cádiz that all merchandise was sent from France, England, Holland, and elsewhere after Spain had, with the expulsion of her artisan, driven manufacturers from her shores. All these goods must then pay a heavy duty on entering Spain, and another on leaving Spain, and another on entering Mexico, and another by the seller—one hundred per cent in duties, and two hundred per cent more taxes and profits must thus be added to the cost before Spain's colonist could call his own any European article. Thus it was not long after the planting of the Spanish colonies before Spain's neighbors were

deriving more benefit from them than Spain herself, which had so jealously guarded them, and yet did guard them, not dreaming that they were not a source of the highest profit to her. And it was not until 1778 that Spain's eyes were fairly opened upon the subject, and Mexico and Peru were in some degree delivered from this thraldom.

The process of peopling the New World from Spain was not a rapid one. The estimate is given that sixty years after the discovery by Columbus there were not more than fifteen thousand Spaniards in the Indies. Yet of these there were many of the first class; while from the other states of Europe there went to America few besides the second, or third, or tenth class. It was ordered by the catholic sovereigns in 1508 that all convicts and infamous persons should be sent to the Indies; but in 1548 this was changed, and none but good catholics, no suspected persons even, were allowed to go.

Vastly different was life and society at home and in the colonies Nature presented to Europeans the New World on a scale grander than any to which they had been accustomed. Mountains were higher and plains broader, lakes were deeper and rivers larger; vegetation was more redundant; the air was clearer, heat and cold intenser, and colors brighter. Almost all the territory at first occupied by the Spaniards lay within the tropics, with high interior plateaux; and it was on these table-lands, raised from miasmatic jungles into cold ethereal heights, that aboriginal civilization awoke to consciousness. There, too, the colonist was suddenly freed from twenty centuries of conventionalisms, many of them so hollow and superstitious as should make mankind blush for ever having practised them, and some of which are unfortunately continued to this day in Europe, and foolishly copied in America; but now the colonist was free in so far as he would be free of which priceless privilege some

advantage was taken, though not nearly enough. Now the cohesions of societies might be established on new bases. The Spaniard might live in lordly ease and independence amidst the serfs and cattle of his vast estate, and the Englishman might sing psalms, burn witches, and indulge in empire-building after his fashion.

It was a paradise of license and sensual enjoyment the Spaniards sought, and here they found all that their wildest fancy had pictured. Gold was the first and more immediate agency to this accomplishment; and so having skimmed the placers they sat down to centuries of day-dreams. The slower, surer road to opulence was disdained at the beginning, but with a little gold wherewith to stock much land and buy many vassals, the aim of life was accomplished. The first conquerors were dissatisfied when all was given them, grants of land, and laborers, and stock; then they cried alone for gold. The Spanish system of repartimientos which involved a division of the natives with a division of the land, and was so highly esteemed in after years, appeared at first to many as a trap to catch the simple. Some accepted the offer of the benign monarch, and with their natives they gathered the gold from their lands, or cut the dye-woods, after which they planted sugar-cane brought from the Canaries, or abandoned their plantation and went back to Spain.

It would seem that this should be the last place on earth, and these the conditions least favorable, for engendering class differences; and yet, seldom has this flummery been carried to a greater extent than here, where were littered droves of mongrels, half and quarter breeds, eighths and sixteenths, the blue blood of Spain mingled with the tawny blood of America and the black blood of Africa, until almost all trace of it was lost, and the stream was made turgid by these intermixtures, to the ultimate decadence of all concerned. It is said that in South Carolina, Jamaica,

and Java, the mulatto cannot long reproduce itself, while in Florida, Mexico, and Central America there is no difficulty in so doing. But it is not necessary to descend to these lowest depths for class divisions. The creoles, as the offspring of Europeans born in America were called, though descendants of the conquerors, and preserving in their veins the best blood of Spain untainted, were in many instances by law degraded, and made inferior to those shiftless chapetones who had lived in idleness at home. What policy could be more suicidal than this, which in effect debarred those entitled by their enterprise to the most honorable positions from any but a scanty lot in the institutions of the country, and made them by virtue of their devotion wellnigh ostracized. In the distribution of lands and natives, the conquerors and their descendants were supposed to be favored before all others, but men from Spain must manage the government and institutions of the country. Thus degraded and left to indolence and listless and luxurious indulgence, they sank into the strange position of wealthy and respected human beings, having homes but no country, having acknowledged rights but no voice in their vindication; they were lords of lands and vassals, and yet the most impotent of mankind. Thus was engendered hate between classes which subsequently lapsed into chronic civil wars.

Attempts have been made to classify these several castes, though without pronounced success. Robertson places first the chapetones, or old Christians, untainted by Jewish or Mohammedan blood; second, creoles; third, mulattoes and mestizos, the former the offspring of an African and European, and the latter of an American and European; and lastly Indians and negroes unadulterated. Marriage with the natives was encouraged by the government, but few of their connections were ratified by any holier sentiment than lust. There was one only great leveller of rank, the church. Torquemada says that on Sun-

days and feast days the gentleman could not be distinguished from the plebeian, or the knight from the squire, all dressing alike in rich garments. And yet oidores and high dignitaries would fight over place and the position of their chair at church as quickly and as fiercely as over political preference.

Where the aboriginal inhabitants were essentially extirpated, independent nations of the descendants of Europeans sprang up; protective interference with regard to the natives, to any considerable extent, is found only where the half-civilized existed in such numbers as to render it impracticable to teach or torture them to death.

Teutonic America has been sufficiently cursed by its absorption of the dregs of Europe; but it has been still worse with Latin America, whose invaders thus mixed with their blood that of the Indian and African to such an extent as to produce a mongrel population inferior to any decided type. With the example of Chile before them, however, the Spanish and Portuguese in America need not despair of approaching the success achieved by the English. At all events, the hypothesis of Humboldt and Hegel, in vogue fifty years ago, that all the Spanish colonies in America would be in time overthrown and subordinated by the Teutonic race, and that the great republic thence arising would fall in pieces by its own weight, seems now less likely to prove true. Thinking Americans are satisfied with the extent of their domain; it is only gamblers in mines, land speculators, and demagogues who would now and then create a sensation by crying up some injury, only to be atoned by a cession of territory.

Even though some of the Spanish-American states are not so far advanced in culture and strength as their European primogenitor, they are for the most part intelligent and strong enough to have put on independence, and to manifest a desire for progress. It is now conceded by those best able to judge that

the difference in the results of Latin and Teutonic colonial attempts in America is as much due to a difference of national bent and home influence as of race. The Spanish colonists had been under the strictest political ecclesiastical restraint at home; and before achieving political independence they had to emancipate their minds, while the English threw off in some degree their intellectual fetters before sailing for America.

The Spaniards in Mexico and Central America were after all not so much colonists as conquerors. In the absence of any ennobling idea or principle, such as centralized and agglutinated the efforts of the Puritans on the shores of New England, they were left to the full indulgence of their lust, and so began to degenerate the moment they laid down their arms. To rule the aboriginals, holding their sons as serfs and their daughters as concubines while fastening on them their laws and their religion, to garner wealth and live at ease, were among the highest aspirations of the successors of the conquerors; hence with the very beginning of their social structure a dry-rot set in, which nullified the effects of the many progressional stimulants by which they were surrounded.

Blood admixtures with the Aztecs, a soft climate or dreamy atmosphere, or external operations, such as the encroachments and absorbing influence of the United States, have had but a share in the degeneracy of the Spaniards in Mexico. Grievous blame falls on the old institutions of Spain transplanted to a rich and virgin soil, in which they grew riotous at first, and then fell into decay, and in whose management those most interested were not permitted to take part; christianity propagated at the point of the sword, and wealth accumulated by injustice and cruelty; one part of society fattened to grossness by the abasement of another part, and withering restrictions upon all progress—these are not the methods for the attainment of the highest culture. The primary power in Mexico

until late has been the sword; after that the church; the people have been little better than serfs. At one time the clergy, whom we will next more particularly consider, besides their tithes held one half the landed property of Mexico. But now war and religion are giving way in some measure to the arts of peace and healthy development.

The church, I say, ruled with a strong hand the infant colonies. Ecclesiastics were welcomed to the New World, and by the time the settler arrived his spiritual ruler was ready for him. Ecclesiastical government was established in America under forms and degrees similar to those in Spain; archbishops, bishops, deans, and minor clergymen, among whom were the curate, the doctrinero, and the missionary. From the pope the king received full privileges with regard to the external polity of the church in America. The hierarchy in the New World was as imposing as in Spain; its influence was as great. The revenues of the clergy were large, and their establishments expensive. Among the early acts of Ferdinand was the building, at his own cost, of the cathedral church at Santo Domingo, and charging the prelates to exercise extraordinary diligence, "that the devil might no more prevail in the Indies." The prelates should look well to the subordinate clergy, and chastise offenders. Heretics, Jews, and Mohammedans, if any crept in, should be exterminated, that the church might not be scandalized among the natives. No clergyman might go to the Indies without a license. Friars were furnished with a free passage and provisions, and on arrival they were under the special protection of the governor, who was to see that the clergy performed their duty in the bond of peace. Plate for service passed free of duty.

Nothing was to interfere with the building of churches, the clergy had ground given them apart from the laity, and it was forbidden to lay any imposi-

tions upon them. They might accumulate property, and dispose of it by will. When no prelate was present to take charge of a new church that was built, the king's treasurer should attend to payments. In their respective districts, prelates were to act as inquisitors; and neither governors nor secular judges might interfere in matters belonging to this sacred enginery.

On the other hand, it was ordained that prelates should not meddle in secular affairs; they should visit the Indians of their jurisdiction at least once a year. They should not employ ecclesiastical censures for slight offences, nor lay pecuniary fines upon the natives. Persons dying might choose their burial-place, provided it was consecrated ground. Friars must not press sick persons to leave them legacies. Children of infidels must be baptized; Indians and negroes must attend church. Indians were not to pay for marriages or funerals.

By apostolic authority, and under the text that to us are given the heathen for an inheritance, the clergy were permitted to do much as they pleased with the Indians, though under strict laws. To these, however, they frequently paid little attention. I have seen it stated that their system of prescripts was carried so far that they reminded their converts, among other things, of their matrimonial duties at midnight, by means of a bell! Friars were allowed every liberty to go from place to place to preach the gospel. They might not be punished by secular power, but if delinquent must be turned over to their superiors. Franciscan monasteries must be at least five leagues apart.

When we consider the power of the Roman ritual over the imagination even of the most enlightened Europeans, we may possibly conceive something of the effect upon the Americans. There is something remarkable in its mobility to adapt itself to every character and class, to every climate and condition. Add to the power of forms the power of property, the

power of example, and the power of life and death, and there was nothing left to the native but blind submission. And it is wonderful how strong is the catholic church to-day; with the papacy an abstraction rather than a reality; with the church itself a society of individuals and not a government, and rent as it has been by schisms and controversies—it is stronger perhaps than Mohammedanism and Buddhism, which for the most part have held the even tenor of their way, Shiites and Sunnites to the contrary notwithstanding. And yet all was not serene in regard to the temporal affairs of these holy men who had thrown off all worldliness. One would almost take the bishops for men of Belial when one saw them disputing about curacies and emoluments. And these feuds were current, not only between the secular clergy and opposing religious orders, but among brethren of the same order for provincial or conventual offices of honor. These disputes lasted many years, particularly as to the holding of such offices by Spaniards, gachupines, or creoles, all to the infinite disgust of pope and king, to whom appeals were constantly being made.

Eccentric as we all know society to be, we can hardly realize the conflicting absurdities which the human mind is capable of entertaining. We punish minor misdemeanors and let go great crimes; we persecute and kill in the name and for the sake of the peace of Christ; we enforce the gentle precepts of a gentle faith at the point of the bayonet; then we quarrel among ourselves, and straightway organize and arm, divide and fight, Christians meanwhile praying, not for their enemies, nor for the right, but each for their respective side. But blessed be war; else shortly there should not be standing-room on this planet for the wise men such enlightenment would engender!

Little is to be said of the effect of Spanish colonization on the natives of the New World. Swift was their departure upon the approach of the Europeans,

and damnable the way of it. The enslavements, diseases, and religion of European civilization hastened to complete the work begun by the sword. Some few of the wild tribes inhabiting unwholesome lowlands were left unmolested. The conquerors of a community either absorb or are absorbed by the conquered. The civilization of the Nahuas and Mayas not being strong enough, like the Grecian, to take captive its conquerors, was merged into theirs, to the debasement of both. The natives were not in the eyes of their conquerors like Christian hat-wearers, or turbaned infidels; they were a sort of raw material for christianity to work upon, without need of exercising any humane economy in the use of it. The effect was to create in the breasts of the weaker race wants, such as beliefs, clothes, and brandies, whereby could be sown civilization's diseases, so that civilization's drugs might be sold, spiritual and temporal. Not all of these wants, however, were permitted gratification; instance the regulations forbidding natives to ride on horseback, and withholding the white man's privilege of keeping mistresses.

Thousands perished while attending the Spaniards during their conquests and civil wars. How many has Vasco Nuñez to answer for? how many Cortés? how many Pizarro the Infamous? In the mines of the mountains perished many, under the hard labor to which they were unaccustomed, and before the cold, penetrating air that struck with fatal chills their enervated frames, so suddenly forced from their warm, sunny vales. But by far the greater part simply disappeared. For in whatsoever garb the European stranger approached them, whether as pilferer, priest, or peltryman, his presence was deadly. European piety was little less pestilential than European avarice. Both ill accorded with the native régime; both engendered disease, struck down stalwart warriors, swept thousands from the earth with a rapidity and certainty unattainable by steel and gunpowder.

When the fair continent of North America lay revelling in primeval plenty, upon its western half alone, if we include all of Mexico and Central America, dwelt more than six hundred nations, tribes, or peoples, speaking more than six hundred languages or dialects of languages. Before the European came with his superior arms, his steel, saltpetre, priests, and bloodhounds, his strange diseases, his stranger lusts, his love of gold and God and glory, wherein were woes unnumbered heaped on men whose only crime against their tormentors was in living where their creator had placed them, and striking now and then a feeble blow in defence of their homes—before that time the place was heaven as compared with what it has ever been since. These beings here residing were not the beastly things they have been painted. They were human, and nearer ourselves in their nature and their thoughts than many have supposed. In them were the same likes and dislikes, the same aspirations and passions, the same mixture of pride, avarice, credulity, and suspicion, of artlessness, shrewdness, trustfulness, and treachery, found in all humanity. With natural quickness of perception they united close reasoning powers; with dignified melancholy, a fondness for ornament and display Under whatsoever sun, within whatsoever wrappings of flesh or environment, human nature is no less individual than wonderful.

It is a sad tale, presented in any of its phases. Whatever the primitive process of obtaining food, it was much more easy and certain than ever afterward. If the implements used by the wilder tribes in the capture of animals for food and clothing were less effectual, animals were less wild and more easily captured. Invention springs from necessity, and when the necessity which called forth the invention ceases, the progress made in that direction is soon lost. One of the greatest hardships imposed upon the natives, particularly toward the north, was despoiling their country of game, and leaving nothing wherewith to

sustain life. Wild men cannot suddenly change their habits, and derive subsistence from new sources. Many of the fur-hunters supplied the natives with weapons superior to their own for the purpose of killing fur-bearing animals, and then as game became scarce left them without ammunition. It has been claimed for the Spaniards that the conquest stopped the horrible sacrifice of human beings which was checking the growth of population; but how much growth of population did the Spaniards check with their firelocks and swords? As though the growth of native American populations was a matter of such vast concern to Europeans! And how many human lives did Spain sacrifice in christianizing America?

Touching the rights of civilization to lands held by hunting tribes, I would say a word. While recognizing fully the economical principle, that, unlike personal property acquired by labor, the lands of the earth belong to the whole human race, not to be monopolized by a few and their successors to the exclusion of the rest, I am yet unable to perceive any rights appertaining to civilization that do not apply to savagism. If every individual born upon this earth has a right to his share of it, as he has a right to his portion of the water, the air, and the sunshine, and that without the distinctions of wealth, inheritance, or culture, then the savage has a right to his portion equally with the civilized man. Nor may agricultural nations say with reason to hunting nations, "Adopt our mode of life and take up less room," so long as the agricultural nations permit certain of their members to occupy lands not according to their necessities but limited only by their means with which to buy. So long as the minds of men are not equally cultivated, the soil cannot be. The several parts of the earth's surface have their several populations, each differing from the others in progress and condition. One has no more right than another to call upon his neighbor to abandon traditional customs and assume ill-fitting conditions.

It is neither just nor expedient that land should be held by individuals in large parcels, no more by the civilized man for his flocks than by the savage for a game preserve. When a landed proprietor fails to be a purchaser, when he does not improve his lands or permits them to deteriorate, from an economical standpoint he is as much a detriment to civilized society as would be a savage with his game park, or a European nobleman with his. "They do not make a good use of their lands," says civilization of savagism. And who is to be the judge? And is every rich man's lands and money to be taken from him because he gambles, keeps mistresses, buys legislatures, bribes judges, fosters iniquitous monopolies, and is a curse to his kind generally? Better a thousand times leave lands in the hands of their aboriginal holders than allow them to become the property of the average man of millions.

It is a piggish race, this human race of ours, and one that delights in its piggishness. The first comers and their descendants attempt to monopolize all the available land, and mankind forever after must buy or rent or steal from them. Who were those first robbers we may not always know, nor does it much matter, for we are just as ready to rob to-day as ever we were. One thing is evident. The native Americans, as a rule, held their lands in common, as the property of the nation, which custom civilization today might well consider. In marked contrast to this policy, landed property in America was not cut by the colonists into parcels convenient to persons of moderate means, and made to pass easily from one to another, but large tracts, sometimes whole provinces, were seized and held as encomiendas, greatly to the detriment of the colonies.

The right of Europeans to seize and occupy the lands of the Indians was never questioned by the stronger party; neither did they pause to inquire if the almighty erred in creating America, or if he made half a world for the malevolent sport and domination

of the other half, or if his servant Alexander might not possibly have exceeded the bounds of his commission. Occupancy, by which the lands of a nation were made its captor's, was among the Romans a natural law, and the property of an enemy *res nullius*, as I have elsewhere explained. Aristotle taught that Greeks were called upon to recognize no more rights in barbarians than in brutes; and Cæsar said it was the right of war to treat the conquered as the conquerors pleased. By the discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this Roman principle of occupancy became somewhat confounded, and failed to determine how much of an island or a continent the sovereign of an adventurer could claim by reason of a lucky discovery, or what were the acts necessary to be performed to secure legal possession against other nations of the European world. These points were settled, as usual, by fighting, the victor construing the law. If our teachers would stop their cant, and fully recognize the absolute and inexorable right of might, half the problems of mankind would be solved at once.

It were amusing, if not so painfully absurd, to hear Montesquieu and the rest of them talk about "la loi de la nature," and "la loi de la lumière naturelle," in connection with the rights of the conqueror. Natural justice recognizes no right of conquest; and yet all nations acquiesce in, and most of them justify, such robbery. As is often seen in communities of men, so in communities of nations, wrong once become permanent is acknowledged by international law as a right, and as such it usually passes into history. In the present day of enlightened and purified morals, aggressors committing this species of robbery usually seek to shield themselves under some claim, real or pretended, and so escape the world's censure, for even the simplest of us now recognize the principle as atrocious; or as in the case of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo between the United States and Mexico, the victor pays the vanquished money, and so ratifies the theft by forced bargain and sale.

Montesquieu is sadly in error when he supposes it the wish of the Spaniards to sweep the country of its aboriginals, so that they might the better occupy. Such a charge might much more truthfully be brought against any other European nation. Territory was nothing to the Spaniard without subjects; mountains of metal and rich alluvial plains were valueless without laborers. Never was a conquered race more tenderly considered—in theory. Other nations were less scrupulous. Spain would ship no slaves from Africa, but her colonies bought them from the French and Dutch, until England browbeat her into buying all her slaves from English ships. And always the other nations of Europe far exceeded the Spaniards in their cruelty to negro slaves, the English roasting them alive at Jamaica for desertion, and this within a century. In short, when the directors of the East India Company themselves admit that "the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannical and oppressive conduct that was ever known in any age or country," it is idle to argue upon the relative cruelty of European nations.

There was no system of destruction practised by the Spaniards. In their eager desire to seize the present, and secure every means for its enjoyment, only too many of them worked the natives to their death. This was all, except the mystery that the simple presence of civilization, even when overflowing with kindness, is poisonous to savagism. Still more untrue is the assertion made by many that the extermination of the Americans was urged by the catholic ecclesiastics, who claimed the slaughter of idolaters to be pleasing to God. If ever there was piety or purity in man, if ever charity or heavenly zeal, then do these high and holy qualities shine resplendent in those ministers of peace who abandoned country and self, sank name and identity, and laid down their lives for the salvation of souls in the wilds of

America. And as for those general charges in certain quarters that in some of the later occupants of holy office spirituality had turned to flesh, their zeal to laziness and lust, resulting in nothing more important than repeating prayers and breeding *nullius filii*, I can only say that I have elsewhere given the history of all as fully and fairly as I am able.

And here the anomaly presents itself, that while the parent government in all its ordinances and instructions is more just and tender toward its savage subjects than are the colonists, through corrupt agents the natives may be more vilely treated than they would be by filibusters or pirates. Alone in a wilderness, with no doting parent to call upon for protection, the private colonist or settler hesitates ere he raises a swarm of enemies about his ears. Many of the atrocities attending government colonization are absent in private colonization. The conduct of Peru stands out in contrast to that of Pizarro no less marked than the subsequent doings in Pennsylvania contrast with those in Peru.

And what price was Spain to pay for all her follies, crimes, and indulgences, for the outrages of her conquerors, the maleadministration of her agents, her selfish exclusiveness, her vagarious policy, her exactions and enjoyment? For nations, no more than individuals, can indulge in crimes and follies with impunity. In colonial affairs as elsewhere, greed generates disaster. Tyrannies and unjust exactions bring their own punishment. Iniquity is inexorably alien from permanent prosperity. Spain's punishment was earlier and more severe than that of other European nations equally or more guilty, and whose reckoning is yet to come. If England's God lives, then England has yet to make her final reckoning.

Besides superior energy, Spain possessed material advantages which placed her before all other nations at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Her mer-

cantile marine was the finest in the world, numbering over one thousand vessels. The quays of Seville were crowded. The manufactures of Spain were ample, in addition to her own requirements, to supply all her colonies. Cloth and coral-work were produced at Barcelona, which city rivalled Venice; silk and groceries at Valencia; cloth at Cuenca and Huete; swords and muskets at Toledo; silk, paper, and flaxen goods at Granada; cloth at Ciudad-real, Segovia, and Villacastin; steel blades at Albacete; soap and groceries at Yepes and Ocaña; hats and saddles at Córdova; linen in Galicia, and cutlery and plate at Valladolid. Some of these cities employed a thousand workmen. Husbandry was conducted by the Moriscos under the best methods then known. By systems of irrigation, the soil was made to yield large returns in rice, cotton, sugar, and other products. Even the Spanish language and the universities felt the impulse. As early as 1550, the descendants of the conquered Aztecs and Peruvians were found in the schools of Spain, and Indian words in her language.

Some time later look again this way. How different the picture Spain presents toward the close of the seventeenth century. Her soil, exhausted, runs to waste; her factories are closed; her artisans and her agriculturists gone—one million of her best and most industrious subjects, the Moriscos, at a single blow; the small, round worm has been busy among the quarterings of Castile; her domain is dismembered, Holland and Portugal gone, Artois, Roussillon, and Franche Comte, and after another hundred years, nearly all these broad Americas have slipped from her possession. The expulsion of the Moors by Felipe III. followed the destructive foreign wars of Felipe II.; and with the beginning of the seventeenth century her commerce and manufactures began to fail. Men were even wanting for the army, and ships lay rotting at anchor for lack of sailors.

The navy, which in Philip's time had been the ter-

ror of the sea, was now reduced nine tenths. Arsenals and magazines were empty, and frontier fortresses ungarrisoned. Crime and disorder prevailed throughout the land. Simony and peculation were unblushing and enormous; so that, while the people were ground by taxation, the public revenue was small. As a remedy, which in truth only aggravated the disease, the currency was debased. Any third-rate power might now insult with impunity the heirs of Charles the Magnificent, and of Philip, his most catholic son. The lesson is—and let it be written in the sky and graven on the eternal hills—neither individuals nor nations can long live by impositions practised on their fellow-men.

Still there was territory enough. Often has the judicious pruning of a too widely spread empire proved beneficial. It was pith and pulse Spain now lacked. She had bled her own veins; played mother pelican to the church; and now to this complexion things have come. In vain shall a Charles aim at universal empire; even petty Duke Maurices will not have it so. In vain shall your nether-millstone-hearted Philip float invincible armadas. In vain shall Fernando de Herrera and Luis de Leon gain the topmost height of Spanish lyricism; in vain a Calderon or a Vega immortalize their drama; even in vain shall the greatest, grandest, richest name of all, Cervantes, take royal place in the fame-roll of literature. Let Mariana and Solis paint the history of their country thick and bright, but above all quick: these glories fade so fast. All these piped to a country that would not dance; or if it did it was only the general dance of death. Of late Spain has slept with more or less heaviness; a sleep somewhat troubled, it is true, with fevered dreams, wherein mingled with smaller sprites French revolutions, Isabellas, and Carlists, Hohenzollerns and Amadeos, and Prims, and republics, and one hardly knows what else.

During the middle age, and up to the time of Fer-

dinand the catholic, the people of Spain possessed greater liberty than any people in Europe. But about that time monarchism took a long stride forward, fanaticism following closely at its heels. The power of the nobles, undermined by Ferdinand, was completely broken by Charles, and for three centuries thereafter Austrian and Bourbon princes ruled Spain with a despotism almost absolute. These Austrians and Bourbons were ever remarkable for their piety; but although they loved the church much, they loved themselves more. The little game of prince, priest, and people was then played somewhat after this fashoin: The prince was in possession of the power. This power he derived from the people, who helped him to break down the nobles, and hold in check the clergy; in return, the prince employed the church to rivet the chains of despotism tighter and tighter upon the people; so that with the mind enslaved by the clergy, and their every action at the order of the king, this so lately free and chivalrous commonalty was doomed to be thrust backward at the very time the new light broke in upon Europe; at the very time when liberty of thought and action would have carried it forward with any nation in christendom. Thus to the greatness of Spain in the sixteenth century Spaniards of to-day owe their littleness; to the teachings of tradition, enforced by the strong arm of royalty, they owe their ignorance; and to the wealth of the New World they owe their poverty.

The student of civilized history has seen how generations of discipline made strong the arm of Spain; how loyalty and religion united to concentrate and direct the energies of the people; how the enginery of the inquisition was hurled against the reformation and every kind of religious inquiry; how a religious war stimulated religious zeal, how zeal fanned the flames of loyalty, and how loyalty and zeal bound men together for good and evil. He has seen how man's nobler impulses came forward and bowed before

this shrine; how church and state divided between them chivalry, learning, and wealth, leaving the people poverty and obedience. And when Granada fell, leaving tyranny master of the field; when not a heretic, not an alien, polluted the soil of Spain; when from the Pyrenees to Gibraltar, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, all were loyal, all Christian—where was this mighty enginery next to be directed? Most opportunely at this juncture a New World dropped into the lap of Spain. And such a world! Truly it was a reward of merit for eight centuries of godly service. To her piety and patriotism Spain had sacrificed her wealth. She was left by the successful termination of the Mohammedan contest strong but poor. In this New World was wealth untold. God, grown kinder to his people than in ages past, there paid cash for proselytes. A new crusade was preached, in which gold was the reward of piety, in which romance became reality, and glory here was but the harbinger of glory hereafter. And in her colonial policy Spain could be hampered by no constitutional restraints. She might model her colonial affairs and issue her edicts by mere act of prerogative, and change them at pleasure. Whenever through the usual mistakes attending first attempts things went wrong, laws were made to fit the like emergencies of the future, and soon such a mass of ordinances and edicts were heaped up that even the Spanish government could not enforce the half of them.

The epoch of discovery was the supplement of the crusades, the crowning result of the grand levelling of partition walls by advancing civilization. Then, through the stubborn zeal of Luther in Germany and Zwingli in Switzerland, assisted by the amorous propensities of Henry VIII., Europe was divided anew, the north becoming protestant, and the south remaining catholic. By her excessive exclusiveness, Spain repelled that which constitutes the very essence of progress, curiosity, inquiry, scepticism. The result

as seen in Spain and some parts of Spanish America to-day speaks volumes.

The question could scarcely have arisen in the sixteenth century whether this New World seized so eagerly, clutched so greedily, would prove a blessing or a curse to its possessor. What! lands more fertile and fifty times broader than Spain not a blessing? Surely gold and pearls and slaves are blessings, to say nothing of new empires to govern, and millions of heathen souls to save.

The immediate effect of the colonies on the mother country was to quicken life, expand commerce, and enlarge all industries. Commercial companies were formed. The prices of all commodities advanced. Money was plenty, and everybody rich. Some complained, not of the abundance of gold, but because it now required so much to buy so little—an extra mule for the traveller being almost necessary to carry his purse. Then, knowing little of the principles of economy or of foreign commerce, the government stepped in with its suicidal restrictions and monopolies, and confounded what might, if left to natural channels, have proved beneficial to the commonwealth. More men then went to America, draining the country still further of its bone and sinew, and more gold was sent to Spain. The cost of labor and of raw material rose rapidly; indeed, it was soon impossible to obtain these essentials of manufactures in Spain to the extent required. It was easier and more alluring, however fatal, to let others do the work, while Spain commanded the situation and handled the gold; and so Portugal, France, Flanders, and England were employed to furnish the required commodities, while the Spaniards gave themselves up to enjoyment. They were breeding at Spain's cost communities of artisans, which more than soldiers or sailors were to become the bulwark of the nation, and Spain was forced to pour into their coffers her dearly loved gold in ever-increasing ratio; until finally, notwithstanding the

enormous yield of the two Americas, she had not sufficient for her own necessities. The galleon service, for more than two centuries the pride of Spain on both the Atlantic and Pacific, was essentially at an end by the middle of the eighteenth century.

Further and yet further grew the rage for wealth, and the distaste for labor. Waste was the order of the day in both public and private affairs. The more gold Spain got, the more she required; the more she suffered from her exactions, the more she exacted. Now the king and his court, and innumerable miniature establishments, and households of all grades, were kept aflame by western gold alone. Industries of every kind were abandoned, and men lived only for that for which brutes live, to eat, sleep, and propagate. Far better were the days of war than these days of enervating peace. It was as if all Spain had laid down everything useful, and had adopted gambling as an occupation. And when this influx of wealth began to diminish, it was found too late; that the nation had nothing on which to depend for support. Spain became impoverished. Gone were the mercantile glory of Seville and Cádiz. A resort to laws prohibiting the export of specie and raising the value of copper was without benefit.

Nor was this all the disastrous effect of Spanish colonization in America on the aborigines, on the colonists, and on the people of Spain. There were even wider effects than these—such as the influence upon the commercial and political intercourse of nations, which the thoughtful student of the times will consider. Partly from the reflex influence of her colonies, and partly from other causes, Europe to-day is more republican than monarchical. England, Holland, and Portugal are monarchies in form only; France has struggled into republicanism, and even Spain has attempted it.

Thus to the Spanish people America was a Lerna of ills, a Naboth's vineyard. They despoiled the in-

habitants of a distant land only to dissipate their ill-gotten wealth, and then sink beneath the excess of self-indulgence and sensuality. Two civilizations Spain succeeded in crushing before her fall, an eastern and a western; in Mexico and Peru it was her evil destiny to destroy a culture but little inferior to her own, and in her turn to be destroyed thereby. Spain was ruined by her successes. Let men and nations learn the lesson, for there are yet many in like manner to be ruined. Lord Macaulay and others resolve all the causes of the decay of Spain into one cause; which term signifies, if it signifies anything, an erring people, a corrupt priesthood. But this is not what Macaulay means to say. He assumes too pointedly that the Spanish nation fell into decay through the retrogression of its sovereigns, which assuredly was not the case. Were our Philips and Charleses worse than your Georges and your Louises; why, then, did not England and France attain these depths? A monarch may helm the ship of state toward the rocks and create temporary disaster; but no nation was ever ruined solely by its rulers. With the people who constitute the nation and make the rulers, the blame must chiefly rest.

CHAPTER III.

MEXICO AS SEEN THROUGH THE EYES OF SCIENCE AT THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Multitudo omnis, sicut natura maris, per se immobilis est; ut venti et auræ cient, ita aut tranquillum aut procellæ vobis sunt.—*Livy.*

The two Californias were invaded and occupied by priests from Mexico, at a time when this region was held to be a part of Mexico. Mexico has been once seen; perhaps twice. The conquerors were close observers—that is, of gold or anything worth stealing; but by the eyes of comprehensive genius Mexico has never been so viewed, before or since, as by Frederick Henry Alexander von Humboldt at the opening of the present century. His visit to our continent was in the interest of general science, rather than in that of any particular persons or place. He was thirty years of age when he landed in South America in 1799; thirteen years of his life had thus far been devoted to close study, and before him were yet sixty other years. We are told that he was a vain man, and very egotistical; but surely he had something to be vain of, and his *ego* was by no means a small one, either as regards time or dimensions. In his matchless commentaries we hardly know which to admire most, the universe which he describes so perfectly, or the all-comprehending intellect capable of such delineation.

Alexander von Humboldt was born in Berlin on the 14th of September, 1769, when the first mission of Alta California was being founded at San Diego. His father, Major Alexander George von Humboldt, had

been in succession chamberlain to the great Frederick, and to Elizabeth, princess of Prussia. His mother when married by his father, was the widow of a certain Baron Von Holwede, and was descended from a Burgundian family, Colomb by appellation, notable craftsmen in glass in their old country. The young Humboldt was for the most part brought up in his father's old castle of Tegel, three leagues from Berlin. Here Alexander and his elder brother William played and studied, in a quiet, unrestricted way, till 1786, when they commenced their academical life at the university of Frankfort on the Oder. In 1788 they removed to that of Göttingen, "a staid, grave place, full of earnest students and learned professors," among which last were Blumenbach, Heine, and Eichhorn. The university life of the brothers ended in 1789.

In 1790 Alexander visited Holland and England in company with George Foster and Van Genns, and published his first work, *Observations on the Basalts of the Rhine.* In 1791 he began studying under Werner, the celebrated geologist, at Freyberg. The result of some of his observations in the mines of that district was published in 1793: *Specimen Floræ Freibergensis Subterraneæ.* In 1795 he visited part of Italy and Switzerland, and 1798 found him in Paris, where he became acquainted with Bonpland, the naturalist, destined soon to be his companion in travel, and with many other French *savans.* He here published, in conjunction with Gay Lussac, *Researches on the Composition of the Atmosphere,* and on his own account a work on subterranean gases.

From his boyhood, Humboldt had been planning some great voyage of discovery; and in 1789 he was in Madrid, applying for permission to explore the Spanish possessions in America. That permission was granted, and having secured Bonpland as a coadjutor, he sailed from Corunna in the sloop *Pizarro,* on the 5th of June, 1799. On the 19th of June the *Pizarro* put into Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe;

and the naturalists, availing themselves of the few days the ship remained there, ascended the famous Pico de Teyde. In the middle of July they reached Cumaná, South America, and landed. They spent the rest of the year in visiting the coast of Paria, the Indian missions of Chaymas, and the provinces of New Andalucía, New Barcelona, Venezuela, and Spanish Guayana. Leaving Caracas in January 1800, they examined the charming valleys of the Aragua, and the great lake of Valencia, or Ticarigua, resembling in general appearance that of Geneva, but with its shores clothed in all the beauty and luxuriance of a tropical vegetation. From Puorto Cabello they went south, crossing on horseback the vast plains of Calabozo, Apure, and Orinoco, and the dreary *llanos*. At San Fernando, on the river Apure, they began a fatiguing navigation of more than 3,000 miles. They performed this in canoes, crouching in awkward postures, scorched by the terrible sun which not only lightens but colors and burns, and devoured by a tenfold Egyptian plague of crawling, creeping, and flying things. Sailing down the Apure, they entered the Orinoco at the seventh degree of north latitude, and then, ascending this river, passed the cataracts of Mapures and Atures, and gained the conflux of the Guaviari. Thence they ascended the small rivers Atab and Temi. From the mission of Javita, they passed overland to the sources of the famous Rio Negro. About thirty Indians were employed to carry the canoes through lofty forests to the creek of Pemichin. Following the current now, they shot into the Rio Negro, descending to San Cárlos. From this they remounted to the Orinoco, by way of the Cassiquiari, and thus forever cleared up all doubts as to the existence of a communication between the Orinoco and the Amazon. Passing up the Orinoco, they visited the volcano Daida and the mission of Esmeralda; but the Guaïcas, an independent native tribe of very fair complexion and small build, yet extremely warlike, prevented the

travellers from reaching the sources of the Orinoco. From Esmeralda they descended the swelling river to its mouth, and then returned to Cumaná, by the plains of Cari, and the mission of the Caraïbs, a race, next to the Patagonians, the largest and stoutest known.

After a short rest, necessary to their enfeebled strength, they sailed for Cuba on the 16th of November, and were nearly shipwrecked on the way. They remained three months in that island; and fearing accident, Humboldt sent a good part of his collections and manuscripts to Europe.

In March 1801 they hired a small vessel and sailed for Cartagena, South America. Owing to adverse circumstances, the voyage was tedious, and they arrived too late in the season for crossing the isthmus of Panamá, and reaching Guayaquil or Lima; they however pushed on up the Magdalena up Santa Fé de Bogotá.

In September 1801, though the rainy season was not quite over, they began their journey to Quito, crossed the Andes of Quindiu, arrived at Cartago in the fine valley of Cáuca, passed through Popayan, the capital of the province, through the dangerous defiles of Almaguer, through the town of Pasto, the village of Tulcan, and the valley of Guaillabamba, and in January 1802 reached Quito. Nearly six months were here devoted to researches of various kinds in the surrounding country. Near midsummer, in company with Don Cárlos Montúfar, they visited the Nevado del Chimborazo. They traversed the frightful ruins of Riobamba and other villages, destroyed by an earthquake February 7, 1797, and climbed the Cuchilla de Guandifa. On the eastern slope of Chimborazo they stood on the highest spot ever before trod by man. They then descended to the region of vegetation and followed the great chain of the Andes, with fifteen or twenty baggage mules. Skirting the high savannas of Tiocaxas, they advanced to Sitzun, in the woody *páramo* of Assuay,

and crossed the mountains by that dangerous passage. Advancing toward Cuenca, they found ruins of palaces of the incas. Beyond that town was Loja; from Loja they passed into the vale of the bed of the Cutaco; mounted again to the forest of Chulucanas, near vast ruins of the incas' battle-fields; crossed the mountains to San Felipe, and embarked on the *Chamaya;* descended it to the cataract of Rentema, ascended the eastern declivity of the cordilleras; examined the argentiferous mountain of Gualgayoc; visited the towns of Micuipampa and Cajamarca, and the ruins of the palace of Atahualpa in the vicinity of the latter place; reached Lima, capital of Peru, entering for the first time that "long narrow valley bounded by the shores of the Pacific in which rain and thunder are unknown."

In January 1803 the travellers embarked for Guayaquil; from Guayaquil reached Acapulco by sea, landing in Mexico, 23d of March, 1803. Acapulco stands in the recess of a bay near a chain of granitic mountains. The port is part of an immense basin cut in granite rocks—a coarse-grained granite like that of Fichtelberg and Carlsbad, toothed and rent like the Catalonian Montserrat. In two hemispheres Humboldt had seen few wilder sights, few scenes at once more dismal and more romantic. The climate was terribly sultry and noxious, the inhabitants sickly and wretched. A silk cotton tree, *bombax ceiba,* whose overturned trunk was more than seven metres in circumference, proved the tremendous force of the *vendavales,* by which it was often swept.

In the beginning of May, the travellers set out in the direction of the capital, ascending by the burning valleys of Papagayo and Mescala—thermometer 89.6° Fahr. in the shade—to the higher plains of Chilpancingo, Tehuilotepec, and Tasco, existing in a more temperate layer of the atmosphere, blessed with the pleasant shade of oak, cypress, pine, and tree-fern, and rich in wheat-fields and barley-fields, even on their

hills, to a height of 6,000 feet above the sea. Having visited the noted mines of Tasco, and seen its beautiful church, they passed on to Cuernavaca on the south slope of the cordillera of Guchilaque, to fix its longitude, which was incorrect on the common maps. Near this place was the remarkable monument of Xochicalco, which Humboldt did not visit, having at that time unfortunately no knowledge of its existence. It was a natural hill or mass of rocks, which had been wrought into a conic form, in five terraces of masonry; the whole surrounded by a great fosse, making an intrenchment of nearly 4,000 metres in circumference. Among the hieroglyphic ornaments which decorate a pyramid, with which the great upper terrace or platform is crowned, are figures of men sitting cross-legged after the Asiatic fashion. Humboldt concluded from the foregoing information which he collected, and from its position being indicated in a very ancient native map by two warriors in combat, that the place served the purpose, not only of a temple, but also of a fort. Its origin is referred to the Toltecs, for this nation is to the Mexican antiquarians what the Pelasgian colonists were to the archæologists of Italy—anything of which a Mexican knows nothing is Toltec.

We next find our scientists in the city of Mexico. They found the latitude of the capital at the convent of St Augustine by meridian altitudes of the sun and stars. The longitude was deduced from the eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter, from the distances between the moon and sun, from transference of the time from Acapulco, and from a trigonometrical estimation of the difference of meridian between Mexico and Vera Cruz. This method of check and countercheck was followed as far as possible in all cases, and though detailed accounts of these things can hardly interest any but scientific men, they give to the most superficial some idea of the minute and patient industry of Humboldt.

Mexico is described by earlier writers as seated in the midst of waters, but it is now more than two miles from the margin of the diminished Tezcuco. This, a result of increased drainage, has not contributed to the general fertility of the valley. A lack of vigorous vegetation has been becoming more and more apparent since the conquest, at which time the clayey soil, being washed by more frequent inundations, was covered with beautiful verdure. The climate of the city of Mexico is generally mild, even in winter, as that of Naples. In point of appearance it is one of the finest cities in the new continent. It is more imposing and majestic, though not perhaps so beautiful or so smiling as when great *teocallis* lifted their minarets over the heads of an unconquered people, and waters pressed on its foundations, and thousands of boats shot through its street-canals—an Aztec Venice. The present architecture is generally pure in style and of good taste, not surcharged with ornament, but solid, often even magnificent. Seldom are to be seen those ponderous wooden balconies which disfigure so many other European-founded cities in the Indies and Americas; but here the balustrades and gates are of Biscay iron ornamented with bronze.

The travellers were somewhat surprised to see in this city many fine establishments devoted to science and the fine arts—a school of mines which was gradually introducing juster ideas of mining geology, and some sorely needed reforms in mining methods—a fine arts academy, owing its existence to the liberality of private citizens, and the protection of Minister Galvez, and possessing a collection of plaster casts finer than anything of the kind in Germany. Laocoön writhed there in the supreme agony of his immortal struggle with the serpents of Tenedos; and the divine form of the Apollo Belvidere had cast out forever those hideous monstrosities that the Aztecs delighted to honor. In this academy instruction was free, and here were found studying and competing all,

Indian and white, whom talent and opportunity favored, for art is nature, and makes the whole world kin, knowing no aristocracy but that of genius. The excellent instruction supplied by this school has had already a great influence on the architectural taste of the nation. In Mexico, Guanajuato, and Querétaro were many edifices which would have adorned the finest streets of Paris, Berlin, or St Petersburg. For the great square of the city, Don Manuel Tolsa, director of the class of sculpture, had just completed a magnificent bronze equestrian statue of Charles IV., reigning king of Spain, and Humboldt had the pleasure of witnessing both its casting and its erection. In this square were the new cathedral with its massive towers, built over the remains of the great temple of Mexith, and the viceroy's palace, fronting the spot on which the palace of Montezuma had formerly stood.

Buried in one of the passages of the university of Mexico was a great double Aztec idol, in basaltic porphyry, which had been dug up by workmen engaged on an excavation in 1790, conveyed to the university, and concealed there lest it might trouble the weak faith of the Aztec youth. Humboldt, by dint of solicitation, secured the privilege of examining and sketching it. He supposed it to represent the Aztec god of war and his wife. He also studied the stone of sacrifice, and the calendar-stone. The first was adorned in relief with the triumphs of some old Aztec warrior, probably a king. This stone, Humboldt, contrary to the usual hypothesis, supposed to have served the purpose, not of an altar for the sacrifice of human victims, but of a *temalacatl*, one of those great stones on which, as on a platform, prisoners were allowed to contend, in certain cases, for their lives with Mexican warriors. As to the calendar-stone—the most important of all the Aztec monuments, and one which seems to prove the existence of a civilization which we have some difficulty in believing to be the result of observations made by a nation of mountaineers in the

uncultivated regions of the new continent—Humboldt compared the circumstances attending its possession by the Aztecs to those in which a language, rich in words and in grammatical forms, is found with a people whose paucity of ideas is wholly incommensurate with the multiplicity of media adapted to convey and embody them. "Those languages rich and flexible, those modes of intercalation which presuppose an accurate knowledge of the duration of the astronomical year, are perhaps only the remnants of an inheritance, transmitted to them by nations heretofore civilized, but since relapsed into barbarism." Humboldt had often been struck with the analogy which existed between the ancient tradition and memorials of various peoples of Asia—the Thibetans and Japanese, for example—and those of the Mexican races; but this analogy was nowhere so apparent as in the division of time revealed in this calendar, in the employment of recurring periods, and in the ingenious though embarrassing method of designating a day or a year, not by numbers, but by astrological signs. The system of the methods of those Asiatic nations and these American is essentially the same.

The valley of Mexico is in many respects unique. It is surrounded as by a circular wall with a remarkable chain of porphyritic and basaltic mountains. The whole valley is but the dried-up bottom of an ancient lake. The five basins of fresh and salt water in the centre of the plateau, "the five lakes Zumpango, San Christóbal, Tezcuco, Xochimilco, and Chalco, are to the geologist but the feeble remnants of a great sheet of water which formerly covered the whole valley of Tenochtitlan." Yet despite the interest attaching to this valley historically, geologically, and in respect to its various hydraulic constructions, there existed no map giving its true form. Humboldt, therefore, fixed by many astronomical observations the limits of the valley, and from these and a great mass of collected material constructed an excellent

map. By a bold simile he compared the whole valley to that of the mountains of the moon.

The distinguished visitor was received at the capital with all that consideration and hospitality to which his condition and his personal merit alike entitled him. Among the several congenial spirits which he found, he took especial delight in Don José Antonio Pichardo, whose house to him was as the house of Sigüenza to the traveller Gemelli. This man had the finest collection of hieroglyphic paintings in the capital; sacrificing his fortune to obtain them, copying what he could not buy. In the new as in the old continent, the collection and conservation of objects of national importance are generally left to private individuals, and those not always the richest of the people. But Humboldt was a man of the *salons* as well as of the museums, and was as perfect in flirtation and sarcasm as in handling fossils or gymnoti. His flirting was probably a mere foil of politeness and relaxation, but his sarcasm was incisive. These, his less philosophical qualities, or if you will his littleness, have been quietly ignored by his biographers as derogatory to his dignity, or to his amiability. In the city of Mexico he seems positively to have been smitten outright by a famous creole beauty, La Güera Rodriguez, daughter-in-law of that Count de Regla who built, equipped, and presented to the king of Spain two ships of war, of the largest size, in mahogany and cedar, and offered to pave the road from Vera Cruz to the capital with silver, if his Majesty of Spain would visit his American provinces. "She was then very young, though married, and the mother of two children," says Madame Calderon de la Barca. "He came to visit her mother; she was sitting sewing in a corner where the baron did not perceive her; until, talking very earnestly on the subject of cochineal, he inquired if he could visit a certain district where there was a plantation of nopals. 'To be sure,' said La Güera from her corner, 'we can take M. de Humboldt there;'

whereupon, he first perceiving her, stood amazed, and at length exclaimed, '*Válgame Dios!* who is that girl?' Afterwards he was constantly with her, and more captivated, it is said, by her wit than by her beauty; considering her a sort of western Madame de Staël."

Humboldt next visited the mines of Moran and Real del Monte, handled the obsidian interstratified with the pearl-stones and porphyries of Oyamel, and used by the ancient Mexicans in the manufacture of knives, and sketched the basaltic columns of the Staffa-like cascade of Regla. Returning to the capital in July, he again left it to visit the rich mines in the north of the viceroyalty, principally Guanajuato. And on his way thither he first examined that great opening in the mountain of Suicog, the canal of Huehuetoca, excavated to prevent undue risings of the valley lakes, and untimely inundations of its metropolis. It was choked up in 1629, and flooded the town for five years, filling its streets with canoes as in the old Cortés times. From the valley of Tular, through which this *desagüe* ran, Humboldt passed by the mountain of Calulpan, and the town of San Juan del Rio, to the city of Querétaro, a place noted for its tasteful buildings, which was also making some praiseworthy attempts to manufacture certain kinds of cloth by an execrable system. In August, Humboldt visited certain of these manufactories. The technical process in the preparation for dyeing was very imperfect. The situation of the workshops was unhealthy in the extreme, and the treatment of the workmen abominable. The convicts of the country were distributed among these factories, that they might be compelled to work. But free men were confounded with these convicts, and subjected with them to the treatment of felons. Every workshop was a dark prison, whose inmates, shut in by double doors, were ragged, pallid, and many of them deformed. Even those who by a refinement of sarcasm were called free, never saw the faces of their families except on Sundays; while all

were subjected to merciless floggings upon the most trivial infringements of the regulations. This power over free workers is gained by choosing from the poorer Indians such as it is thought will suit the work; then advancing them money, or in other ways drawing them into debt. Such is the improvidence of the majority of these people, and their passion for intoxication and gambling, that the plot generally succeeds. In such a case the man is a debtor, that is to say, he is a slave, whom it is lawful to enclose in the workshops till he shall have worked out his debt; which he generally does with his life. It is not thus that the manufactures of a country are permanently advanced, nor thus that a desire for that advancement is likely to be excited in the minds of the people.

Humboldt next went to Guanajuato, stopping on his way at the mines of Sotolar, Juchitlan, Las Aguas, Maconi, El Doctor, and San Christóbal. He remained here two months investigating the geology and botany of the country; the first, principally in connection with the mine of Valenciana, the richest in Guanajuato, the richest in all Mexico. Here in 1760, with goats feeding on the hills around him, a stout-hearted Spaniard named Obregon began to work a vein above the ravine of San Javier. It had been an old Indian mine, and was supposed to be exhausted. Obregon kept sinking his pit and his money, and that of his friends, with but little result for many years. In 1767 he was forced to take a petty merchant of Rayas as a partner; and from that time the pit grew richer as it was sunk deeper, and from 1771 it yielded over $1,000,000 annually.

In general, in Mexican mines the mineral was abundant, but, weight for weight, much poorer than that of the European mines. A contempt for innovation among the master miners also enormously increased the cost of extraction, by the use of antiquated machinery and exploded methods of working. A little more method, a little more attention to the ad-

vances in chemistry and mechanics, would have reduced the expenses by half. In the process of amalgamation especially, there was an enormous waste of mercury, which itself should be a never-failing source of wealth. Few countries have so many indications of cinnabar as this table-land from the 19th to the 22d parallels. Weighing, however, upon what was extracted were various vexatious government regulations, forcing, for example, every mine-owner to buy such and such a proportion of the government imported mercury, and in fact, dealing out the supplies from all sources in an arbitrary and enterprise-destroying way.

The ores, too, when extracted, are subjected to various imposts and duties of seignorage. Now, it is the same with these direct imposts on gold and silver as with the profit the government derives from the sale of mercury. Mining operations will increase as these imposts diminish, and as the mercury indispensable to amalgamation shall be furnished at a lower price. Humboldt was astonished that Adam Smith should mingle with the soundest ideas relative to the exchange of metals a defence of the suicidal duties of seignorage. Considering, then, the vast extent of the cordilleras, the probable richness of their deposits, and the wasteful way in which the comparatively few veins already examined have been worked, it is probable that the mines of Mexico have yet to reach their maximum. The opinion that Mexico produces only perhaps the third part of the precious metals which it could under happier political and social circumstances, under a better administration and with a more industrious and better instructed people, is common to the most intelligent individuals of that country.

Humboldt knew well that this was in direct contradiction with most authors on political economy—they affirming the American mines to be partly exhausted, and partly too deep for further remunerative exploration—still he believed that theoretic opinions must

give way before the results of the patient investigation and comparison of facts. Neither did he share in another very general idea, that the mines were at bottom more injurious than helpful to the country, and non-productive in the long event of any permanent good. Of course, notwithstanding the great advantage of the precious metals in purchasing the goods of other nations, it is well to understand definitely that it is in the nature of things that such stores will one day run out, and that even immense developments of them will, nearly in proportion to those developments, diminish their commercial value; that in fact the only capital which constantly multiplies and increases itself, through time, consists in the produce of agriculture. And those who have more knowledge of the interior than the vague information at that time accessible could give, know that the principal riches of Mexico are not in her mines, but in an agriculture which has been gradually extending and improving since the end of the preceding century. Yet all this, however true, is inferential of nothing to the prejudice of mining as a valuable source of national wealth; it merely shows that agriculture is another and on the whole a more reliable and permanent contributor to that end. It is not to the mines of Mexico that any backwardness in the other departments of national industry is justly attributable, but to those political, moral, and physical stumbling-blocks hitherto obstructing the advancement of the Spanish colonial interests. If these mines have fostered a spirit of reckless expenditure and speculation, they have also called out, and do call out, enterprise, invention, and geological and chemical research. If, indeed, these coveted metals add little to the real wealth of the world, their seeking creates or stimulates a thousand necessities which do. Roads are built, great systems of traffic inaugurated, and an increased demand springs up for those things which sustain life and make it enjoyable. The influence of mining on agriculture is plainly shown by the fact that the

best cultivated lands in Mexico are those extending from Salamanca toward Silao, Guanajuato, and the Villa de Leon; that is to say, the lands appertaining to the richest mining region of the known world. And now, in dismissing the subject of mining, we may add that Humboldt received little information from any public collections of minerals. At Mexico, as at Madrid, while these collections contained the rarest specimens from other and distant countries, those illustrative of the mineralogical geography of New Spain were almost entirely wanting. It is to be hoped, however, that the proprietors of the mines will gradually come to see how much it concerns their interest that a knowledge of localities in detail, and of the properties and positions of the several minerals, should be facilitated and extended.

From Guanajuato Humboldt went south, by Salamanca and the valley of San Jago, to Valladolid (Morelia), a small city of 18,000 inhabitants, and capital of the province of Michoacan, the most fertile and delightful of Mexico. Next he descended, notwithstanding the heavy autumn rains, to the plain of Jorullo, by way of Pascuaro, situated on the shore of Lake Pascuaro, whose picturesque beauty riveted the attention of the traveller. But admiration gave place to awe at sight of the Malpays, a tract of three or four square miles in extent, which had been suddenly thrown up into a great dome by volcanic forces, in June 1759. On this again six great masses appeared, of from 1,300 to 1,700 feet each above the old level of the plains. Among these the great volcano of Jorullo was conspicuous; and the whole was surrounded by thousands of little cones from six to nine feet in height, and always covered with vapor. On the night this eruption occurred, the earth rolled like a troubled sea, and spouting fire, ashes, and mud, swallowed the two rivers of Cuitamba and San Pedro. The subterraneous fires at this time were moderated, and vegetation was beginning to appear on the sides of

the great volcano. Still, such was the effect of the innumerable small cones, or ovens, as they were called, that the thermometer, even at a great distance from the surface, and in the shade, marked 109°. On the 19th of September, Humboldt descended 250 feet into the burning crater of the central cone of Jorullo, and collected its gaseous products.

The position of this volcano gave rise to a curious train of speculation in the mind of its visitor. He remarked that there had existed from historic times a parallel of volcanic mountains, situated in a line at right angles to the axis of the great cordillera of Anáhuac. The Peak of Orizaba, the two volcanoes of Puebla, Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl, the Nevado de Toluca, the Peak of Tancitaro, and the Volcan de Colima, compose a single "parallèle des grandes élévations," from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and when Jorullo sprang up, it sprang up in line. Considering all this, he supposes it to be not improbable that there exists in Mexico, at a great depth in the interior of the earth, a line of weakness, as modern physicists would call it, 137 leagues in length, through the porphyritic rocks, from ocean to ocean. Perhaps, too, this chasm extends to that archipelago called by Collnett the Archipelago of Revillagiedo (Revilla Gigedo), around which, in the same parallel of which we have been speaking, pumice-stone and other volcanic products have been seen floating on the Pacific.

From Valladolid the traveller returned toward Mexico by the plateau of Toluca, where he examined the trunk of the famous hand-leaved tree, the *cheirostemon platanoïdes* of Professor Cervantes, nine yards in circuit, and of great antiquity. He also climbed and found the level of the adjacent mountain, which, itself over 15,000 feet high, contains a lake in its crater at an elevation of 12,000 feet, from which flows a cold stream, temperature 48° Fahr. Humboldt was once more in the capital about the close of September. Here he and his companion set themselves to arrange

their geological and botanical specimens, to calculate various measurements which they had made, and plat out some of their maps—especially the geological atlas—all of which served to detain them till the close of the year.

In the beginning of January 1804, Humboldt went and examined the eastern slope of the cordillera, and then visited Puebla de los Angeles and the pyramid of Cholula. This pyramid was about four times the dimensions of the Place Vendome, and covered with a heap of bricks to twice the height of the Louvre. From its great platform Humboldt made many astronomical observations. The eye there commands a magnificent prospect: Popocatepetl, Iztaccihuatl, Orizaba, and the stormy sierra of Tlaxcala loom—three of them higher than Mont Blanc; two, burning volcanoes. Mass was said in a small chapel where the temple of Quetzalcoatl, god of the air, had once stood in the golden age of the people of Anáhuac. As to the end subserved by these pyramids, their essential part was the tower-shaped edifice which crowned the whole, and contained the images of the divinity to whom the structure was dedicated—not the receptacles or chambers in which certain dead were placed. They were tombs and temples, but especially temples; they were generally artificial hills raised in the midst of a plain to serve as bases for altars.

Humboldt perceived a great analogy between the Mexican *teocallis*, of which Cholula is the most striking type, and the ancient temple of Bel at Babylon—not only in construction, but in object: either being at once a tomb and a temple. There also existed strong analogies between the form of these teocallis and that of the other pyramids of Asia and Egypt; but on the other hand, their destinies were different. The pyramids of Asia and Egypt served only as the tombs of illustrious personages. Between the Egyptian and the Mexican, the pyramid of Belus is probably a connecting link, inasmuch as it would seem that

the addition of the temple to the latter was an accidental circumstance.

Next, the volcanoes of Iztaccihuatl and Popocatepetl were visited, measured, and the latter ascended. This "Volcan grande de México" is higher than Mont Blanc, and in the scientist's opinion grander in aspect than anything Europe can show.

The travellers then descended, often by steep slopes and through dense forests, to Jalapa, where they lodged in the convent of Saint Francis. This charming town commanded a magnificent view; on the one side the ocean and its sultry adjacent plains; on the other the cordilleras of Anáhuac, the peak of Orizaba, and the square-topped Cofre de Perote.

The intendency of Vera Cruz contains a remarkable ruin, that of Papantla—a pyramid which Humboldt describes, but does not seem to have visited.

The dangerous route through thick forests and other impediments, between Jalapa and Perote, was thrice barometrically levelled, to determine its capabilities for a post-road, then under the consideration of the government.

From Jalapa they descended to Vera Cruz. The yellow fever, *vómito negro*, of Vera Cruz has a sensible influence on the supply of commodities in Mexico and their price. This is the only port on the eastern coast which can afford any shelter to large vessels. But when the terrible epidemic is upon the city, no vessels that can possibly help it land, and no muleteers from the interior can be induced to enter its precincts. Commerce stands still, for it cannot get carriage for the merchandise; mining falls away, for iron, steel, and mercury become beyond price in the mountains. There were two remedies usually proposed for this; the one to utterly root out and raze the town, and compel its reëstablishment at some more healthy spot; the other, to adopt some plan to render the port more habitable; the latter should if possible be the course followed, considering, not only the immense sums in-

vested by the government in its fortifications, but the fate of the 16,000 individuals whose fortunes are to a great extent staked on its existence.

In February Humboldt and Bonpland saw in the hospital of San Sebastian what would seem to have been the only case of the epidemic then in Vera Cruz, it being the cold season. The yellow fever was not considered contagious at Vera Cruz; still it is improbable that there are many unprofessional persons who would care to carry their medical researches to such an extent as this, in a town of such an unpleasant character. The air of Vera Cruz from its natural surroundings is always tainted with putrid emanations, which, breathed for the shortest time when at their maximum, introduce disorder into all the vital functions. Yet so potent is use, that persons born in that city are not, while in it, exposed to contract the disease. Let them, however, leave their native country, let them visit Habana, Jamaica, or the United States, and they often fall victims to its particular type there; and conversely the same is true of the inhabitants of these latter places when they visit Vera Cruz.

From Vera Cruz the scientists were carried to Habana by a Spanish frigate, leaving Mexico on the 7th of March. Having spent two months at Habana, packing and shipping their various collections, they sailed for Philadelphia, visited Washington, and spending eight weeks in the United States, studying with interest the men and institutions of the great republic.

On the 9th of June they set out for Europe, and landed at Bordeaux August 3, 1804, having been five years absent from Europe on their American explorations; of which time about a year had been spent in Mexico.

At the time of Humboldt's visit to Mexico—or New Spain, as he preferred to call it—"the wealth of the great landed proprietors had attained its maximum.

The extraordinary success of mining adventures, which had gone on flourishing with scarcely any interruption for nearly a century, had stimulated the cultivation of the soil; and from the comparatively low price of labor, immense fortunes were realized by landlords and capitalists."

On his arrival in New Spain Humboldt was favorably impressed by the contrast offered by its civilization to the very limited culture of most of the Spanish South American colonies. This contrast led him to study very particularly the causes which led to this result. Rarely has there been a man better qualified by nature and education for such a work. Profound in many of the natural sciences, and knowing more or less of all, at home in many languages and loving literature, a man of society, with German sober sense and French *esprit*, who knew how to conciliate those with whom he was brought into contact, he was in every sense qualified for his self-imposed task. No light task either, when we consider the magnitude of its results, and the paucity of previous information existing on the subject. To ascertain the exact outline of elevation of the great table-land of Mexico, he executed five great surveys: the first across the whole country from ocean to ocean—from Acapulco to Mexico, and from Mexico to Vera Cruz; the second from Mexico to Guanajuato, by Tula, Querétaro, and Salamanca; the third from Guanajuato through Pascuaro to the volcano of Jorullo; the fourth from Valladolid to Toluca and thence to Mexico; the fifth was devoted to the neighborhood of Moran and Actopan. He determined the exact heights above sea-level of 208 points, situated in the country bounded by the parallels 16° 50′ and 21° of north latitude, and lying between the meridians 98° 28′ and 162° 8′ of longitude east from Paris.

In the main, the soil, climate, and vegetation of Mexico resemble those of the temperate zones; but its productions are of no one type; it depends little

on latitude, for nature has piled all climates upon the backs and flanks of its mountains. Its worst want is that of old Spain herself, a want of water. There are parts of the Mexican interior so arid and destitute of vegetation, that their aspect recalls the plains of the two Castiles; and where saline efflorescence abounds, the steppes of central Asia. This evil has augmented since the conquest by the Europeans, who have destroyed without planting, to an alarming extent, and drained to excess great tracts of country. I have called attention to the effects of this latter evil in the valley of Mexico itself; and the effects of the former are perhaps even more disastrous. For timber grows scarcer year by year, while the demand as steadily increases, and the lands cleared of their wood seem often to become barren. The influence of forests is principally preservative, cooling and refreshing the air, and protecting the soil against the direct rays of the sun. Humboldt proves that a single tree, with foliage of a given horizontal section, exercises an influence of this kind several thousand times greater than a surface of humid or grassy soil equal in area to this section.

Happily, however, the sterility of which we have spoken is only to be found in the most elevated plains, and a great part of the kingdom appertains to the most fertile regions of the earth With proper cultivation the many climates and varying soils of Mexico could be made to supply, in greater or less extent, all the productions of all the zones. But again, in a few seaports and deep valleys, this fertility is balanced by a terrible concomitant. Beneath the burning sun of the tropics, extraordinary fertility too often indicates an atmosphere charged with deadly miasma, laden with the terrible germs of tropic fever. It was this which made the price of labor three times as high at Vera Cruz as on the central plateau.

Manufactures had made but small progress in the Spanish colonies—a thing hardly to be grieved at if many were conducted after the brutal system followed

at Querétaro; a thing in no case to be wondered at, considering the vexatious and suspicious policy of the home government toward colonial productions—a policy whose spirit embodied and stigmatized itself by orders for the rooting up of vines, lest the wine of Spain should suffer by competition; by indirect and direct discouragement in all similar cases.

This was partly the usual modern colonial policy. For ages all the mother countries of Europe had considered a colony as a sort of step-child, which, possessing few of the privileges of home province, was to be subjected to more enactments and restrictions than a conquered one It was only thought useful in so far as it supplied raw material for the metropolitan manufactures, and consumed again in turn a greater or less portion of these manufactures, when carried to its harbors by metropolitan ships. Such principles are easy of adaptation, and perhaps very slightly productive of evil to islands of small extent, or to isolated factories on the shores of a continent. It was otherwise with the Spanish colonial provinces, particularly with New Spain, where were sufficient hands to furnish labor, and a demand sufficieut to pay them. If other reasons were necessary, they would be found in the enormous expense of transporting goods inland, an expense which would, properly applied, go far to produce them on the spot, and an expense still further increased by the support of officers to guard against smuggling. Strictly speaking, there existed no royal decree declaring that manufactures should not exist; but then it is on the spirit in which laws are administered that their effects depend; and where indirect and equivocal decrees can, by their manner of execution, be made to produce the required effect, there is evidently no necessity for a waste of thunder in edicts more explicit.

As an example of the method followed by the Spanish government in dealing with private enterprise, read the following: "Il n'y u qu'un demi-siècle

que deux citoyens, animés du zèle patriotique le plus pur, le comte de Gijon et le marquis de Maenza, conçurent le projet de conduire à Quito une colonie d'ouvriers et d'artisans de l'Europe: le ministère espagnol feignant d'applaudir à leur zèle, ne crut pas devoir leur refuser la permission de monter des ateliers; mais il sut tellement entraver les démarches de ces deux hommes entreprenans, que s'etant aperçus à la fin que des ordres secrets avoient été donnés au vice-roi et à l'audience, pour faire échouer leur entreprise, ils y renoncèrent volontairement."

In New Spain the manufacture of powder was wholly a royal monopoly, as in most other countries. But here, as elsewhere, the government which creates artificial restrictions and monopolies is smitten with the plague of contraband. Humboldt, as the result of diligent research, concluded that the quantity of powder manufactured by the royal mill near Santa Fé, three leagues from the city of Mexico, was to that sold fraudulently in the proportion of one to four. The mines are the principal consumers; they are dispersed far from towns, in the wildest and most solitary situations, on the ridges and in the ravines of the cordilleras, where it is impossible to watch the smuggler. This branch of contraband cannot be met but by reducing the price of the government powder, or what is better, by throwing the trade entirely open.

The manufacture of money and plate was an important branch of Mexican industry. The smallest towns had their goldsmiths' and silversmiths' shops, and the mint of Mexico was the richest and most extensive in the world. The academy of the fine arts and the drawing-schools of Mexico and Jalapa had done much to diffuse a taste for the beautiful forms of the antique. Services of plate had been manufactured in the capital which, for elegance and finish, might be compared with the beautiful products of European taste and skill.

The mint was a building of simple architecture,

adjoining the viceroy's palace. The silver produced in all the mines of Europe would not give employment to this mint for more than 15 days. Yet the various machines in use were far from as perfect as those in the French and English mints, and the motive power was still mules, though the building was so situated that water might be easily applied.

The taxes on importation, the *alcabala* and the innumerable *derechos*, tended to clog Mexican commerce, in the legitimate sense, and promote smuggling. Humboldt, by the collection and examination of exact data, found that the yearly importation of foreign goods into Spain, contraband included, amounted to about twenty million of piastres, and that the export of its agricultural and manufacturing industry amounted to about six million piastres. Now, the mines of New Spain produced yearly 23 million of piastres; from eight to nine were exported on account of the king. Deduct, then, from the 15 million of piastres remaining fourteen million, to meet the excess of the importation over the exportation, and we find a million of piastres, balance, in favor of Mexico, thus:

	Piastres.		
Mexico pays annually for foreign goods...	20,000,000		
Mexico exports on account of the king...	8,000,000		
Expenditure of Mexico.....	———	28,000,000	
Mexico receives for her exports.....	6,000,000		
Mexico draws from her mines.....	23,000,000		
Income of Mexico.....	———	29,000,000	
Balance in favor of Mexico.....	———	———	1,000,000

The specie wealth of New Spain was then annually increasing by something less than a million piastres. In collecting the matter for the various tables on which his conclusions are based, Humboldt endeavored to inform himself on the spot in each province, as to its trade, agriculture, and manufactures; collecting and comparing all the information which might possibly be of value, from all sources—in commercial matters principally from merchants of intelligence, and the various tribunals of commerce.

As to the amount of the contraband trade, it had

been exaggerated by the greater number of authors who had treated of Spanish commerce. For example, it was affirmed in certain widely circulated works that the English alone, before 1765, gained by the contraband trade—principally profits of the Jamaica merchants—more than 20 million of piastres per annum. To show the exaggeration of this, it is only necessary to add the sum mentioned to the quantity of gold and silver registered at Cádiz, as arriving from the colonies on account of the king, or in payment of Spanish goods, to find that the total sum exceeds the actual produce of the mines.

The means of interior communication in Mexico were by no means worthy of an important kingdom. This was being in part remedied by the construction of a magnificent road between Vera Cruz and Perote; a road in which, as we have before shown, Humboldt took the liveliest interest, and which would, he considered, when completed, be a worthy rival to the roads of the Simplon and Mount Cenis, and exercise moreover an appreciable effect in lowering the price of those commodities whose carriage formed a considerable item in their price. It had been begun, under the direction of Sr García Conde, while Humboldt was staying at Jalapa, in February 1804, at its most difficult points, in the ravine called Plan del Rio, and on the Cuesta del Soldado. It was intended that columns of porphyry should be placed along the road, graven, not only with the distances, but also with the elevation of each pillar above the level of the sea.

Humboldt strongly advocated the introduction of camels as beasts of burden in Mexico. He did not think the table-land through which the great roads passed too cold for them; and he was sure they would suffer less than horses and mules from the aridity of the soil and the lack of water and pasturage to which beasts of burden are exposed north of Guanajuato, especially in that desert by which New Biscay is separated from New Mexico.

Highly impressed with the importance of an interoceanic communication, Humboldt collected all accessible information, and mapped in eight several sketches the various points at which such communication might be possible. Having discussed in detail the various obstacles and advantages to be overcome and hoped for in a junction of the two oceans, at some point of Central America, Mexico, or even north of there, he finally concluded in favor either of a passage through the isthmus of Nicaragua, or of one through that of Cupica—at the very northern extremity of South America—not because these were the shortest, but because, if the imperfect information then attainable could be depended upon, they were the least obstructed by natural obstacles for canals of large dimensions—such, in fact, as would constitute a veritable strait, by which vessels of the size usual in the Indian and Chinese trade could pass—not a mere means of inland carriage for barges and flat-boats. Humboldt pointed out the Caledonian canal in Scotland as one possessing all the qualities required for an interoceanic highway of the world's ships. He believed, however, that a joint association for such an undertaking could only be founded when the practicability of such a canal—a canal capable of receiving vessels of 300 or 400 tons burden—between latitudes 7° an 18°, had been fully proved by accurate preparatory surveys, and the ground fixed upon and recognized. Also, that whatever government might own the soil on which such a canal should be established, the benefit of such hydraulic work should belong to every nation of both worlds which would contribute, by taking shares, toward its execution.

Next in eligibility to Nicaragua and Cupica, he put the isthmus of Tehuantepec—the importance of the Goazacoalco to this end had been discussed by Cortés as early as the conquest—and Humboldt only gave to the Isthmus of Panamá a fourth place as to probable practicability.

New Spain, socially as well as physically, was the country of inequality. In no other country could such alarming contrasts in the distribution of fortunes, civilization, and population have been seen. The wealth, luxury, refinement, and elegance of the higher class had its frightful antithesis in the naked, foul, and depraved misery of the pariahs of the land. This inequality of fortune existed, not only among the whites, but was often found among the mixed and Indian castes.

Within the twenty years preceding Humboldt's visit, the Spanish-American youth of the settlements of the new continent, being brought more and more into contact with Anglo-Americans, English, and French, had sacrificed a part of their national prejudice and formed a marked predilection for those nations more energetic and more advanced in culture than the Spaniards. It was then nothing strange to him that the political movements of Europe, since 1789, should have excited the keenest attention among a people long aspiring to rights, the privation of which is at once an obstacle to the public prosperity, and a motive of resentment against the mother country. Certain viceroys and governors had proceeded to take measures, which, far from calming the agitation of the colonists, had only imbittered the nascent ill feeling. These over-zealous rulers pretended danger in all associations for the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge. Printing-presses were prohibited in towns counting forty or fifty thousand inhabitants; and to possess and read quietly the works of Montesquieu, Robertson, or Rousseau was to be suspected of revolutionary principles. Now, to to be just, this terror was not wholly without foundation; 1789 was quite sufficient to scare any Spanish viceroy; it had scared all the kings of Europe—had burst upon Europe like a storm, causing a general holding on of crowns with the one hand and clinging to thrones with the other. "That whirlwind of the universe," as Carlyle has it, wherein were "lights ob-

literated, and the torn wrecks of earth and hell hurled aloft into the empyrean, black whirlwind, which made even apes serious, and drove most of them mad," was quite equal to causing, by the terror of its infernal pyrotechnics, a fit of moral curfew-legislation, and confused piling of bushels upon lights, pitiful to see—arising out of flabbiness of liver and oscillation of knees among ministers and governors and the like in Mexico. But it was not in these futilities that the security of a Spanish government lay, but rather in the dispersion of the inhabitants over so vast an extent of country, and in the mutual hatred of the various castes. The lack of sociability, the utter want of all sympathy between these differing castes could have but one effect on an advancing national life. Wise after its generation—a generation soon to be known no more in Mexico—the government fanned these animosities so that in division there might be weakness, and that in wranglings within there might be left neither stomach nor capacity for strivings without. In this policy, and not in armies of small effect and rigorous measures of worse than none, lay the true security of Spain. As to a foreign foe, Humboldt considered New Spain almost impregnable from the physical accidents of her position. From a land attack, the nature of the soil and the intervening deserts protect her; and toward the sea the natural fortress of the tierra templada looks down upon coasts better guarded by the sword of the pestilence than by the guns of San Juan de Ulúa at Vera Cruz, or of San Diego at Acapulco.

Though the Indians were no longer legally subject to forced labor, they were in the mass in a state of miserable degradation. Driven to the worst lands, indolent, if not by original disposition, at least by that character superinduced by long political depression, and unnerved by the listless fatalism which is its invariable concomitant, perhaps consolation, they live, letting each day provide for itself. Except in intoxica-

tion, no passion, no sentiment but that of indifference, appears in their faces, whatever the dark elements that mingle in their hearts. Perhaps this has commenced in self-control; and probably, with time, became in some sort insensibility. With regard to these people, Humboldt gives it as his impression, that although they possessed in a high degree powers of exact reasoning and quickness of apprehension, they were of all races the most destitute of imagination. Yet he wisely observes: "We must be exceedingly cautious in pronouncing on what we are pleased to call the moral and intellectual tendencies of peoples from whom we are separated by differences of languages, manners, and customs .... How can a traveller, after having sojourned some time in a distant country, arrogate to himself the right to pronounce on the various faculties of soul, and of the preponderances of reason, wit, or imagination among races?"

How could he form any idea of the capabilities of the Mexican people as then existing? Crushed by generations of oppression; brutalized by unavailing toil; deprived of their ancient writings, religions, and priests; and having appropriated little in their place—they were no fair examples of that people whose civilization shines from the mighty structures, elaborate sculptures, and curious hieroglyphics that remain, or that have been—shines with a light caught at the noon of Aztec history, and that flickers yet, though the sun of its glory has long since set in blood. The Aztecs love to build their cabins on the slopes of the lonely mountains, and retire from the neighborhood of Europeans—from that social life with which a sad experience has so disgusted them. They love the solitude which gives them again the freedom of nature, and perhaps carries them back in memory, to their antique grandeur, for

> "The hills have no memory of sorrow or death,
> And their summits are sacred to liberty."

There is, let us hope, a brighter future in store for

the Indians in Mexico; and it is certain, as the records of the poll-tax prove, that, however, at an earlier date this indigenous population may have been diminished by the cruelties of the conquerors, at the time of Humboldt's visit, and for fifty years before, they had been steadily increasing.

Connected with these peoples are several great problems of origin, antiquity, and civilization, concerning which we shall attempt to present Humboldt's conclusions. And first, as intimately connected with these, we may speak of the age of the American continent. He looked with a good deal of quiet ridicule on the idea that the so-called new continent was in reality younger than the old. Was it that its exuberance of volcanic action indicated a modern structure, the engines of whose elevation were not yet cold? If so, is not southern Italy the twin of this ultimate offspring of chaos? Who asserts this? yet why should philosophers put asunder times and causes which effect has joined? He preferred to suppose that the volcanoes of America had, in the mass, preserved their fires longer than those of the other continents, because the mountains through which they acted happened to be in general close to the sea—a neighbor which, in some way yet to be explained, appears, with few exceptions, to influence the energy of these subterranean fires. Aside from this, there are reasons founded on hydrostatic laws and geological discoveries which would forbid the idea of any large part of America remaining submerged after the emergence of the old continent. Lastly, to account for the superior climate and soil of most parts of America, compared with that of Africa, for example, it is not at all necessary to suppose a later birth or upheaval from the central darkness. Its physical conformation, its outlines, mountains, and rivers, are fully sufficient to account for this.

Nor does the existence of man seem to date, in America, from any more recent epoch than in the other continents. It is not necessary to suppose that

the countries the most anciently inhabited are those which show the largest populations. There are vast tracts of northern Asia as scantily peopled as the plains of New Mexico and Paraguay. Beneath the tropics, natural obstacles—the vigor and mass of the vegetation, the breadth of rivers, and the frequency and extent of their inundations—fetter the migrations of peoples.

He believed in the unity of origin of the human race; and as nearly as might be in the unity of stock of the American aborigines, with the exception of those bordering the polar circle. Yet, it is well to understand that a European who decides on the resemblance of swarthy races is subject to a particular illusion. The uniformity of color conceals for a long time diversity of features—the eyes are less fixed on the expression, soft, melancholy, or ferocious, as it may be, than on the strange skin, and the coarse black hair, so level and glossy that it seems always moist. Besides, it is intellectual culture which individualizes faces; where this is wanting, there is rather a physiognomy of tribe than of individual—something which may be also observed in comparing domesticated animals with those which inhabit the wild places of nature.

Though he thus gives us his opinion as to the origin of these autochthones, and does actually discuss the question in various parts of his works, he considered this whole question of the first origin of the people of a continent as entirely beyond the province of history, and even of philosophy.

It is evident, from the whole tone of his reflections on the parentage of the American races, that he is in favor of an Asiatic origin, but from what particular stock he derives them it is difficult to say. On the whole, and by comparison of various passages, he seems to lean toward the opinion that the Toltecs and Aztecs were a part of those Hiongnoux, or descendants of Hiong-nu, known at different times under the name of Kalkas, Kalmuks, and Burattes—

warlike shepherds, who, under their name of Huns, have laid waste the fairest regions of civilized Europe, and changed more than once the face of eastern Asiatic politics.

He seems to favor China as the point at which this emigration left the Old World. Let us not forget that we are discussing, not the original colonizing of the American continent, inhabited as early, according to Humboldt, as the rest of the world, but that of Mexico. "It is historically demonstrated that Bonzes and other adventurers navigated the Chinese sea, to seek a remedy which should secure immortality to man. It is thus that under Tschin-chi-houang-ti, 209 years before Christ, three hundred couples of young people of both sexes, sent to Japan, established themselves at Nipon instead of returning to China. Might chance not have conducted a similar expedition to the Aleutian Islands, to Alaska, or New California? The American continent and the Asiatic only approaching at the north, and the distance separating them in the temperate zone being too considerable for such a voyage, we must suppose this disembarkation to have taken place beneath the inhospitable climate between the 55th and 65th parallels; and that this civilization penetrated little by little southwards, the usual direction of American migration, as all data would indicate, at that time." Remains of Chinese or Japanese vessels have even, it has been affirmed, been found on the American coast as early as the 14th century.

He then seems to bring his colonists south by slow stages into Mexico, and connects the monuments of the Gila with this migration.

The Mexicans made use of hieroglyphics in chronicling their migrations and other historical events; though in a manner very far from that perfection to which the Egyptians had attained. The Mexican writings were principally rough paintings of events, eked out by a few conventional signs representing the elements and relations of time and place; while the

Egyptian writings approached nearer to narratives, composed of arbitrary and simple characters, susceptible of being employed separately, and of being differently combined. It is only by a refinement of the latter method that the painting of ideas becomes easy and approximates to writing.

The rudeness of these Mexican paintings no doubt denotes the infancy of art; still, we must not forget the end they were principally intended to subserve—that of a simple record; and that the necessity of simplicity, and rapidity of execution, would lead a people, who so expressed their ideas, to attach as little importance to artistic painting as do the literati of Europe, in their manuscripts, to a fine handwriting. So we may see in all this a potent means of spoiling the taste of a nation. This constant familiarity with the most hideous and disproportionate figures, and this obligation—under pain of confusion—to preserve the same forms without change, were enough to root out all sense of delineative grace, all feeling of the beautiful in art; without which sense and feeling, painting and sculpture, be they never so diligently followed, cannot rise above the ranks of the mechanical.

As to the value of proofs of migration or origin, to be derived from languages themselves, whether written or spoken, Humboldt seems to have considerably changed, or at least modified, his ideas in his later works. His first opinion of their importance, as expressed in the introduction to his *Personal Narrative*, was extravagantly high; the most concise and perfect idea of his mature conclusions on this subject may be given by a quotation from his *Tableaux de la Nature:* "The analogies of languages are worthy of no confidence when they are limited to mere accord of the sounds in their roots. It is necessary to penetrate into the organic structure, the grammatical flexions, and all that interior mechanism where traces appear of the work of intelligence."

His only definite conclusion as to the languages of Mexico was that their great variety proved as great a variety of races and origin—a conclusion which, unless the terms race and origin are understood in some illogically restricted and comparative sense, is flatly in contradiction with the manner in which he elsewhere expresses himself.

We may here notice an interesting kind of record of migration, which Humboldt pointed out as worthy of attentive examination. He says identities of tastes among various peoples, as to the cultivation of certain plants, indicate either identity of race or a contact more or less ancient; so that vegetables, like languages or physiognomies, may become historical monuments. A few strange vegetables, a few foreign words, either in the possession of the wanderers or among those through whom they have passed, will often fix the road by which a nation has crossed a continent. Considered thus, the potato furnishes a problem. Not known in Mexico before the arrival of the Spaniards, it was yet cultivated elsewhere in America from latitude 40° south to 50° north. Did the South American tribes succeed in penetrating northward to the banks of the Rappahannock? or did the potato wander south, like the successive peoples who have appeared on the plateau of Anáhuac? In either case, how came it not to take root in Mexico? It is probable that potato cultivation gradually extended itself north from Chile by Peru and the kingdom of Quito, to the table-land of Bogotá, the course followed by the incas in their conquests. But here the cordilleras, which had preserved a great elevation all the way from Chile, fall suddenly near the sources of the river Atrato. Now, in the tropics, potatoes grow only in the cold and foggy climates secured by elevated grounds. Such were not to be found in Choco and Darien; but instead, close forests inhabited by hordes of hunters, enemies of every sort of civilization and cultivation. Here, then, is the barrier which physical and moral

causes have opposed to further progress from this side. As to the north, if Raleigh's settlers really did find potatoes there, as is asserted, we can hardly refuse to believe that this plant is independently indigenous to the northern hemisphere.

And now we have followed the distinguished naturalist from the shores of Europe to that new continent, which, if Columbus discovered, he revealed; from plains rocked by the earthquake, up to mountains where the lava shaped the path, and down again to marshy sloughs, where gymnoti writhed in the ooze, flashing at will through their slimy and spotted skins such terrible shocks as no man or beast could endure —or farther south, between the Orinoco and the Amazon, where the soil is hid by impenetrable forests, ceaselessly echoing the noise of waterfalls, the roaring of the jaguar, and the weird cries of the bearded ape, presaging rain, and sounding itself like the first mufiled sounds of a distant tempest. On the sand banks lay the crocodiles, motionless as logs, and with gaping mouths, seeming in their clumsy way to pant. On the river banks the boa watched, with its tail anchored on some branch, and its spotted skin coiled like a spiral; and the jaguar, as he couched along his favorite limb, in silent ambush, flattened himself still more at the traveller's step. There were men, too, not less savage, who could drink the blood of their enemies; or, venomous as a viper or a Borgia, kill by the scratch of a thumb-nail—"men who revealed to man the ferocity of his species." As Humboldt passed to the northern continent and Mexico, we followed him still, no longer afar off and vaguely, but step by step, and leaving no notable word or work without its faithful chronicle. For us his work is done, and if Asia sees him on her distant steppes, and the Uralian mountains, and the Siberian prison-house of the tzars, we follow him not.

Humboldt as a *savant* and a man astonishes us, not so much by his height as by his breadth. It is probable that in any simple branch of research and learning there have been greater men; but for comprehensive knowledge his equal had not at this time appeared. Not a peak piercing heaven, too awful, too barren for any sentiment save awe, but a mighty table-land, such as he loved to describe, broad as a continent and far above vulgar level; yet not so high but that golden grains and purple fruits dwelt there. Though egotistical he was humble, as all great souls are who have lifted themselves over petty men and things by stern and patient labor; for the illimitable fields of the universe widen as we climb. There is a time when young and eager minds think they are very near to the most perfect truth—think it but needs another thought, another fact, and their theory of cosmos will be complete, ineluctable, irrefragable. But every new fact trails in new thoughts, new complications, and new contradictions. Men of average mind stop here; they become frightened, seize an opinion, and stick to it as a battered limpit to a rock; or worse, become aggressively bigoted. But Humboldt was a great man, for he could always see two sides to a question; a great man who knew what he did not know.

Such knowledge seems sadly wanting, for the most part, to his biographers—a race by whom he has been ridiculously overpraised, they either not knowing or not caring to remember that in both the literary and scientific parts of his work were constantly employed the revision and aid of almost all the great men of his day. Probably no man ever enjoyed the intimate society of so many philosophers as Humboldt, and few appear to have made a better use of it. It is only by studying his enormous scientific and friendly correspondence that a just idea of his means of information can be formed.

He could not write of natural history like Buffon, nor of philosophy and physics like his German Goethe; he could not paint a ruin or an antique palace like

him who looked on Melrose by night; the setting sun, a storm among the mountains, like the creator of Manfred; a primeval forest, a Niagara, like Chateaubriand; or the glory of the firmament, the clouds of heaven, and the mountain-tops, like the peerless John Ruskin; yet he was not very far from the sublime in the massive and square simplicity of his great works. He had the purity of uninflated style, preserving always a perfect adaptability and fitness to the end he kept in view. He made no attempt to give what it pleases Ruskin to call "the far higher and deeper truth of mental vision, rather than that of the physical facts;" and consequently, his descriptions are of more use to engineers and geographers than to painters and poets. He could not soar, and he was wise enough not to court an Icarian failure. This is in itself an element of greatness not to be despised.

Of Humboldt's method of working, we will transcribe Bayard Taylor's account: "The habits of Humboldt are not remarkable, except in the limited number of hours necessary to sleep, and in temperance and regularity. His time is systematically divided. He rises at six in the winter, and five in the summer, studies two hours, drinks a cup of coffee, returns to his study, and commences the task of answering his letters, of which he receives yearly more than one hundred thousand. From twelve until two he receives visits, and returns to work at two. At four he dines, in summer with the king, in winter at home. From four until eleven he passes at the table, and generally in company with the king, but sometimes at the meetings of learned societies, or in the company of his friends. At eleven he retires to his study, and continues there until one or two, answering letters, or writing his books, or preparing them by study. His best books have all been written at midnight. He sleeps four hours." With such a brain, for so long a time so employed, there is no wonder that great things came of it.

It was Humboldt himself who said that "the course of the world refuses to admit of great exceptions to its compensatory system of pleasure and sadness," and he proved it well. Liberal in politics and religion, he was a bitter morsel, upon which bigots and reactionaries were always gnawing. Take the following extract from his friend Varnhagen's diary, date 26th of December, 1848: "Humboldt has called; he assures me that were it not for his position at court he would not be suffered to remain in the country, but would be expelled, so strong is the hatred of the ultras and bigots against him." And at this time he was in his eightieth year. In February 1854 Humboldt writes: "I live in a monotonous and sad mood—et mourant, avant le principe." His brother was dead long before, and he had no consolation but in his own heart—a heart which was never closed by envy or avarice against any worthy object, his enemies even being judges. His was a hard and lonely journey, without wife or child; even though his path was paved with honor. At the best of times, "the way to fame is like the way to heaven—through much tribulation." But since the beginning of the world—

"Be the day weary, or be the day long,
At length it ringeth to even song."

And after bearing up stoutly to his 90th year against the infirmities of age, he took to his bed for the last time in April 1859. The traveller was setting out on his last journey. On the 6th of May he died. Rarely Berlin sees such a funeral; the princes of the royal blood of Prussia stood bareheaded by his coffin with the greatest and the poorest of their people.

"He is gone—
Who never sold the truth to serve the hour,
Nor paltered with eternal God for power;
Who let the turbid streams of rumor flow
Thro' either babbling world of high and low;
Whose life was work, whose language rife
With rugged maxims hewn from life;
...he wears a truer crown
Than any wreath that man can weave him.
...Speak no more of his renown,
Lay your earthly fancies down,
And in the vast cathedral leave him,
God accept him, Christ receive him."

CHAPTER IV.

LOTOS-LAND.

> In the afternoon they came unto a land,
> In which it seemed always afternoon,
> All round the coast the languid air did swoon,
> Breathing like one that hath a weary dream.
> *The Lotos-Eaters.*

If ever one were justified in rising out of the path of exact narration, and indulging in a brief spell of the fanciful or ideal, it is in thinking of California when the white men came. A narrow strip of seaboard, the air low breathing and of tender tone, with green and grizzly mountains for a background, all opening toward the sun-waves—this is our lotos-land, where fancy may place the lotos-tree, with its leaves like the ears of elephants, and its branches drooping down from heaven. Among these branches are birds of sweetest song, whose strains are fresh from paradise, and under their shadow angels pause and rest. The seeds of this tree each encloses an houri; and from its roots spring the two rivers which flow by the invisible throne of Allah. Sitting on a lote-tree, rising from the watery mud, the Egyptians picture deity, while the great desert prophet places a lote-tree in his seventh heaven.

It is a winterless earth's end perpetually refreshed by ocean, a land surpassed neither by the island grotto of Calypso, the Elysian fields of Homer, nor the island valley of Avalon seen by King Arthur in his dying thought. Here day after day, and year after year, may come the stranger, and eat the lotos, and be happy: he may eat the lotos and forget the old home and country, forget the wife and children, content for-

ever to rest in this strange land, waking to fall asleep again, and dream day-dreams and night-dreams, as he floats silently down the sluggish stream of time. Here might be placed the Hebrew's Eden, or the beatitude of the Buddhist; here may the dark-eyed Italian enjoy his dolce far niente, and the sighing ghost of Charles Lamb find a region beyond the domain of conscience. And I doubt not, if proper search be made, that here may be found the singing-tree of the Arabian tale, the leaves whereof are mouths, each one of which discourses harmonious music.

At either end of this seaboard strip is a beautiful bay; San Diego, in the south, the starting-point in Alta California of the Franciscan friars in their tour northward, the initial point in their line of mission buildings, San Francisco being the northern terminus.

What shall I say of this land, and not lay myself open to the charge of hyperbole, grosser than any ever indulged in by the ancients? If they wrote much about their Arabys and Arcadias—the world learning their stories by heart and repeating them over and over to this day—may not I write a little about a better country? But indeed, there is no need here for exaggeration, even if I desired to indulge in it; plain, homely prose best fits this and all honest occasions.

Grant that Andalusia is the garden of Spain, Amboise of France, Italy of Europe, and Sicily of Italy, and we may justly claim for our lotos-land a place before them all as the garden of the world. Grant to be not wholly fanciful the great story of the Greek Ulysses; we can match it in tangible truth from the lips of the English Anson and Cook, when among the soft South Sea isles, and from the profane mouths of scores of ship-masters sailing along the California main, who tell how they often were forced to drag back their seamen to the vessel, provided they were fortunate enough to catch them, so loath were they to abandon the fascinations of the shore.

I do not say that there are here no off days, no treacherous rocks, or slimy reptiles, or poisonous plants; I do not say that winds never blow and storms never beat; that there are no withering northern blasts, or sand-whirlings in the desert, or snow on the mountain-tops; or that sometimes when night sets in the eastern ridges do not subside and cover their heads beneath the fog-blankets of the valleys—but these are the exceptions, and there are scarcely enough such days to break the dead monotony of the warm, misty mornings that overspread the happy hills and echoing cañons, forever wooed by the enchanting smile of ocean. Here along we may be sure are no waters of adversity beneath which the sea-flower blooms not.

But I have seen the Mediterranean angry, spitefully so; one would infer from the high recorded experiences of the veracious old Ulysses, in his little paddlings thereabout, that he had been five times round the world, to have seen so many things which never existed. When we have catalogued the ills of all other Edens, the fever-breeding sun, the foul, floating miasma, and other pestilential airs of Amboise and Andalusia, of Egypt and Italy, and have spread them all out before our California lotos-land, we shall then see the poverty of this place in death-dealing agencies. To grass and flowers, indeed, death comes not in the cold and melancholy robe of autumn; but sublimated by the summer's sun, undecaying they die, leaving their part substantial for the hungry brute, like the departing soul which leaves the substance of its life in generous deeds. And we are even told of saints departed, whose bodies were preserved by the gods from decay, even as Hector's body was kept fresh and roseate by the devotion of Venus and Apollo.

Fling yourself in early morning, the sky red-flushing with the rosy dawn, upon a point of land—Point Loma, if you will—and looking seaward and shoreward along the white, curving line of sand, until in

the far perspective shore, sea, and sky meet; presently you may see Aurora stealing over the eastern mountains, and peeping in upon her favorite fairy-land, nestling warm and glowing under a coverlet of gray mists, while with roseate lips she kisses night away.

Salute this land, blessed above all lands! Salute the unstained altars and sky-roofed temples of her gods! It is not the Arcadia of tradition, sung by poets, and etherealized by romance writers as a golden refuge-land, free from the harsh prosaic life of other lands; it is the Arcadia of reality, with the three fates plying their lively trade—Lachesis who spins the thread of life, Clotho who holds the distaff, and Atropos who clips, clips, clips, every time-tick ending an earthly existence and opening an eternity; yet with sweet vales flowered by fairy fingers, and watered by smoky streams and dew dropped by departed night, and opening through the mountains vistas far inland of a country where day is but night warmed and lighted by the unseeing sun, and night but shadowy day; where spring and winter, life and decay, fetch and carry fair forms and sweet odors, their coming and going being not birth and death, but only change, and man most of all most unintelligibly changeable, perchance with daughters who even now, like butterflies, lie dreaming in their ante-natal home.

Almost all the days are halcyon, wherein upon the surface of the sea the kingfisher may lay its eggs to incubate. So gently slide the seasons from summer to autumn, and from winter to spring, that summer seems but winter smiling, and winter but the summer born anew by the refreshing rain. So gently fades the summer, like stars before the rising moon; so sweetly falls the winter rain robing all nature in gay livery! Stingless winter with its freshening rains spins the green and flowery coverlid which spring spreads over the hills and plains.

Spring breathing bliss comes, and holding winter in her warm embrace until his surly mood is melted,

spreads the hills with brilliant tapestry, paves the valleys with tender green, and freights the gentle winds with the melody of birds and the fragrance of flowers. Over the white shining peaks float the white shining clouds, with a purity and splendor equalled only by the glories of Bunyan's celestial city Gentle showers succeed the heavier rains of winter, and after the spring showers are the invisible morning dew-clouds, which, after dropping their celestial moisture, hie at the bidding of the sun to realms impalpable. Then from the refreshed earth spring life-sustaining fruits, low panting to perform their mission of martyrdom.

Spring skips over the hills scattering daisies, touching with a livelier hue the palpitating vales, distilling into the blades of grass a darker green, deepening the crimson on the robin's breast, while the lapwing crests himself anew; then summer comes to every valley and garden, curing the grass, and reddening and yellowing the luscious fruit, filling the air with rich aroma.

Soft, warm, billowy sea bordered by a soft, warm, billowy shore; billowy green shore bordering a billowy blue sea, and canopied by a deep blue sky; the mornings always young, the nights soothing, gentle dews descending wooing fragrance from the fragrance-breathing flowers, the valleys carpeted with green, the plains clothed in balm and beauty; while always toward the east the hills rise and roll off in voluptuous swells, like the heaving breast of a love-lorn maid. On pinnacles of the aged mountain range stands flushed by western light the aged snow. Over blossoming lawns rush the wild, bellowing herds, treading out honey and perfume, while the bashful hare, innocently bold, leaps through the tall grass. In the air are swallows, birds of luck and consolation, sacred to the penates.

Like the happy valley of Rasselas, it is comparatively inaccessible except from one side; yet softly on this slanting shore falls the slanting light, gilding the slanting shore.

The soil is light and dry, and like Attica, it is a

land of olives, vines, and honey, of sheep and cattle, rather than of corn or cereal cultivation. Low-bending branches, freighted with fruit fair as any that ever tempted Eve, yet all unforbidden seek the hand, begging earth and man to relieve them of their fragrant burden. Sun-painted grapes glowing in rich purple, green, and black clusters, fragrant with the unawakened, care-dispelling juice, coquet wantonly with wind and leaves.

Here and there the earth has clothed herself above the dark and sappy green in a coat of many colors—eschscholtzias, yellow as gold; lupins, blue as the robe of the ephod, or purple as Cæsar's toga; ancient columbines, twining convolvuli, and lilies white and shining as snow. There is laurel for the Parthian victor's wreath, wild olive for the Olympian, green parsley for the Nemean, and green pine-leaves for the Isthmian. Gray groves of olive, dark green orange-trees gilded with golden fruit—the olive, symbol of peace, emblem of chastity, sacred to Pallas Athene. For when the gods decreed that whoever should produce a gift most useful to man should have possession of the land, and Poseidon, with his trident striking the ground made to appear the horse, Athene meanwhile planting the olive, did not the gods decide that the olive was more useful to man than the horse, and so gave the city to the goddess, from whom it was called Athenæ?

Back of the Coast Range our lotos-land reaches not; but agencies are there at work, and none the less influential because unseen. There is the proud Sierra, standing like a crystalled billow rolled in from the ocean, scarred and knotted by avalanche, riven by earthquakes, rent asunder by frost and fire, filed down by rasping glaciers, cut by winds into geometric irregularity, rounded by rain into symmetry and rhythm, and topped by silvered cones and turreted peaks. Standing there, arrayed in purple robes of majesty, with an immaculate glacial crown, like Atlas

keeping asunder heaven and earth, and holding up the sky, our monarch Sierra assumes the dictatorship of all this region—Father of all, Dominator, Preserver!

The pliocene tertiary period probably saw the waves of the great ocean forced to recede from the base of the Sierra, and the valley of California lifted from beneath the primeval waters by the same Titanic power that upheaved the adjacent acclivities. Checking with adamantine walls the pretentious ocean, the great range ever after presides over our western seaboard and its destiny, directing air currents and water currents, regulating temperature and creating climates. With its own garment of earth it clothes the plain, and overspreads its slimy surface with rich alluvium, heedless of itself. The ambitious winds it checks, compels the clouds to give up their humid freightage, and drop their moisture in fructifying rain and snow upon its western slope, while the cold, dry, wrung-out air is permitted to escape eastward to the unhappy consolation of the desert. Rearing its head above the limits of life, watching the stars by night and flashing back in proud defiance the sun's rays by day, it lays its immutable laws on all flesh and grass. Turning its back upon the east and all old-time traditions, it guards our little newly made world as did Olympian Jove his Greece; folding in his quickening embrace our happy valleys.

The minor ranges, like subordinate divinities, join also in controlling nature, oft in selfish quarrelling mood; one extending a shielding moisture-gathering barrier, another excluding too long the refreshing breeze, and exposing the basin-like valleys to the fierce solar rays, or admitting the withering northers. These western later-born formations of metamorphic cretaceous rock are embraced by the Coast Range with its numerous spurs and peaks, of which only three rise above 5,000 feet. On one side they present mostly an abrupt and forbidding front, while the other side

melts away in soft verdant or tawny hills. Although less majestic, they form in their extent and location the main orographic feature, and help to frame the many fertile valleys of the country, with their waving wild grass and native groves and vines. The leading chain, interlocking with the dominant Sierra at Mount Shasta in the north and Mount Pinos in the south, forms that huge basin, the great valley of California, famed for its golden wealth, first in yellow metal, subsequently in yellow grain.

Trickling from the side of the Sierra, fed by the melting snow, now hoarsely tumbling over rocky obstructions, now creeping sullenly through gloomy cañons, settling in silent crystal pools, and shooting swiftly on in broad, shallow rapids, the Sacramento and San Joaquin wend their tortuous way down to the quiet plains. Under the influence of the warm sun upon the snow above, and the coolness of the night, their clear, cold waters rise and fall each day with the regularity of the tide. From the wooded valleys lying between the parallel ridges, springs shoot up and send their rivulets to swell the larger streams. A series of singularly regular table hills, rising into mountains farther up, where they assume the form of battlements, with all the angles of regular fortifications and bastioned wings and front, mark the course of these headwaters for many miles. The table mountains, for from fifty to two hundred feet from their flat tops, present a blank, cheerless surface, with perpendicular sides, then slope off in uneven descent, with here and there small indentations containing a few stunted trees and meagre vegetation.

There are no outlets offered, aside from mountain passes, save the portal pierced by the mighty streams through the Carquinez Straits and the Golden Gate. That rush of waters drained the inland sea once left by receding ocean, and still drains its relic in the bay of San Francisco, ever widening the channels which are still too narrow or shallow for the swelling spring

flow. It is in truth two valleys merged in one, with two great rivers that join in sisterly embrace near the outlet, forming one continuous line. Each presents a beautiful leaf-like ramification of tributaries, one hundred and twenty miles long on an average, flowing from the east as the higher slope, owing to the greater upheaval of the Sierra and its heavier wash. This system embraces the main flow of the country; a few minor streams fall into the same bay, the rest into the ocean in great number, but small in importance. For instance, the only navigable stream —and that only near its mouth—south of the bay of San Francisco is the Salinas; all south of that are by autumn lost in the sands before reaching the sea.

The five eastern tributaries of the basin partake of the romantic interest centring in the country, passing as they do through so wide a range of altitude, scenery, and wealth. From the sharply profiled sky-line of the great Sierra, where the snow-clouds sweep from peak to peak through the cold dry ether, and falling, hang in glistening festoons from pinnacle and dome, the brook leaps down in boisterous play, entering open vales all afoam from their mad race, pausing in lacustrine hollows, rippling over shallows, eddying around rocks, and splashing against bowlders. Descending farther, the gnarled and storm-whipped coniferæ which hover about the limits of plant-life are soon left, the thinly scattered pines gather in aroma-shedding clusters, the white rocky summits are shut out by the deepening foliage of stately groves, and at length a belt of black, compact forest is entered, vast in extent and wildly sublime, bounded by earth-fractures, fantastic with buttress, towers, and bastions. Closely fitting the mountains like a vesture, rising and falling with their heaving sides, and wrapping their limbs in its warm velvety folds, a robe of emerald succeeds a crown of hoary white. A belt of billowy forest intervenes between this and the prairie-plain below. Ranged in long vistas of sweeping colonnade, or gath-

ered in dense groups, standing aside from brambled crags and tufted bluffs to let in the glowing sunshine, are myriads of barbed arrow-shafts and fluted green spires piercing the sky, sable points of pine flanking the Sierra, and drooping plumes of swarthy cypress and closely interwoven firs and cedars casting cold shadows on the earth, and roofing it in infinite verdure.

Then the ocean-seeking stream emerges upon a hilly bench sloping roughly toward the plain, and covered with red metalliferous earth, blushingly conscious of its embosomed treasures. Here along this western base of the Sierra, from Siskiyou to San Diego, stretches the famous gold belt of California, with its thousands of dead streams, soon to be flooded by currents of human toilers inflowing from every corner of a tributary world. A general dryness characterizes this region, as if nature, exhausted in her mightier efforts above, paused before entering upon the more delicate tracery of the valley. Rising duskily from the plain, and fringing the background wall of dark green firs with golden-berried manzanita and polished madroño, with antlered maple and dogwood, the Sierra foothills present their own peculiar aspect. Their rusty vegetation and dull gray undergrowth, their groves of dwarfed pine trimmed with large broad-spreading oak, accord well with the scorched soil and lurid, coppery tone. Even air and sky seem significant of the metallurgical processes which have here been going on since time began.

Much of the barrenness is due to the age of frost, which in the building of the Sierra succeeded the age of fire. Slowly creeping down the mountain, its monster glaciers forced their way through earth and solid rock, and ribbed the western slope from top to bottom, at intervals of twenty or thirty miles, with eroded cañons and serpentine chasms. Lesser furrows were ploughed between, and thus the Sierra's base was sculptured into a maze of foothills. Then there was the widening process by the rains of winter and

the melted snow of summer, which came in rushing brooks and vaulting torrents, freighted with earth and rock and gold, heaping up the old moraine, and making ready for the grand carnival.

A little farther and the streams enter the level plain, gliding dreamily past old and festooned oaks along the grassy banks, finally to merge and enter all together into the great receptacle. The course of the two main rivers differs more than that of the tributaries. The San Joaquin, rising in a vast expanse of morass centring round Tulare Lake, flows through marshy soil, somewhat turbid, yet still free from the yellow tinge that after 1848 testified to the disembowelling along the eastern base. The Sacramento runs for a long distance in the midst of striking mountain scenery ere it enters the broad plain to expand between the fenny banks.

The space enclosed by the two ranges is characterized by grand beauty of topography, of uneven harmony, and uniform irregularities of surface. For hundreds of miles the great central plain, fertile as the valley of the Nile, extends flat as a prairie and almost without a break, swaying from side to side, narrowing between the low red hills and bolder headlands thrown out from either range; then widening so as to embrace the ever-moving landscapes, the rusty ridges and fluviatile ravines, and clusters of piquant, saucy hills and circular glens. Mark its meandering watercourses winding round the green-enamelled glacis, and creeping with gentle murmurs through the tules, or round solitary buttes, with crests wreathed in soft silvery cloud-mantles, which rise abruptly from a plain carpeted with long, wavy grass! It sweeps round the arena, rising here and there in long undulations, and throwing itself in angry waves upon the base of the Sierra, and finally breaks into a chain of open plains whose links are formed by forest-clad promontories, which sometimes extend half-way across the valley, and cut it into transverse sections of successive ridges and in-

tervening glades, their sides fretted with rivulets and flashing cascades winding in successive leaps and rests down to a base garnished with blazing yellow and purple flowers, and expanding into smiling vales, like isle-dotted estuaries of the ocean. The Coast Range with its series of ranges is full of these long valleys, running parallel with the coast, some exposed to the winds and fogs of the ocean, others so sheltered as to enjoy an almost tropical climate. All of them may be classed among the loveliest spots of earth. our lotos-land still remaining apart, unapproachable.

Round the whole circumference of the valley of California, clustered like a great diamond set in a circle of diamonds, this system of minor valleys extends, intricate and confusing at the northern end, but more simple toward the south. Most of the smaller ones are oblong in shape, and have a level surface. Far up the sides of the Sierra, even, hundreds of them are found, well-watered, fertile, and exceedingly beautiful. The soil in the great valley consists chiefly of rich, deep loam, covered in places by beds of drift. At the northern end, where the plain rises and blends with the foothills, the surface is red and gravelly; but southward, and throughout almost the entire area of the great and small valleys, for purposes of agriculture the soil exceeds in richness the most favored districts of France, Italy, or the Rhine.

Much is idyllic, park-like land, with natural meadows arabesque with tawny wild-oat fields, patches of blossoming pea, and golden mustard beds sown and husbanded by nature, and interspersed with indigenous vineyards, fruit thickets, and fairy flower-gardens laid out in exquisite pattern, stars and crosses and chaplets of yellow, purple, white, and red; all variegated with scraggy, scattering oaks, clustering groves, and clumps of undergrowth, freckled by the shadows of floating clouds, and lighted by trembling lakes and lakelets, shining tule lagoons, and rivers which now race through the cañons like frightened herds, then

with muffled feet roam the low-lying Lombardy plains; canopies of glistening foliage flushed with misty sunshine, with branches densely matted into a smooth, continuous belt of russet gold and green. Warm, sensuous life is filling lowland, lawn, and meadow, and fringing the foothills which here and there crop out in little zones of timbered land, crowned by beech and birch, ash, myrtle, and laurel, or garlanding with tulips and wild onion, flax and prickly chaparral, the smooth-browed hills that rise from these seas of verdure.

The foggy district, or seaward side of the northern section of the Coast Range, is clad in majestic forests of redwood, which overspread its sides like the shadow of the Eternal; while the southern section, and inner ridges and valleys of the range, are smooth and bare, and dotted at intervals with orchard-like oak gatherings, groves of stately arbutus, azalea, and royal laurel, and red hills covered with maple, hazel, berry-bearing bushes, red-stalked, glistening manzanita, subdued pines of balsamic odor, and tangled solitudes of annual and perennial plants and sweet-smelling shrubs, mustard plains, heather wastes, and meadows, all drinking in the morning vapors. Trailing through the valleys are long lines of sycamore, garnished with mistletoe, and on every side lakelets of blue lupine, golden buttercups, fleurs-de-lis, white lilies, and dainty hare-bells, tessallated beds of purple larkspur and thistle-blossoms, white and variegated convallaria and wild honeysuckles woven in fairy network, cryptogamous and delicate ferns, and over all presiding venerable oaks, bearded with long flowing moss of silver-gray. The madroño, with its smooth bronze trunk and curling bark, its blood-red branches and varnished, waxen leaves, fit garniture for a murderer's grave, is at Monterey a stately tree, but northward dwindles to a shrub. Here, also, nature spreads her green carpet in autumn and takes it up in summer.

The animal kingdom is no less profuse. Pelican

and sea-gull fish together in the bays; seals and sea-lions bask and bark upon the islands of the shore; myriads of noisy wild fowl fill the lakes and tule-marshes; the streams and ocean swarm with salmon-trout and cod and herring; lions, panthers, and the great grizzly bear roam the forests, preying upon elk and deer; hares and rabbits fill the underbrush; coyotes howl upon the hillside at night, and by day sneak around the edges of watercourses; the plains are perforated by ground-squirrels; and larks, robins, and tufted quail make the luxuriant wild oats their covert.

Here birds and beasts may rest content and never migrate, their little journeys between valley and mountain being scarcely more than an afternoon's ramble. Piping on the tangled hillside is heard the soft note of the curlew, likewise the rustling of the pheasant, the chirrup of the blackbird, the whistling of the partridge, and the sweet songs of the robin and meadow-lark. Even the prudent bee, careless for the future, sometimes leaves neglected the honey-bearing flowers and fails to lay in a winter's store. To elk and antelope, deer and bear, hill and plain, scorched by summer sun or freshened by winter rains, are one; bounteous nature brings forth the tender verdure, cures the grass, and provides the acorns. Here is no frozen winter, and before the white man came to stir the ground, no damp, malarious summer; cool, invigorating nights succeed the warmest days. Ice and snow, banished hence, sit cold and stolid on distant peaks, staring back into the face of the sun his impotent rays, and throwing its eternal glare over the perspiring earth and back to mother ocean.

In the survey of grand scenery, distance always lends enchantment; in California, distance covers the naked earth, fills up spaces which intervene between clumps of foliage, mats the thin grass into lawns inviting to repose, tones down rugged deformities, bridges appalling chasms, blends colors, veils the hills in purple

gauze, and casts a halo over the remoter mountains; until the landscape, cold and forbidding perhaps under closer scrutiny, fades away in warm, dreamy perspective. Nowhere on earth do landscapes display so great a variety of tints and shades. Italy may boast the blue haze, but only Californian skies disclose the golden.

Besides these qualities of land and sky and water, ever varying and inspiring, ever revealing fresh resources and new blessings, there are natural wonders, the show-grounds of our lotos-land, unsurpassed for their beauty, grandeur, and marvel. Instance the Yosemite chasm, with its series of stupendous domes and peaks, of perpendicular walls nearly a mile in height, of rushing cascades fed by glaciers, and its succession of waterfalls matchless in height and striking features. Within the radius of less than half a dozen miles is here presented a combination of magnificence which lures travellers from every corner of the globe, and leaves them impressed with ineffaceable awe and admiration. And this plateau-rent has its counterpart, or nearly so, in the Hetch-hetchy. Along the approaches to both are numerous groves of mammoth trees that rise from pedestals of more than thirty feet in diameter, into majestic proportions and height, or lie in petrified masses. There are natural arches and bridges, three hundred feet in span, formed by burrowing rivers, and caves with stalactite and tortuous chambers; and there are bubbling lakes and springs of miraculous virtue, among them the world-famed geysers, fuming and spurting their steam and heated water, hissing and roaring under the volcanic forces that impel them; weird in aspect, and Plutonic in their many local appellations.

Everything is great and glorious, compact and peculiar, in this favored country; in soil and climate, resources and enjoyments, it more than verifies the glowing scenes ascribed to an ever-retreating Hesperides, even to the doubling of the golden apples, in

glittering metal, and in fruit of orange groves and orchards. Here, at the world's end, nature has in truth made the last and supreme effort toward a masterpiece.

Thus dreamily the Pacific had slept the sleep of the ages, its waters unploughed save by whale and porpoise, its sunny islands breaking into ripples the sea's lazy swells, or frowning back the laboring tempest. Thus ages have rolled along, centuries have come and gone, while no stranger approached the gilded shore. And now, silent as a snow-bound cañon of the Sierra, lonely as night on a moon-lit lake, beautiful as unfolding womanhood upon whose face the rude gaze of man hath never brought a blush, sits California, on the shore of a great sailless sea, the world's divinest poem, all unsung save by the waters that murmur their presence at her feet, save by the mountain birds and wild fowl, the land beasts and water beasts, that raise their voices to scare away the stillness; all hidden and unknown her blushing beauties and her treasures, save to the native men and women, who, clothed in the innocence of Eden, creep through the chaparral, or lie listless on the bank beside their rustic ranchería.

> "Let us swear an oath, and keep it with an equal mind,
> In the hollow Lotos-land to live, and lie reclined
> On the hills like gods together, careless of mankind."

CHAPTER V.

OPPOSING FORCES.

> The visage of the hangman frights not me!
> The sight of whips, racks, gibbets, axes, fires,
> Are scaffoldings on which my soul climbs up
> To an eternal habitation.
>
> *Massinger.*

While the happy wild man lay outstretched upon the softly rounded promontory, lay and sunned himself, lulled by the low, murmuring tones of ocean, dreaming half awake of the fishing presently to be done, of the early morrow's hunt, the periodic raid upon his neighbor, too long postponed; his faithful wives meanwhile catching grasshoppers, and curing savory reptiles for the future food-supply—while these and other necessary measures in the aboriginal economy were being carried out, there came to these Arcadian shores men from afar, from beyond the great waters, men of fairer skins, and subtler brains, and more determined purpose than the isolated Indian could hope to have—they came to tell the happy wild man that it was all a mistake: a mistake first that he had not been created differently, and secondly, that he had been made at all. In any event, he was in the wrong place, and in fact was altogether wrong himself.

He had his gods, other men had theirs; other men were stronger than he, and their gods were stronger than his gods. If he would abandon the gods of his fathers, and disclaim all ownership to the land of his fathers, then the incoming and more righteous men

and gods would permit them to live, and walk upon the ground, and breathe the air, and feel the sunshine, otherwise they should be killed, they and their wives and their little ones; for it is thus that the stronger men and gods decree, even as these wild men bear themselves toward one another. The difference between them was only on the surface. All men at heart are still brutes.

This was the lesson these gentle savages were now to be taught; they had never known it else. Hitherto, on their hills and in their cañons, these lords aboriginal had themselves dwelt like Olympian deities, content with their nectar and ambrosia, and careless of the joys or woes of the busy world without, careless of the moanings of mankind, careless of the weariness and heaviness of heart of others, of wars and revolutions, of biting want and pestilence, of seas tumultuous and deserts scorching, of Christian butcheries, of political snarlings, of joy-dispelling books, of inquisitions, of murky, reptile-breeding prisons, of penitential castigations, of hunger, cold, and heat, of wars on evil, the moanings of progress, and the creaking wheels of civilization.

All that was bright and sunny, all that savored of out-of-doors, belonged to them. They were cheerful and thoughtless and trifling, but they were not morose, or melancholy, or sad. They were human and child-like as Homeric heroes in their petulance and tears. Enough they had both of gods gloomy and gods sunny; but though the evil spirits cried aloud, there was always at hand a certain escape. Sure I am the gods of their warm, billowy shore were sunny deities, however black the priests may have painted them.

Hitherto the savage had supposed himself—if indeed he thought at all—one with his environment; of hills and vales, of ocean and sky, of trees and fruits and game, a part. He had his theory of how all these came about, how the world was made—though not imagining that it extended far beyond the mountains

yonder—how man was created, and whither he goes when he leaves this world. His conceptions were cruder than those of the Europeans; nevertheless, he had the same right to them that the Europeans had to theirs, and who shall say where none know which was right or wrong?

Whosoever his creator, and for whatsoever purpose made, the California savage was fulfilling the design of that being concerning him. He was not, as the incoming strangers would say, an interloper in this world, and occupying ground which should be put to better use; the same agency or being that made this charming lotos-land placed in it these dark-skinned children of nature, perhaps to develop into something fairer and better, perhaps to be slain by men from other lands, or civilized and christianized out of this world into happier realms.

However this may have been, it was while nature was warm and fragrant, and humanity here was free, uncursed by conventionalisms, that these men came—holy men, they called themselves, men of God, priests, padres, friars, monks, at all events, missionaries, in long gray gowns, with shaven head, slightly bent in attitude of circumspection, with book and beads whereby to hold communion with the great Jehovah who lives beyond the sky, on the other side of chaos, in the realm of the illimitable. There were also others, not holy, but bearing firelocks and swords and spears, to kill men with; one clan being by profession soul-savers, the other destroyers of men's bodies.

"Why come they hither?" the wondering wild man asks. "What do they desire?" "What would they have us do?" "Why did they leave their homes if they are honest folk and have honest homes?"

"Peace, savage! What should you know of the great doctrines of salvation, the nature and attributes of the trinity, of mediation, transubstantiation, immaculate conception, and the rest? What should you know of missionary labor—you whose mission it is to

eat and sleep, hunt a little, fight a little, but in all things taking God at his word, not trying to interfere with his plans, or improve his handiwork?

Like you, these men have their traditions regarding the origin and end of things, tales told when the world was young, and intellect clouded, and men were very, very ignorant—as ignorant as you, poor shockhead! Yet it is from these poor and ignorant men who lived many thousand years ago, and who knew much less than men know now, but who believed all the more knowing so little, and whose imaginative and inventive faculties were quite good for filling gaps—it is from such as these that we are supposed to receive all our knowledge of the creator of the universe, his character and attributes, his ways and works, and of heaven, his dwelling-place, and of hell, where lives his great enemy Satan, whom the omnipotent cannot wholly overcome, though he be called omnipotent, still being unable fully to cope with this adversary.

These who are now wending their way hither, round through the cañons and over the rolling hills, sleeping under the madroño, or in the clustered manzanita, eating their frugal meal by the clear running water, and praying into the inhabited heavens—these sainted strangers are coming hither to do you good, to tell you what the ignorant and superstitious of ages past said of the supernatural, and to ask you to believe it. They bring their formulas and ceremonials, and tell you thus and so; if you accept their statements—which I grant is somewhat difficult for a reasonable savage to do—well; then you shall be permitted to wait upon them, and work for them, build houses, tend cattle, and till lands for them; you shall pray like them, and bless and curse as do they; and when you all die, you shall follow them to the happy heaven they tell about, and wait upon them there. If you refuse their proffered benefits, which they have come so far and suffered such tribulation to bestow, then these with the firelocks and steel will shoot you dead, and

cut you in pieces, you and your wives and little ones; for so their masters bid them do.

They have come to tell you that you are very wicked, while they are very good; to tell you that the maker of this universe is their particular friend, that they know him well, and all about him—his impulses, thoughts, desires, and purposes; and that they are specially commissioned by this almighty one to come to this lotos-land and tell the people here that they are all bad, altogether bad, vile, miserable sinners, fit only to be cut in pieces, unless they will say that they believe what is now being told them, in which case they shall some day go to heaven, there to sit and sing the praises of their masters throughout all eternity, while watching with holy satisfaction the writhings of the tortured who never had so said.

It was quite a mistake on the part of the creator to have made you at all, redskin brother, and unless we can improve his handiwork we shall murder you. We do not know how a perfect being can produce imperfect work, but we know that it is so—and besides, we want this land, and we must have it; so speak quickly, for we must know whether we are to kill you, or only cultivate you to death." Thus came the serpent civilization into this Eden, and the inhabitants thereof from that moment were doomed.

Again the wild man asks, "What benefit should flow from this serene and heavenly life?" And the answer is, "Besides religion, your beasts and reptiles and birds of prey will be exterminated, the wilderness will be turned into a garden, famines will cease, pestilence will be controlled, physical forces now antagonistic to your well-being will be subjugated, and you will be less dependent on fitful nature.

"You do not want them, you say, or their religion. You are better off as you are, as the real and true creator made you and placed you, and you do not believe that their traditions, or knowledge of the unknowable, are better than yours, or that they know

more than you of what they have never seen, of what no one has ever seen—for surely they could not ask you, you say, ignorant and superstitious though you are, to accept as true what other ignorant and superstitious men said they saw ages and ages ago. And if the strong white man has the right to take the lands of the weak red man because he does not make the best use of them, may not any one who is able take the possessions of another on the same ground? And why do they wish to persuade or force you to accept their faith; and what would they say were you to cross the ocean and endeavor to thrust your religion down their throats?"

Ah! gentle savage, these are pertinent questions. There are several reasons why they wish you to accept their faith. The principles upon which proselyting stand are benevolence, superstition, and selfishness. Probably the last named should be placed first. These men firmly believe that by making converts to their faith, as they call it, they will be most liberally paid for it after their death. They have many maxims to this effect. They will shine as stars; they will have a high seat in heaven; they will in many ways be specially favored by their heavenly father, all the while having the satisfaction, as I have said, of seeing those who would not listen to them broiling in regions below.

Again, if you accept their religion you accept them, and their earthly master, the king of Spain; you must give up your liberties and your lands, and work for them, thereby making them rich and comfortable even in this life, so that they secure a foretaste of heaven here. Piety with property is great gain, my good savage.

Then, too, strange as it may seem, believing what they tell you is true, it is natural, not only for religionists but for scientists and all who have any enthusiasm in what they think and do, to endeavor to win over to their way of thinking as many as possible. This proselyting spirit is all well enough within proper

limits; it is well enough so long as sound reasoning only is employed, and not steel and gunpowder. Coercion in this direction is the greatest of crimes. In propagating creeds, or in moral conquest, conversion, or proselyting, men are secured more easily being led than driven. Argument has little to do with conversion in savage minds, but example much, and food and trinkets more. Let a superior race practise pompously any tenets, I care not what they are, among savage peoples, and the doctrines so promulgated will prove catching. See how radically in political matters a leading mind can change opinion throughout the entire community. So a strong-minded missionary will convert his thousands and make them do his bidding by sheer force of will.

These missionaries are men of sublime heroism, of unbounded faith, of limitless credulity. In their devotion to their faith they are as firm as Abdiel, upon whom Satan's eloquence urging heaven to revolt fell powerless. They have been told that it is the thing to do to convert the heathen, to make them stand still while they mumble dogmas and scatter water over them. Therefore they do not fear. Man can do them no harm, for if killed they enter heaven at once. And in truth, some of them seemed as hard to kill as Saint Cecilia, who, kept of Christ, felt it no woe to be shut in a hot bath, and whose fair neck the executioner could by no chance smite in two.

Muscular strength was the Greek ideal of manly character; strength through weakness, that of the Christian. Anæsthetic fanaticism does much for those called to suffer martyrdom. The dull, unintellectual nature of the extreme bigot renders him in some measure insensible to suffering.

Regarding the matter after the manner of men, the aboriginal inhabitants of our lotos-land have existed long enough. They have accomplished their destiny and are ready to die. Their work is done. That for which they are here is upon the original basis con-

cluded; there is nothing further for them to do, and they can accomplish nothing on a new basis—for they cannot shift their position.

The early conquerors believed themselves divinely inspired to discover lands and christianize the people; we of to-day see in it all the natural product of historical antecedents. The power of the almighty tempered their steel. "Ah! thou my good sword, hail, bright Toledo, soul-saver, slave-maker, land-giver, gold-finder, I worship thee! Of all things, what can give me so much as thou? Sensuality and salvation, wealth and worship, lust, avarice, and immortal glory. God and Satan recompense me for doing devilish deeds in Christ's name. Cut and slash, thou sweet blood-letter, thou holy hewer of quivering flesh! I bow to thee!"

In the solitude and gloomy shade of their wilderness, although alone, no one knowing their whereabouts, the missionaries felt, at all events, that the eyes of God were upon them—the eyes of the omnipotent Jehovah, of the Lord Christ, and of the holy virgin, stealing through soul and sense like the gaze of a tender mother, which penetrates with such strong magnetic influence the breast of her not wholly unconscious sleeping child. Their faith, like Mambrino's helmet, rendered them invulnerable to evil. They could pray for a safe and prosperous journey to whatever spot God pleased, for thither were they bound, and then strike out boldly and confidently into the unknown, trackless wild. To them the loss of a life was insignificant compared to the loss of a soul. Teaching, as they did, with the doctrines of their faith the arts of civilization, these missionaries were in the strictest economical sense productive laborers. In their mission were united all the utilities, material, moral, and ideal. And every opportunity is given heaven to bless them; they always leave a handle for providence to take hold of, as the Mussulman leaves upon his shaven crown a lock for the angel's hand to grasp while being borne aloft to paradise.

Happy combination! Soldiers for Christ and soldiers for the king. Christ for men, and men for souls, the devil helping, taking his chance of securing even some of the elect We can understand how the king of Spain might employ soldiers; but that the Lord Christ should want such scrubby things as these going up and down the earth killing savages for him is past the comprehension of all wisdom. A little learning made priest and secretary pretentious, puffed up with proud superiority. And in their own eyes the Mexican soldiers were ever cool, gallant, patriotic, and of inflexible courage. Their hearts swelled with high devotion to a cause.

In the new-comers were united the attributes of settler and saint. Like Ulysses, they were men of pious wiles, these missionary fathers; they were wise as serpents, though not always as harmless as doves. They knew how to captivate and capture the wild men. First they entered into intimate relationships with them, material and mental, placing themselves in their stead, seeing with their eyes, thinking their thoughts, and weighing and measuring their every idea and idiosyncrasy.

At the outset their material condition must be improved. A savage can understand that religion is a good thing when it feeds and clothes him. In proportion to the presents given will his faith be. The St Simonian society of Jesuits in Paraguay, uniting with religion a community of worldly interests, brought the minds of the natives under such control, that notwithstanding their abhorrence of work, they submitted themselves with reverence to the new authority, and labored faithfully for the community.

Wealth is ever the precursor of civilization. More than that, wealth is the foundation-stone of religion. Of all intellectual and æsthetic culture, poverty is the enemy. To send missionaries among the savage heathen with empty hands avails little. Abstract future good they cannot understand, but food and proxi-

mate comforts appeal to their strongest reason, the seat of which is the stomach. Little reaping there will be if with the word there be not also sown wheat, corn, and barley. Little fruit, if with the formulas of faith there be not also potatoes planted, or orange-trees, or olives. To civilize poverty is impossible. To christianize savage ignorance is impossible. Feed and clothe if you would educate and elevate. Educate and elevate if you would christianize. Plant the valleys and cover the hills with herds; give savages material benefits if you would see them enjoy spiritual comforts. These material benefits are wealth, and with them wealth is religion. But here the blessed strangers are upon us. And the pathway of their holy zeal is as beautiful as the rainbow-bridge let down from heaven for a pathway for Iris when on an errand of discord.

Ave María! Santísima madre de dios; vírgen santísima! Bells wag their discordant tongues and call to prayers; prayers everywhere; in the church and over the hills, about the granaries and gardens, the storehouses and corrals; prayers by the padre, by the blooming damsel, and the shrivelled old woman, by comandante, hidalgo, and vaquero. Pray, brothers, pray! Beseech him who made this universe to finish it, and do better work than formerly; beseech him who made us bad now to make us good, and to do a a little better by us every way. Pray, and peradventure the great creator will change his mind and purpose because we ask it—we, who know so much better what this world should be, who could make so much better a world had we the power. Then pray, brothers, pray! and we shall see come of it what we shall see.

Hail, holy virgin! Hail, holy child! Hail, father of all, omnipotent regulator! One father in heaven; many fathers on earth—holy fathers, sole agents and representatives of our father in heaven; fathers of every

nation, tongue, and color; fathers of the black gown, Augustinian and Dominican; fathers Franciscan, blue and gray; Carmelite fathers of the white gown, and all the rest; fathers true and fathers false; fathers pure and impure; fathers who are not fathers, and fathers, alas, too much! Twelve children crowned the joys of happy Father Gabriel, missionary president of the two Californias, in the year of our Lord 1819—so it is said, and a wise father, he.

Further the red man ruminates: "If all that they do and say be good for white people, it must be good for the red; for we are told if we pray enough, and in the right way, the almighty will revise his work, and we shall all be made white, and cunning, and have great good here, and a better place than others in heaven; though why a repentant sinner should be made more of by the select society above the clouds than one who has never sinned, it is difficult to understand."

Doubtless heaven is a happy place; but earth is more substantial. Doubtless the joys of heaven are very fine; but few care to leave earth's sunshine to go there. Doubtless christianity is a great boon; the native Americans are willing that Europe should have the whole of it. Doubtless angels dislike leaving the comforts of the celestial city to do drudgery work here on earth; but in self-sacrifice there is happiness—in which case it is not self-sacrifice.

There are earthly angels as well as heavenly; they are ofttimes indeed of earth earthy, and not always very clean; spiritually minded, but gross and material on the surface—very. Two or three hundred years ago there were more angels on this earth than now; there were too many; men had to labor too hard to feed and house them; the way to heaven can now be pointed out more briefly and with fewer words; so some of them went to heaven, while others went—to work.

There is more to christianity than monks and nuns

—for example, the bell, invented by Paulinus of Nola, about the year 400; the organ, brought from the Greek church to the western one in the seventh or eighth century; the gothic cathedral, which sprang from the religious efflorescence of the twelfth century —all these were powerful aids to make men fit for heaven, to make many fit for heaven who were not fit to live on this earth.

The Franciscan fathers who kindly came to our lotos-land, who came from afar to our lotos-land to drive out Satan, were astonished to learn that no devils were here before they came. Why do devils so beset good men; and why did not these fathers stay at home and fight them there? "I have seen and defied innumerable devils," says the truthful and refined Martin Luther.

St Bonaventura tells a story of St Francis of Assisi, our San Francisco, who died a victim of asceticism, of which performance he should be reasonably ashamed. Raising himself and gazing upon his emaciated limbs, "I have sinned against my brother, the ass!" he cried; then sinking back he fell into a trance, in which a voice, attributed by the holy man to the devil, spake to him and said, "Francis, there is no sinner in the world whom, if he be converted, God will not pardon; but he who kills himself by hard penances will find no mercy in eternity." This was very kind of the devil, who seemed to possess the better sense of the two. Many priests about this time whipped themselves into eternity, who awaking there were no doubt surprised at their former folly. The natives of the New World used to commit suicide to get away from these same hated Christians, who could stop them only by threatening to kill themselves and follow them to the next world. Significant of sorrow and of terror were the words *de imitatione Christi*, and *de contemptu omnium vanitatum*, breathing as they did the inspiration of mediæval religion. To the dogs with this world and all its beauties and bless-

ings! Let selfishness be refined and sublimated! Fast, pray, scourge, and sit in sackcloth, for so shall the soul find plenty and joyous honors hereafter. Human nature is fitting an immortal soul predestined to eternal damnation by a beneficent creator only as a sacrifice to be offered up for the subsequent benefit of the spiritual nature. Hence the holy fathers cry, Beware of the devil! and Dante revels in purgatorial pictures.

To the church and clergy of Spain, America is indebted for woes unnumbered. The struggle against the ineradicable principle of evil within the heart, against the fascinating demon of wrong-doing, began with the race. Grecian philosophers attempted its analysis, and formed codes of ethics, by which the highest destinies of man were attainable; but with the advent of christianity, asceticism found a richer soil. In order to crush out natural passions to free the mind from bare and material things, and restore the original purity of the soul, Christians sought in the solitude of the desert, or apart upon the mountain, or in the close seclusion of the monastery, the companionship of God and holy angels. Or it may be, a vanquished warrior in life's battle retires, heart-sick, for penitence; it matters not whither so that he be alone —alone to lay bare the secret workings of the heart before the intelligence that created it. Thus the path of the believer was a Jeremiad, a lamentation, a tale of woe. Hating life, the body a loathed encumbrance, he would anticipate death and enter at once a glorified existence

Emulation is excited; admiring crowds gather around the hermit's hut; monasteries are built, and thus the inward spiritual life finds outward expression Austerity and discipline, having attained perfection, grow haughty. The humble saint becomes proud of his humility. For a time he still denies himself sensual indulgence, but only in order the better to gratify the more subtle vices of pride and power. He accepts

proffered adulation, assumes authority, levies tribute for his godliness, waxes fat, and enjoys religion. No more caves or shaky huts, or midnight vigil, fast, or penance; but stately castles, broad fields, and well-filled larder. Crowds now flock for admittance to the church that gives her votaries both sensual and celestial joys. Mendicant orders overspread the land like locusts. To escape starvation or violence, paupers become monks. The lean and ghostly hermit is now a portly abbot, and in place of stony cavern and scanty herbs, rich viands, generous wines, voluptuous revels; and to grace their pleasures, if we may credit Draper, "visions of loveliness were converted into breathing, blushing realities, who exercised their charms with better effect than of old their phantom sisters had done." Behold the end of righteousness overmuch; so hard it is for man to re-create himself!

Is not the philosophy of living to avoid extremes? The golden mean is the rosetta stone of social hieroglyphics. The man who through all the waves of passion, by the craggy walls of prejudice, and through the tortuous paths of reason, holds nearest a medium course, lives nearest a perfect life, and nowhere does excess appear more offensive than in religion. In the earlier stages of the church, many of her votaries, inspired by the examples of the apostles who lived with simplicity and suffered with resignation, labored to outdo their exemplars in virtue, and render their lives yet more simple and self-denying. To such an extent was this conceit carried that self-abnegation, which in the first instance was a necessity, became in the eyes of enthusiasts a positive excellence. If indifference to wealth is commendable, abject poverty is more praiseworthy; if fortitude under trials is well, self-flagellations and bodily torture is better.

Christ inculcated on the mind of his followers estrangement from the world, fasting, meditation, prayer. The earlier zealots went further, and for meditation retired to hermitages, built monasteries for prayer,

and spent their lives in keeping their body at death's door by starvation and torments. These anchorites, by rigid fasting and sleepless and incessant contemplation, wrought their imagination into a frenzy not unlike the deliriums of opium, of alcohol, or of fever. They saw visions and dreamed dreams. The sensibility of the body was blunted, and strange phantasms floated through the brain. Thus the apparitions and miracles of the church are not in every instance as some would have them, inventions of designing priests. Numberless instances are recorded of struggles with emissaries of Satan, of fierce wrestlings with imps and diabolic monsters, of visions and revelations of heavenly or hellish import, in which the sincerity of the visionary was beyond question. The victims of these hallucinations may have been insane, but they were not impostors.

To doubt the sincerity of the monks and friars who came as missionaries to the New World is to doubt religion, and give the lie to humanity. Schooled in the discipline of the cloister, the old nature with the old life is eradicated. By their vows, the world with its passions and ambitions is forever denied them. Laying aside their apparel and adopting that of their order, giving up their very name for some simple or saintly appellative, identity, personality, that which generous minds most highly prize, and which constitutes the most powerful incentive to noble actions, is lost. Honors and rewards await them not here but hereafter. They have nothing to hope for from man, nothing to fear; for earthly ignominy and pain only add to their future joys, and death itself is but a release from toil and suffering to the eternal joys of paradise. Nicolini tells us that when the citizens of Vienna threatened to throw Legay into the Danube for promulgating the reforms of Ignatius of Loyola, he scornfully replied: "What care I whether I enter heaven by land or water?"

And Motley says: "Priesthood works out its task,

age after age; now smoothing penitent death-beds, consecrating graves, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, incarnating the Christian precepts in an age of rapine and homicide, doing a thousand deeds of love and charity among the obscure and forsaken—deeds of which there shall never be a human chronicle, but a leaf or two, perhaps, in the recording angel's book; hiving precious honey from the few flowers of gentle art which bloom upon a howling wilderness."

The power of the priesthood is invariably in proportion to the ignorance and superstition of the people. The greater the ignorance, the greater is the honesty and sincerity in religion, and consequently the more easily is the mind led to perceive a special interposition of supernatural powers in human events. To the forces of nature, and the apparent prevalence of chance in human affairs, a cause must be assigned, and without a knowledge of the true and natural cause, extraordinary events are attributed to supernatural agencies. As the causes which govern natural phenomena are known, that which before was supernatural in nature disappears. Eclipses, comets, and earthquakes are no longer evidences of divine displeasure. But so long as the people remain in poverty and ignorance, so long will they blindly follow their religious teachers.

At this time, not only were men taught to believe, but forced to believe. Proselytism is an essential element of every religion; and as teachers are possessed of power, so, whether priest or puritan, will they enforce their teachings. To persuade if possible, if not to coerce; to win by love, or terrify by punishments; to compel the intellect to receive what reason rejects; to make men believe to be true what they know to be false; to constrain to a life of hypocrisy, or doom to martyrdom; to force by violence convictions that cannot be carried by arguments; to torture men in accepting forms and creeds which conscience teaches them to reject—or failing in this to kill them. These were

the instruments with which religion wrought in the fifteenth century.

Thus it was that not alone nobles and prelates, but the illiterate dregs of old Castile, were lofty in their loyalty, exalted in their piety, fearless of any danger save the gods and devils of their own creation. As adventurers to the New World, without a murmur they would encounter the inhospitable climate, inhale the malarious air, wade through tangled morasses, climb rugged mountains, swelter under a tropical sun, and all for the love of God, and gold, and glory; traversing the trackless wilderness, scourging, baptizing, working miracles, scorning pain, disease, and death in their mad efforts to save from hell men not half so near that place as themselves. Carried away by a ferocious enthusiasm, they became devilish in their desires to make men Christians; butchering their fellow-men by scores, thousands, converting and killing—meanwhile ravishers of maids, murderers of old men and children, perfidious liars and cheaters, laying a fair land waste in the name of peace. Their heroism was as high for plunder as for piety; for lands and captive slaves they could wrestle as fervently as for souls, and their unscrupulous severity in the accomplishment of their desires was only equalled by their versatility in the choice of means. Why they were so, what made them so, it is easy enough to see in the ignorance and blind fanaticism growing out of their religious teachings, and in their social maxims.

Nor were these heterogeneous, discordant elements, though thrown together by a conjunction of classes and clans, destined to remain apart, some in one and some in another; on the contrary, they combined in greater or less degree in the individual, and formed the basis of Spanish, more particularly of Castilian, character. In the same person we see united enthusiastic piety with cruel avarice; indeed, we need not go back four centuries, nor look alone upon the Spanish Peninsula, for unions of ill-assorted and badly min-

gled traits of human character; for even now in Anglo-Saxon-puritan stock, in every adventurous crew turned loose into a wilderness in search of gold, away from the inquisitorial influences of social life, may be seen cropping out the fruits of excessive liberty, the same lustful, venal, infernal spirit which possessed the Spanish conquerors of the New World.

Father Junípero, blessed and just! While on the Atlantic side of our present domain Anglo-Americans were fighting for deliverance from the paternal chains, Hispano-Americans on the Pacific were bringing to a benighted though happy race that civilization and christianity which always sends native nations to earth. Those first pure priests who came hither, devoted ministers of the living God, who really desired the welfare of the aboriginals, desired them to live and not die; these with their comforts and their kindness killed as surely as did Cortés and Pizarro with their gunpowder, steel, and piety.

Scion of the conquerors, a conqueror himself; they fighting naked savages, he fighting fiends; they conquering for Charles, he for Christ; Christ and Charles, both all-powerful, yet both needing fighters; both benignant, yet both requiring the slaughter of some millions of God-made men to add to their general glory and particular comfort and happiness! So these saints and soldiers would have us believe.

Junípero was a conqueror, and his greatest achievement was the conquest of self; as Publius Syrus used to say, "Bis vincit, qui se vincit in victoriâ"—he conquers twice who conquers himself in victory. Though outwardly mild and humble, a fire of devoted enthusiasm burned within; but with self sacrificed—so subordinated that he envied his divine master but one thing, crucifixion—this fire shot forth occasionally, when he fancied his redeemer slighted or insulted, but never for slight or insult placed upon himself.

Hear how a brother friar tells in orthodox tones

the story of his life: "Junípero Serra was born on the 24th of November, 1713, at the villa de Petra, island of Mallorca, belonging to Mediterranean Spain. His parents were people in humble circumstances, but of devout and pious faith according to the catholic church. His father's name was Antonio Serra, his mother Margarita Ferrer. From his childhood he was of a grave, benevolent, serious character, and his greatest pleasure was in attending the church of San Bernardino in his native town.

"These habits impressed upon his mind the duty of devoting himself to the service of the church, and he accordingly assumed the habit of a Franciscan friar at the age of sixteen. His zeal and exemplary conduct endeared him to his superior, and the brethren of the order, who vied with each other in forwarding his views, and perfecting his theological studies. His affectionate, earnest, and devout spirit led him to seek the conversion of the American Indians to the faith of Christ, and he accordingly became a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. In accordance with the functions of his new office, and with the benedictions of his friends and those of the brotherhood of San Francisco, he proceeded to Mexico, and for many years officiated in the Indian missions of the Sierra Gorda, and of Sabá on the frontiers of that country. But moved by the accounts received about this time of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California by the Spanish government, his heart was drawn by the ardor of a fervent zeal to devote his life to the conversion of the Indians of these remote regions, who he believed were now about to be abandoned to their savage and brutal habits. Accordingly, encouraged by the viceroy and authorities of Mexico, and with the assistance of many devout catholics of that country, he embarked with a band of brother missionaries of the Franciscan order at San Blas, meeting at that port the exiled Jesuits from Lower California. Arrived in that distant province,

and finding the religious establishments there placed under the control of the Dominicans, with the aid of the officers of the Spanish government at Loreto he projected two expeditions to Alta California, one by land on the shore by the gulf, and the other by sea. The one by land brought the first live-stock, about 600 in number of all kinds, to this country; and in a comparatively short space of time, from the fineness of the climate and richness of the pastures, they were numbered by tens of thousands.

"At San Diego, on the meeting of the two companies, was founded in 1769 the first mission of Alta California. In the year following was founded the presidio of Monterey, and the mission of Carmelo. By the year 1784, he had founded and settled with priests the establishments of San Francisco Dolores and Santa Clara in the north, and those of San Luis Obispo, San Antonio, San Buenaventura, San Gabriel, and San Juan Capistrano in the south; at each of which places were also retained small companies of the king's soldiers.

"Gradually the priests, under the energetic but paternal direction and care of the venerable president, gathered into their missions the wild Indians of the valleys of the coast. His and their lives were of great exposure, labor, and perpetual risks and disadvantages, through which they persevered with an indefatigable zeal, known only to men imbued with direct purposes, and a lively, ardent faith, which knew no quenching in a new field for the reaper's sickle, and laborers disproportioned to the work. They built houses, consecrated churches, planted vineyards and orchards, sowed fields, stocked the pastures, taught the gentiles labor and the consolation of Christ's religion, and finally triumphed over all difficulties of the first settlement of a frontier wilderness, which, after their sacrifices and privations, sprung to life and bloomed and blossomed as the rose.

"But this was not the only reward of the devoted,

energetic, and pious life of the founder ot our state. His aim was the crown of glory, the possession of which animates the devoted catholic to lay down his life, if necessary, when he remembers for all trials and sufferings that he that converteth a soul to God shall shine as a star in the firmament of heaven.

"And now, age creeping on apace, and privations and exposures having had their natural effect on his frame, he was taken sick in the month of August, with a severe complaint of the throat and lungs, at the mission of Carmelo. Long and anxiously did the friends and companions of the venerable founder of California nurse and attend him with the most tender care; but he told them from the first, with serenity and calmness, that God was about to call him to himself, and entreated their prayers for the salvation of his soul, and that he might be permitted through Christ to enter into the enjoyment of heaven, and of those who had devoted their lives to the glory of God and the conversion of the gentiles His Indian children bewailed with groans and tears the melancholy approach of the time which was to separate him forever from their sight, who had left all to rescue them from barbarism and the lives of brute beasts.

"At last his body, spent with exhaustion and weakness, but his mind clear to the last, the father of California sank to rest in the arms of his beloved friend and disciple, Francisco Palou, as gently as an infant on its mother's breast.

"This event took place on the day of San Augustin at the mission of Carmelo, near Monterey, in the year 1784, at the age of seventy-one, lacking a few weeks. Fifty-four years of his life had he officiated as a priest, thirty-five of which were spent among the Indians of California and Mexico, as a missionary of the catholic church. His body was buried near the last-mentioned mission, in one of the most beautiful vales of California, within sound of old ocean's solemn requiem, and amid the tears and mournings of the con-

verted heathen whom he and his companions had trained to the enjoyment of Christian habits and consolations. Great was the sorrow felt by the missionaries and simple people of those days, in our then remote country, at the loss of the venerable founder and president of the missions—a feeling which extended even to Mexico, where his memory was revered by all classes of people.

"Junípero Serra was a man of great benevolence and amiability of character, charity, and generosity, combined with a fervent zeal in his high duties, which attached to him with strong affection all who came within the sphere of his influence. He was a man of the most indefatigable and industrious habits, of great perseverance, enterprise, and personal courage; and it may be said that no man with a different character could have accomplished, in those days, objects surrounded with such perverse difficulties. Before his death, after fourteen years' labor, he had founded the presidio of Monterey and pueblos of San José and Los Angeles, and gathered nearly 6,000 savage Indians into nine of the [afterwards] wealthiest missions of the country.

"His government was frugal, thrifty, and full of well-directed energy; for at his death the live-stock of these establishments numbered nearly 20,000 head, and the teaching of the priests was taking deep root in the minds of the wild Indians who had not yet acknowledged the sway of the Spanish government. His life was published in Mexico, in 1787, under the following title; and a highly curious and interesting book it is to those whose souls are not altogether given to gain. *Relacion Histórica de la Vida y Apostólicas Tareas del Venerable Padre F. Junípero Serra y de las Misiones que fundó en la California septentrional y Nuevos Establecimientos de Monterey: escrita por Fr. Francisco Palou. Impresa en México, por Don Felipe de Zúniga y Ontiveros, 1787.*

"To one great mind, imbued with the loftiest prin-

ciples of conduct, and directed with great circumspection and energy, do we owe the foundation of the structure of our Pacific empire, which has, within four years, shaken to the roots old systems and principles, crusted and hardened by the past 6,000 years. He sowed the seed, and we reap the fruit; but who can tell what a day will bring forth?

"We now conclude a feeble attempt to sketch the life of a great and good man, but at the same time an humble catholic missionary. To him is California forever indebted for a perpetual monument in the affections of her people; for though hitherto known by fame to but few of the present new race inhabiting her beautiful valleys, and digging in her snow-capped mountains, and scarcely heard of out of the records of the Spanish catholic church of Mexico and California, the more necessary is it to hold up to men, in these greedy times, the imitation of so rare a person.

"Since the present bishop of Monterey has assumed his office, search has been made in the Carmelo mission for the place where the body of Junípero Serra was laid; but from the loss of many of the mission records, and none now living in Monterey who were alive at the time of his death, it has been without success up to the present period. The spot where our venerable founder first said mass in Monterey in 1769 is still traditionally pointed out by the old Spanish natives of the town."

Thus simply, though not wholly without redundancy and undue assumption, one brother recites the praises of another. It was in 1852 that this sketch was printed in the San Francisco *Herald*, edited by that bright little Irish catholic, John Nugent. One hundred years after Serra's death, his devoted brethren are at work endeavoring to restore the old mission church of San Cárlos, in the Carmelo valley, under whose stone flags the body of the venerable president was laid at rest.

"Of the twenty-one missions," these brethren go on

to say, "established in California, a few are well preserved, others are in ruins, and of some not a vestige is left to mark the spot where they once stood. The most picturesque and poetic of these historic landmarks of our state, and the noblest work of Padre Serra, is the old stone church of San Cárlos, at Carmelo; and it is a sad spectacle and a reproach to California to see this venerable pile sharing the common fate and slowly crumbling into dust."

Serra was a good and great man; some of his successors were good men; some of them were not so good. The climate of California is dangerous to passive piety. The gold of California is never found perfectly pure. There was no mistaking the material of which Serra was made. A furnace cannot emit a fervent heat and not be glowing hot within. However mild his heart and mind, in his veins ran not altogether milk and honey. Early piety is not always the most lasting. Though he could not boast a life sanctified by youthful sins, or even youthful sufferings, there was something more than piety in Serra's California life—there was wealth and power, power and wealth for the church, of course—the almighty not having retained as much property on this planet when he made it as he now desired to have—and for Junípero himself, the promised transformation into 600 firmament stars, or one of the best positions in heaven, at his option.

The indifference of the Spaniards early in America to suffering, and to women, may be traced directly to their long religious war. They must accustom themselves to cruelty, war being so cruel; and accustomed to inflict cruelty, they must accustom themselves to bear it. And as for women, tame, indeed, must be earthly forms, fit only for earthly use, beside her whom they worship in heaven—her for whom they fight and die.

But this religious loyalty, which in California was of the first consequence in promoting the discipline of

both priests and soldiers, and so securing unanimity of purpose and unity of action, we would hardly look for it to continue throughout the century, being so far removed from the source of supply, and the authors of all this wilderness magnificence being dead.

Time was when a man's morals, or his religious belief, affected his pecuniary credit, and still more his ability to hold office; but now the banker does not ask of his customer who wishes to borrow money what his opinion may be in regard to the immaculate conception. Divorced by science, religion and government are no longer allies. Morality and religion were Junípero's stock in trade; and every fibre of his nature was so imbued with them that, in the subjugation of the wilderness, a handful of men under his guidance was equal to an army under the direction of another. Northward he marched, high, holy, and serene, his mind and attitude as God's Gabriel, planting at intervals those great monuments to his faith, which henceforth were to stand there in their monotonous influence like the breaking of time waves on the shore of eternity's great ocean.

But alas! Junípero's successors were not all like him. As a rule, they could not be called handsome men, or men of refined feelings, or great intellect, or superfine morality. But in the eyes of their flock what were they? Whatever they chose to be. Over their whitewashed wild ones they exercised a too powerful influence. In their features earth's deformity and heaven's divinity met; so that although they might be the most ill-favored of men, they were yet the most beautiful of beings. By their looks and life and teachings, and by these alone in the minds of the simple savages, must be shaped heaven's eternal glory, just as cosmogonic conceptions are shaped by climate and configuration.

Junípero was a man of great will-power and energy. Yet who could not exercise will and energy, knowing that the almighty walked by his side to bear him up

or pitch him into heaven in case he fell. Charmed and awed as we are by the active manifestations of force in nature, we are none the less interested in watching the energy of action in man. Eloquence is intellect ablaze; and what is lacking in intellect may often be made up in dogmatic declamation, in loud-mouthed nothings, and whiningly winning ways, attended by muscular outspreading, air-beating, and sweating. Boys will run to see a dog-fight, and men and women will flock to see a man fight, even though he have no other adversary than an imaginary devil. Nevertheless, they were pelicans in their piety, these self-sacrificing fathers of the church, and were always ready if necessary to feed their young with their own blood.

Priests and piety, as a subject, must ever present a chapter of contradictions. Imagination is more often powerful than reality. The fathers were schooled in the mysteries of the imagination, and now they must teach their disciples. By the overheated zeal of the Christian light their souls were scorched as their skins had been by the glorious sun's effulgent brightness. Mingled with his prayers were groans, tears, convulsions. Closing his eyes to this world, he opened them upon a world of illusions. An apocalyptic vision was the reward of every fasting. Hell and heaven opened to them; angels tuned their lyres to earthly strains, and fiends whispered in their ears. Paul and John and their patron father appeared and held converse with them. The hopping of a toad was as significant to them of God's will as was the kneeling of his camel to Mohammed. The laws of God they could interpret and act upon as they pleased; hence it was the law of exigency, and the laws of nature held greater sway over the actions of the missionaries than the laws of Spain or Mexico. The history of that civilization to which we belong is a history of secularizations. The church wraps ancient learning in a napkin

and lays it away; since which time the ingenuity of man has been employed to strip off the coverings, and let the light shine forth. All things desirable having been pronounced sacred and appropriated by the clergy, there must be restitution. Hence we have the secularization of everything, from the convents of Europe to the missions of Alta California.

The minds of God's ministers were constructed upon the ghastly skeleton of abstract religious contemplation and ceremonious homage as propitiatory of offended deity. As to real knowledge, they had none. The oracles of the church, the precepts of the fathers, were to them poetry, philosophy, and science. In worldly wisdom they were wise to salvation. Poor in this world's goods they were rich in heavenly treasures. Nor were they without a godly pride. They were proud in their humility, proud of their self-abasement, grateful in their contemplations, inflexible in their penitence, and sagacious in their passion. Soft as Araby's air before their maker, they were cruel as blood-hounds to his disobedient subjects. Of the light, ministering angels; of the darkness, fiends. They were cruel to be kind, at least so they fancied, as kindly cruel, these soul-savers, as the surgeon who cuts and kills his victim in no blood-thirsty or revengeful mood. And to this end emotion must be sacrificed to motive. Heroic and courageous as they were, these qualities were often seen to fade before the sympathetic and humane.

They had come from afar, and by a toilsome way; never men struggled so hard to achieve martyrdom. Were there no angels at their own doors to entertain, no whiter, nearer souls to save? Or is it that the reward is in proportion to the effort rather than to success? Surely there were worse men in Spain for whom Christ died than these harmless lote-eaters. But in Spain every man whose soul was worth saving might have a priest of his own if he liked. They were plenty enough, and idle enough. But that was

too easy; there were lands where christianity was not so overdone. Too great prosperity is accounted rather an evil than a blessing, if God does not punish he is nursing his wrath. Like Rodrigo, king of Spain, whom by way of penance the hermit consigned to a cave filled with snakes and lizards, which, miraculously restrained, for days would not touch him; God would not accept the sacrifice, would not even permit his servant the pleasure of being eaten by holy reptiles; but finally one day, as the hermit, who had been passing the night in prayer, came to him, he joyfully exclaimed, "They eat me now! they eat me now! I feel the adder's bite!" And so forgiven, his sins atoned, rejoicingly he dies.

It was the Augustan age of missions, this, when the good Junípero lived and died; all savagedom must be placed on the stool of repentance. And theirs was the Benedictine motto, *Ora et labora.* Pray and work—especially pray. If work was too fatiguing, prayer was easy and always effectual; for if it brought not the desired blessing, it seemed none the less satisfying to the supplant. They who invoked the aid of heaven averted calamities, and brought down vengeance upon the enemies of the nation. It was they who soothed the dying, brought pardon for sins, and procured eternal happiness for the soul. But muffled be your joy, let your triumph be low toned, your bells ring out their peals in whispers, and your guns bellow in noiseless puffs, for the souls that here should most rejoice have shot beyond the ether!

CHAPTER VI.

GOLDEN AGE OF CALIFORNIA.

> And ever against eating cares
> Lap me in soft Lydian airs.
>
> —*L'Allegro.*

First the Golden Age, and then the Age of Gold. How different! And yet between the end and beginning of a decade California gives us a specimen of each, which brief period presents two episodes of society the history of the world cannot parallel. Both were original, both phenomenal; and so closely upon the heels of one followed the other, that for an instant both were on the ground at the same time. But only for an instant. The lamb may lie down with the lion, and peradventure escape being eaten; not so with the mild and nerveless inhabitant of southern California, and the wild, tigerish gold-seeker scenting the metal from afar.

It was when the gold-seekers came that this golden age of California was destined to be alloyed with brass; for not the age of gold was California's true golden age. The age of gold was the age of avarice, the age of brutal murders, of wild rudeness and insane revellings. More nearly resembling the euthanasia of the ancients was the pastoral life preceding the finding of the Sierra's treasures. Never before or since was there a spot in America where life was a long happy holiday, where there was less labor, less care or trouble, such as the old-time golden age under Cronos or Saturn, the gathering of nature's fruits being the

chief burden of life, and death coming without decay, like a gentle sleep.

To constitute a true golden age, there must be present certain conditions. Though there need be no great riches, there must be enough, so that all may live in plenty. Never were so many men in America so rich as now; yet no one would think of calling this a golden age. We lack the true sources of happiness—innocence and contentment—essential to a golden age. We indulge too much in luxury and vice to please the gods, and so we are cursed with crimes, political and social. A golden age must be a time of truth, of right, and reason, and universal moderation. Men must be satisfied and women virtuous. Women must be satisfied and men honest.

Half-way between savagism and civilization, California's pastoral days swept by, midst the dreamy reveries of a race half-way between the proud Castilian and the lowly root-digger of the Coast Range valleys. How much of culture, wealth, refinement, morals, and religion does it take to make men the most miserable? Gold for use must have alloy; in the golden age there is no alloy. It is not for use, a golden age, but for enjoyment. Savagism suffers too greatly from heat and cold, from hunger and a too deep debasement. Savagism has no golden age; if it had, it would not be savagism; yet the naked wild man, when he is happy, is very happy; he has his periods of heavenly bliss, but they are too short and fitful, and the intervals are filled with a too deep despondency.

But let not civilization boast overmuch. What though savages are ignorant and lazy lotos-eaters, there is not a fancied benefit civilization has that is not dearly paid for. As for ignorance, there is plenty of it left; they who read writings in the sky are not half so learned as they fancy. And as for energy, had we less of it, smaller penitentiaries would answer, and there would be fewer people at large who ought to be in them. A man rolls up his five or fifty million

and dies; what is he the better for it all, or any one else? Peupeumoxmox, the savage, struggled nobly for the welfare of his people, and died. Peter Funk, the millionaire, struggled bravely for himself, for Mrs Funk, and the little Funks, and they all died. There are many Funks abroad, and they are getting thicker and less worshipful every day; but only once in a lifetime do we meet with a Peupeumoxmox, either savage or civilized.

The human race is yet in its childhood. This planet, which for thousands of ages has been preparing for man, is but just now ready—is, indeed, not wholly finished The six thousand or sixty thousand years of infancy have barely sufficed to rid the best of us of our swaddling-clothes; a large portion of mankind yet wear them, or wear none. Manhood, with its earnest labors, is dawning upon us; the mind is just beginning to think, and the hands to work. Nature in some slight degree is being laid under contribution; already we annihilate space, walking by steam and talking by electricity. Yet everything to man is crude, undeveloped, and ill defined. Our religion is mixed with superstition, our politics with selfishness, our morality with fashion, and of science we know next to nothing. It is only in a simple and quiet life that the soul finds an antidote to the materialism of engrossing intercourse with the world, and is able to place itself en rapport with nature and the supernatural.

After California's golden age and age of gold comes the age of silver, into the mysteries of which we will not attempt at this time to penerate. What, then, is there here a deterioration? In many respects, yes. Men have enough in the silver age, but they are not satisfied. The bronze age is a time of violence, of wars and misdeeds. Is it progress when social, political, and commercial morals sink into the depths? Is it progress when men rise from the ground and through lying and chicanery get hold of the people's money, organize iniquitous and grinding monopolies for the

purpose or extorting from a too long suffering and patient people more money? Is it progress when all the world, like silly sheep, rush to the gambling pools of swindling manipulators of shares?

The heroic age—none such has yet appeared on these shores. We have had heroes enough, braver and better than any who lead armies to battle, or individually excel in the art of manslaughter—heroes who conquer self, who put under foot their baser passions, who toil on all through a weary life, self-denying, self-sacrificing for some good and worthy object, for wife and children, God bless them, for the right, for humanity, for something better than the mere heaping up of money as a soul-substitute. An age of heroes, yes; but beware the age heroic; likewise the brazen age, still more the ages of iron, stone, and clay, ages of deep debasement to w ich we know not but we may be unconsciously drifting.

The shepherd of the pastoral age is not the shepherd of to-day. On the gently sloping hillside, under the outspread, bearded oak, sat the shepherd of pastoral days, gazing out upon the liquid crystal, and watching his flocks as month after month they continued to wax fat and increase. Serene his thoughts, and sometimes mighty; mighty and serene as those of their herds, as they lay upon the warm, dry grass ruminating. The shepherds of to-day are wolves; the people are their silly sheep, which they fatten but to devour. Shepherds of the pastoral times knew something of astronomy, and were full of piety to the gods. The shepherds of to-day know how to salt a mine, how to discriminate in freights and fares, how to keep up the price of sugar, of flour, how to swindle, cheat, and lie; they, too, are full of piety; there is no god like their god, and his name is Mammon.

It was in rather humble guise that church and state came marching hand in hand up along the ocean border, two or three priests representing the one, and twice or thrice as many soldiers the other. It was

enough, however, considering the power behind and the impotence before them; not to mention the almighty maker of the universe and the king of Spain, or their legions in heaven and in Europe, there were colleges and convents enough in Mexico to quite confound Satan, who flourished in a mild form in these parts. There was the college of Zacatecas, with missions in Chihuahua and Durango; the college of San Fernando in Mexico, with missions in Alta California. The Franciscans also had missions in Sonora, Sinaloa, and Texas; the Dominicans in Guadalajara, Durango, and Zacatecas; and the Augustinians, Carmelites, and Mercenarios, with the others, over nearly all Spanish America.

After several expeditions by water and a thorough examination of the country along the shore, sites about fifteen leagues apart were selected for missions, which should be heavenly mile-stones and temples of God in the wilderness, resting-places of hospitality and devotion for the wayfarer; and for the fat padres who should dwell therein, acting as middle-men between God and his creatures, they were marks of merit for stripes, humility, and services rendered, and foretastes of heaven. Thanks, cowled priests; but ages before you brought hither your not too lovely persons, there was not a foot of this lotos-land from San Diego Bay to San Francisco that had not its living temple to God, be it a pebble, a flower, or a horned toad.

In the selection of mission sites, care was taken to be not far from a landing for ships, and yet not so near that their Indians would be contaminated by the evil influence of soldiers and sailors. There must be water at hand, some tillable land, and a fair extent of pasturage.

The work of conversion was quickly begun and went bravely on. In due time mission buildings were erected, and settlers came in and clustered near the presidio, thus forming towns, many of which remain to this day, some having grown into respectable cities.

To the first one built in this northernmost section of Spain's heathen fields was given the name of San Diego, probably in honor of San Diego de Alcalá, who was a saint sprung from the Franciscan order. It was founded on the 16th of July, 1769, according to the record of the foundation appearing on its first book of baptisms, "at the expense of the catholic monarch, Don Carlos III., rey de las Españas, whom God prosper, defrayed under most ample authority from his Excellency Don Cárlos Francisco de Croix, Marqués de Croix, present viceroy, governor, and captain-general of this New Spain, by the most Illustrious Don Joseph de Galvez, of the council and chamber of his Majesty in the royal and supreme of the Indies, intendent of the army, and visitador general of this Nueva España, by the religious of said apostolic college, San Fernando of Mexico."

Its first ministers were the father preacher Friar Junípero Serra, president, and the father preacher Friar Fernando Parron, apostolic preachers of said college of San Fernando of Mexico, associated with the father preacher Friar Juan Vizcayno, appointed to the foundation of another mission.

The book from which these extracts were taken replaced the originals commenced at the foundation, and which were destroyed during an Indian revolt in 1775, together with other books and papers, the church ornaments, sacred vessels, houses, and utensils of the mission. It appears that up to the 5th of November, 1775, 470 adults and children had been baptized.

The mission was first established on the hill or beach afterward occupied by the presidio at the port of San Diego, which the natives called Cosoy. It was subsequently transferred, in August 1774, to another site up the river, two leagues distant, known among the natives as Nipaguay, where the destruction took place. The authors of the revolt were gentiles and neophytes from upwards of 70 rancherías

or villages, and in overwhelming numbers assaulted the mission, which they partly plundered, and mostly burnt, wounding the corporal and three soldiers of the mission guard, and killing a carpenter, José Urselino, a blacksmith, José Manuel Arroyo, and the missionary Friar Luis Jáume; his fellow-missionary, Friar Vicente Fuster, and another blacksmith, Felipe Romero, miraculously escaping with life. Fathers Serra and Parron had charge of the mission to about the middle of April 1770, when Serra departed to found a mission at Monterey, leaving in his place Friar Francisco Gomez, Father Vizcayno having returned to Mexico via Lower California. Parron and Gomez administered the religious and temporal affairs of the mission for more than a year, when, owing to sickness, one returned to Lower California, and the other went away by sea to Mexico. It was then that the president appointed to succeed them Friar Francisco Dumetz and Luis Jáume, who had recently arrived in California, together with eight others, by sea. Dumetz remained there a year, and was then transferred to Monterey, being succeeded by Friar Juan Crespí, who had been till then Serra's companion at the San Cárlos. In September 1772, Crespí was returned to Monterey, and replaced by Friar Tomás de la Peña, who remained in the mission till September 1773, when Father Fuster took his place by appointment made by the vice-president of the mission, Father Francisco Palou, who acted in the place of Father Serra, absent in Mexico. Jáume was murdered, as we have seen. It seems that, besides the fathers already named, Friars Pablo Mugártegui, Miguel Sanchez, Gregorio Amurrio, and Fermin Francisco de Lasuen had visited the mission and occasionally officiated.

It was the river of San Diego on which the mission was placed, a brave enough stream when flushed with the rains of winter, but sinking into the sands of humility in summer. If there is anywhere a fairer

patch of earth and sea than here extends for fifty miles in every direction, it has yet to be found. The soil, though not so rank as to fill the air with noxious vapors arising from redundant vegetation, is still rich enough for the breeding of a noble race. The ocean sits here in calm majesty, unruffled by the cold winds of the north, or the sweltering fumes of the steaming south, while the sky above offers the shortest open roadway to heaven. An area forty miles square was placed under tribute, and soon the flocks of the missionaries in charge of the whitewashed savages covered the rocky hills. All was serenity hereabout for the fat and sanctified cattle until the year of grace 1830.

According to the records of the mission, the number of baptisms of all classes therein and in the presidio to the 14th of June, 1846, of which any evidence appeared, was 7,126, including those effected prior to the 5th of November, 1775, when the church and books were destroyed; the number of marriages to April 30, 1846, the date of the last entry, 2,051, from the date of the foundation. Friar Vicente Pascual Oliva, the last priest at San Diego, went to San Luis Rey when the forces of the United States landed at the port in 1846; when they reached San Luis, he transferred himself to San Juan Capistrano, where he died. The last entry of deaths was in May 1831, to which date the number of burials was 4,156; the second book of the mission was not in the parish church toward the end of 1877, and must have been lost. The book of interments, which replaced the one burnt by the Indians in 1775, shows on its first entry the following facts: "Of the crews of said vessels," *San Antonio*, alias *El Príncipe*, and the *San Cárlos*, alias *El Toyson*, "and chiefly of the second, many arrived severely suffering from scurvy, or mal de loanda, and of them died one half of the detail of twenty-five volunteer soldiers of Catalonia, who with their lieutenant, Don Pedro Fáges, had come by sea upon the

said *San Cárlos;* so that within a few months after the foundation of the mission the account of deaths showed the number of them to have exceeded sixty, to all of whom, but one boy, were administered the sacraments of penitence, communion, and extreme unction." Father Serra, not being able to remember all the names, omitted to mention any, contenting himself "with praying to God, our Lord, that the names of all of them be inscribed in heaven, and their souls per Misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace, Amen."

Good men died there, and were buried in the mission church, for all good men die, though all may not be buried in sanctified ground. On the 19th of December, 1784, they buried Juan Figuer; January 30, 1800, Juan Mariner; August 29, 1807, Nicolás Lázaro; July 2, 1812, Pedro Panto, supposed to have been poisoned by his cook; October 19, 1838, Fernando Martin. Father Vicente Pasqual Oliva, the last of the missionaries who officiated at San Diego, died at San Juan Capistrano January 2, 1848, and was solemnly buried on the 29th.

I find that on October 30, 1824, an Indian was executed by shooting for some crime not stated. Savages were not usually honored by a special shot, with firelock, powder, and ball. On April 23, 1826, an Indian was executed who was an accomplice in killing three soldiers and a neophyte, all of whom, as well as the executed one, were buried by Father Fernando Martin. A commander did San Diego mission the honor to die and be buried there, namely, Captain José María Estudillo, on the 9th of April, 1830.

It was a great event at Mission San Diego, the consecration of a new church, the one latest existing, on the 12th of November, 1813, the day of San Diego. The benediction took place on the 12th by Father José Barona, Father Gerónimo Boscana preaching the sermon. On the following day were transferred thereto the remains of the missionaries Jáume, Figuer, Mariner, and Panto. The sermon was delivered by Friar

Tomás Ahumada, a Dominican from Mission San Miguel in Lower California. The ministers of the mission at the time were Friars José Sanchez and Fernando Martin.

A magnificent pile for one reared in the heart of savagedom, and not by the hands of experienced artisans, was that of San Luis Rey, north of San Diego, and at a little distance from the sea. It was founded by Father Peyrí in 1798. The buildings surrounded a large square, in the centre of which played a fountain, while the gardens were filled with fruits, and the fields with grain and cattle. This Padre Antonio, as Peyrí was called, on his departure from the country, took with him two or three Indian boys, one of whom turned priest and lived in Rome, lived a sainted savage near the Vatican.

Northward the good men go, and on the site called by the natives Sajirit, and also appearing as Quanis Savit, found San Juan Capistrano, Father President Junípero Serra officiating on the 1st of November, 1776, assisted by Father Gregorio Amurrio at royal expense during the rule of Viceroy Bucareli, yclept "insigne favorecedor de estos nuevos establecimientos." Its first ministers were fathers Pablo de Mugártegui and the aforesaid Amurrio. The mission held fifteen leagues of and along the seaboard, extending back to the mountains, which area was interspersed with shady groves and fertile ravines, and covered with herds of stock and fields of waving grain.

On the 7th of September, 1806, was consecrated to the service of God a new church built by the neophytes of stone and lime, with vaults. The construction was begun on the 2d of February, 1797, and terminated in 1806. The benediction took place on the day aforesaid by Father Estévan Tapis, president of the missions, assisted by fathers José de Miguel and José Antonio de Urresti, ministers of Mission San Miguel; Márcos Antonio de Victoria of Mission Santa Bárbara; José M. de Zalvidea of Mission San

Fernando; Antonio Peyrí of Mission San Luis Rey; Pedro de la Cueva of Mission San José; and Juan Norberto de Santiago and José Fáura, ministers of San Juan Capistrano. There were also present at the imposing ceremonies Lieutenant-colonel José Joaquin de Arrillaga, governor of California, Manuel Rodriguez, captain commandant of San Diego, Lieutenant Francisco María Ruiz of the presidial company of San Diego, Joaquin Maitorena, alférez of Santa Bárbara, besides a large concourse of soldiers, civilians, and neophytes of San Juan and the neighboring missions. On the 9th of the same month were transferred to the new church, from the former one, the bones of Father Vicente Fuster, minister of the mission, who died on the 21st of October, 1800. He was, it will be remembered, the companion of Father Jáume at San Diego in November 1775, at the time the soul of Jáume was set free by the natives. All this was not enough to intimidate a terrible earthquake, which cracked the walls and rattled down the rafters and stones, killing forty-three persons, and seriously injuring a much larger number. This mark of the Almighty's displeasure occurred on the 8th of December, 1812.

Here let me relate a miracle. No one who ever lived and worshipped God in California better deserves a name in history and a place in heaven than Padre José María Zalvidea. He was a missionary Martin Luther, if such a monstrosity could be conceived of, eminent in talents, virtues, and efficient services, particularly in the development of the material resources of San Gabriel and other mission districts. He greatly loved to engage in hand-to-hand conflict with his archenemy, Satan, at whom he would scream, kick, and incontinently spar with his fists, until the devil was so frightened he dare not come near him. After that he would mellow, like a great lump of sweet cream, into the rich milk of human kindness.

One day in the spring of 1841, while the pious

father was blessing San Juan Capistrano by his presence, he walked out among the cattle, his eyes fixed upon his holy book, his soul communing with heaven.

"Have a care, good father," shouted a vaquero.

"He for whom God cares, my son, himself need have no care," calmly replied the priest, as he raised his eyes and encountered the threatening attitude of a mad bull. Then lowering them to his book again, he continued his reading, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left. The beast bellowed lustily; the father began to sing a hymn. The beast tore up the earth with its feet, throwing dirt upon the sacred vestures of the priest. Then the animal charged upon the padre, while all who saw it held their breath in horror, feeling sure that the next moment the good man would be gored to death.

"Peace, peace, malignant spirit!" the father said and smiled; "come, come, wouldst thou throw dirt on me?"

The mad bull paused, then raised its head, dropped its tail, and trotted away to another part of the field, overcome by the power of God and the magic of a good man's voice.

The mission San Gabriel Arcángel, near Los Angeles, was founded at royal expense, pursuant to orders of Viceroy Marqués de Croix and the visitador-general of New Spain, Joseph de Galvez, by Father Junípero Serra, president of the missions, on the 8th of September, 1771. Its first ministers were fathers Pedro Benito Cambon and Joseph Ángel Somera. The number of baptisms of all classes from the foundation to the 29th of December, 1850, was quite large, reaching 9,123. The number of marriages is unknown, the record being incomplete from 1840 to 1849. After October 1850, the town of San Gabriel was in charge of parish priests. The last certificate of interment, dated December 28, 1850, bears the number 6.117, of which 1,707 were prior to the end of 1800. Among the gente de razon buried are included those who were

inhabitants of the town of Los Ángeles. Several missionaries of the college have died, and been interred in the church of this mission, to wit: July 28, 1803, Miguel Sanchez; October 12, 1804, Antonio Cruzado, who had served 22 years in Sierra Gorda and 33 in this California; January 15, 1811, Francisco Dumetz; June 16, 1821, Roman Ullibarri; December 21, 1821, Joaquin Pascual Nuez; July 6, 1831, Gerónimo Boscana; and on July 16, 1833, José Bernardo Sanchez, ex-president of the missions. Thomas Eleuterio Esténaga died some time in 1847, while on the 11th of November, 1850, Blas Ordaz breathed his last.

This mission occupied one of the most charming spots in California. Its gardens abounded in oranges, grapes, figs, pomegranates, peaches, apples, limes, pears, and citrons, and the air was perfumed with its trees and flowers. Wine, brandy, and cattle were here produced in great abundance.

People are apt to tell and believe great stories about money. Large sums in specie have been reported as existing at the missions, especially at San Gabriel, but such statements should be taken with allowance. Where was such money to come from? Most of the transactions with merchants were exchange of goods. There was some coin in the country, of course—more, indeed, in the northern missions than at the south, owing to trade with the Russians, who usually paid for the wheat they bought partly in money. Therefore, let it be understood that when I give the amount of specie at a mission, I only repeat from the record, but without fully believing it myself.

To drink and not get drunk; to teach temperance and keep the world sober while manufacturing rum at a good profit; these are vital questions alike for good livers, priests, and political economists. Janssens tells a story showing how the liquor-loving savages of San Gabriel used to outwit him while making into wine and brandy the grape crop of the mission. It was in

1840, while Don Juan Bandini was in charge. Janssens observed that the Indians at work about the stills were always more than half drunk, and well swollen out in face and belly; the question was, How did they get hold of the liquor? In vain was everything closely watched night and day, and every imaginary loop-hole kept under lock and key. In vain liberal rations of wine were dealt out to them morning, noon, and night. The mysterious intoxication increased, and bellies and faces waxed bigger and bigger. Finally it all came out, and no thirsty Maine man or Boston anti-prohibitionist showed more shrewdness in evading the law than these so lately gentle heathen, thus whitewashed by civilization.

It was Janssens' custom, after he had fed the stills, to leave the Indians tending the fires, while he retired to his room, through which ran the tubes of the brandy stills and the water, the only exit the fluid had from the stills. It was a comparatively easy matter to watch the master, and while he was not looking, raise the cover of the stills and help themselves. This, however, was soon detected, and padlocks put on the covers, while the offenders were ironed. Then followed a neater trick. The wine was conveyed from the fermenting vats in barrels, with one of the heads off, the head being carried at the end of a long stick by the hindermost man. The burden was heavy, and the poor carriers were permitted to set it down and rest occasionally. "O, if this stick were only hollow!" sighed the hindermost. "A cane would do," answered the foremost, "and we could then take our turn carrying the barrel-head." And so it all came about; after which manifestation of the power of mind over matter, it were calumny to say that these heathen could not be christianized.

In a beautiful plain north of San Gabriel was the mission of San Fernando, founded in 1797, where was distilled annually two thousand gallons each of wine and fine brandy. In 1826, besides large herds of

cattle, sheep, horses, mules, and swine, it had in store $50,000 worth of merchandise, and $90,000 in specie.

The mission of San Buenaventura owned about 1,500 square miles, sixteen leagues north of San Fernando. Besides stock, orchards, and vineyards, it had, ten years before its secularization in 1835, $35,000 in merchandise, $27,000 in specie and church ornaments, and clothing to the value of $61,000.

Saint Bonaventura, cardinal-bishop, was one of the great doctors of the church, and ex-minister-general of the Franciscans. This establishment, with the Santa Bárbara channel at its door, was founded at royal expense on the 31st of March, 1782, by the father-president, Junípero Serra, associated with Father Pedro Benito Cambon—both priests remained in charge temporarily until the arrival of the royal ship, which brought out more missionaries. A new church was dedicated to the service of God in the mission on the 9th of September, 1809, by its ministers, friars José Señan and Márcos Antonio de Victoria, assisted by the clergyman, José Ignacio Argüello, a son of ex-governor pro tem. Joseph Darío Argüello of this California, and subsequently governor of Lower California, and friars Luis Gil de Taboada, José Antonio Calzada, José Antonio Urresti, and José María de Zalvidea, ministers respectively of Santa Bárbara, Santa Inés, San Fernando, and San Gabriel. On the 11th of the same month were transferred thereto from the old church the remains of Father Vicente de Santa María, ex-minister, who died on July 16, 1806. This church was greatly damaged by earthquakes, which rendered it necessary to erect a temporary hut of straw at San Joaquin and Santa Ana, about three quarters of a league away, to serve as a temple. The people had been obliged to move from the mission buildings, fearing from the agitation of the sea that a tidal wave would flood it. In November 1818, there was another flight from the mission, during the presence of three weeks and three days on the coast of two insurgent

ships of Buenos Aires, which, under Bouchard, had bombarded and plundered Monterey. There is an entry in the book of baptisms of the mission, on the 30th of December, 1827, in which the minister, Friar Josef Altimira, formerly of San Francisco, and who first planted the symbol of christianity in the Sonoma valley, certifies having christened Papenajáa, a half-breed from the Hawaiian islands, "whose natives live without knowing the true God, in a most dark and diabolical superstition, practising idolatrous rites, and paying a cult, 'muy animal ó bestial que dan al padre pe la mentira, y gefe de los abismos.'" The zealous father stated this upon information given him by his steward, an Englishman named George Colman, who had lived ten years on those islands, and had lately joined the catholics. Among the notable burials here recorded were three soldiers, in 1810, murdered by Mojaves, who visited the mission; of three Indian centenarians, all women, one of 100, another of 105, and the third of 114, and supposed to be even older. Also, besides Father Santa María, were buried in the mission church August 25, 1823, José Señan, vice-prefect, and twice president of the missions; June 18, 1831, Francisco Suñer.

Santa Bárbara, famous for its choice wines and profuse hospitality, was located some nine leagues north of San Buenaventura, upon a picturesque elevation about three miles inland. The mission buildings were of stone walls, with two towers at one end, between which was a high gable, and two wings, all of stone. The roof was covered with tiles laid in cement, and in the towers were several richly toned bells from Spain. In one of the wings lived the padres; the other was the prison, while rows of adobe huts near by were occupied by the Indians. Near the church was a beautiful garden, surrounded by a high fence of stone and cement, yielding a variety of choice fruit. In front of the church were constructed of solid masonry a series of tasteful fountains, a pool, and a res-

ervoir seventy feet long. Water was brought from an adjoining hill through an open stone aqueduct, and near it were the grist-mill and bath-house, the latter a stone structure six by ten feet, over the door of which a beautiful jet of water was thrown from a stone lion's head. The water, after performing divers duties, was carried to the tannery, and finally dispersed over the soil in irrigating canals. The church was sixty by one hundred and sixty feet, forty feet in height, and the walls eight feet in thickness. Paintings adorned the walls, and sepulchral vaults, the final resting-place of the clergy, underlaid the floor. Richly furnished dressing-rooms opened into the church, and the ususl paraphernalia of worship adorned the altar. From the chancel a door opened into a walled cemetery consecrated to the burial of baptized Indians. Within this enclosure was a general tomb, six feet in depth, with heavy walls six feet apart, in which the Indians were first buried. As the place became filled, the bones were removed to a spot within the enclosure.

According to a certificate of the father-president, religious ceremonies were held by him on the spot where the presidio was established on the 21st of April, 1782. The foundation of a mission was suspended till toward the end of 1786, when it was carried out half a league to the northwest. Notable events: January 10, 1795, Ignacio Rochin, soldier, executed for murder; February 4, 1798, was buried Captain José Francisco Ortega, who was a sergeant of the troops at the foundation of San Diego in 1769, a most efficient officer; February 11, 1801, José Antonio Rosas, a soldier, born in Los Angeles, convicted of *bestiale peccatum*, and sentenced to be burnt, together with the beast, was shot; his body was passed over fire, and then given christian burial; February 24, 1824, there was an Indian revolt, and some twenty-nine of the rebels were killed, thirteen of whom were buried by the missionary, and the rest by their com-

panions; December 28, 1848, Joseph Lynch, Peter Remer, and Peter Quinn, murderers of the Reed family in the mission San Miguel, were executed at Santa Bárbara, and buried in the city cemetery; Ramon Rodriguez, who lost his life in the pursuit of these malefactors, had been buried on the 13th of the same month; February 26, 1852, Cárlos Antonio Carrillo, who, in 1838, received from Mexico the appointment of governor of California, but was not permitted to act as such by the northern Californians, was buried here to-day. It is known that the remains of Governor Figueroa were deposited in the mission in 1835, though no record of the fact appears in its books. There is no evidence that they were taken away again. The following missionaries were buried in the mission church, to wit: February 14, 1793, Antonio Paterna; December 2, 1829, Antonio Jayme, who had served upwards of 30 years in California; Antonio Menendez, a Dominican, who was acting as chaplain of the presidio by permission of the father-president, Narciso Durán; November 1834, Francisco Javier de Uría; December 18, 1840, Buenaventura Fortuny; May 3, 1846, Francisco García Diego, first bishop of the Californias, who died on the 30th of April, at the age of sixty years; June 3, 1846, Narciso Durán, president of the missions, one of the guardians of the vacant diocese, who had been vicar-forain of the bishop of Sonora, and twice prefect of the missions.

The missionary, Friar Luis Gil de Taboada, said that on the 8th of December, 1812, while he was at the presidio of Santa Bárbara, the earth shook most violently, and the sea receded, forming a high hill. He, with all the people, ran toward the mission, chanting the litany to the virgin Mary. Suddenly there was a great calm. And yet all was not calm. For, upon setting up in the ground a pole with a ball upon the top, in a place where no wind blew upon it, the ball was constantly in motion during eight days. After that, the ball would keep still for two or three

hours, and then move again. This lasted about a fortnight. Hundreds of miracles went unrecorded hereabout, because, first, they were too frequent to be startling, and secondly, the fat priests were too lazy to write them down.

It was an even thing between them sometimes—Christ and Belial—as represented by the army chaplain and the soldiers, though when it came to the darker-skinned natives—for that of the Mexican was dark enough—both Christ and Belial were against them.

There was Father Antonio Menendez, at one time chaplain at Santa Bárbara, a Dominican of gay feather even for an army chaplain of the olden time. Men's souls for heaven, but women for himself, he loved, and wine and cards. This good man was once stationed at San Diego, at the time when Pio Pico as a young man was trading between that point and Lower California. One day Pico arrived with a fine lot of sugar, upon which the good priest cast his eye covetously.

"What say you, Don Pio, let me deal you a little monte this evening?"

"With pleasure, holy father, and may Saint Dominic help us."

Game after game continued, until when the short hours were reached, all of Pico's sugar had melted into the priest's capacious maw. And with this lot of sugar was gone young Pico's entire capital, none of which the priest offered to return. On the contrary, he reviled his victim.

"Know you, Pio amigo, that you just now reminded me of our Saviour's visit to this world?"

"How so?" growled Pico.

"Listen," said the priest:

> "'Cristo vino al mundo á redimir el pecado;
> Vino por lana y se fué trasquilado!'"

Which is to say:

> Christ came to ransom man of woman born;
> He sought his sheep, himself departed shorn.

The mission of Santa Inés, thirteen leagues north of Santa Bárbara, held less land than any of the others, but it possessed beautiful horses, and vast herds of other stock. In 1823, the property of this mission was valued at $800,000.

The natives called the place Alajulapu. It was on the 17th of September, 1804, that it was formally taken from them by Father Estévan Tapis, president of the missions, associated with three other missionaries. Its first ministers were fathers José Antonio Calzada and José Romualdo Gutierrez. Among others buried here were the missionaries, José Antonio Calzada, December 24, 1814, whose remains were transferred on July 4, 1817, to the new church this day dedicated to divine service; July 26, 1836, Márcos Antonio Saizardo Vitoria y Odriozola; September 20, 1840, Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta; May 24, 1842, Ramon Abella; December 28, 1845, Juan Moreno. An ecclesiastical seminary was established here on the 4th of May, 1844.

In 1836, when Colonel Mariano Chico, the new jefe político and comandante general, was in Santa Bárbara, on his way to Monterey to take formal possession of his offices, Father Antonio Jimeno, then chief missionary of Santa Inés, provided a meal for him and suite at the Tecolote, where lived the neophyte Cristóbal Manojo, an Indian sixty years old, but lively and witty, and with Spanish speech peculiarly quaint. The savage was directed by the father to be present, and attend on the great man, who was apprised of the Indian's peculiar wit and ways. But the fellow failed to present himself, and only turned up after Chico had departed. Being asked to account for his failure to come and present his respects to the jefe político, he answered:

"O, father, it did not suit me to be in company with a bad man. He is a rascal. Don't you see he is a boy, and wears spectacles? I saw him when he was coming, and noticed his eyes looking from under his spectacles. I am afraid of him."

"Nay, not so," said the other, "he is a good gentleman; he is our general."

"Wait a while, and you will see," said the savage. "Á ver quien gana, tú ó yo"—tell me by and by if he be good or bad.

It is a matter of history that this jefe político was one of the most despotic rulers who ever came to the Californias.

Then there was Purísima, and the regal San Luis Obispo, and fourteen leagues away San Miguel, whose lands, sixty leagues in circumference, contained many farming tracts of remarkable fertility.

La Purísima was first founded on the valley of the Santa Rosa river, in the place called by the natives Algsacupi, on the 8th of December, 1787, by Father Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, president of the missions. Its first ministers were fathers Vicente Fuster and Joseph Arroita. The mission was transferred, on April 23, 1813, to the Cañada de los Berros, and the site called Amúu by the Indians. Its ministers then were Mariano Payeras and Antonio Ripoll. The former, while prefect of the missions, died, and was buried in this mission on the 29th of April, 1823. On the 1st of January, 1836, there were in this establishment 192 men and 130 women.

The mission named Gloriosísimo Príncipe Arcángel Señor San Miguel was placed on the site known by the natives as Raticá, or Vaticá. The date of foundation was the 25th of July, 1797, and the founder, President Lasuen. Its first ministers were friars Buenaventura Sitjar and Antonio de la Concepcion.

The mission of San Luis Obispo, one of the wealthiest in California, was situated three miles from the coast, and about eighteen leagues north from La Purísima. Luis Martinez, under whose charge the agriculture and industry of this mission assumed the grandest proportions, was a man of no common energy and ability. Every mountain stream was made tributary to his rich lands, which covered a wide area along

the ocean. He planted cotton, grew olives, taught his Indians to catch otter, and navigate a launch to Santa Bárbara. At Santa Margarita was a well-filled granary 190 feet long. Upon his table were always found the choicest delicacies, rich wines, and game; and his guests were welcomed and entertained in a princely manner. When obliged to abandon his work, upon its secularization in 1834, it is said that he returned to Spain with piety and industry well rewarded in the shape of money to the amount of $100,000. This the good father no doubt thought better than taking his chances on everything in the next world.

San Luis Obispo de Tolosa, this mission is called, and it dates from the 1st of September, 1772, when it was formed by Junípero Serra on the Cañada de los Osos, called by the natives Tixlini. The first ministers who took charge of the spiritual and temporal affairs of its neophytes were Domingo Juncosa and Joseph Cavaller. The records of this mission are incomplete. The number of baptisms therein from the date of foundation to September 21, 1821, was 2,549. The original book of marriages was burnt on November 29, 1776, at which time there had been 56, and to the end of 1784, 163. The number of deaths to the 7th of November, 1838, including a few not neophytes, were 2,441.

José de Jesús Pico, speaking of gold found near the mission early in the century, says: "To several of us Father Luis A. Martinez, in 1829, gave gold; to myself, Raimundo, and Gabriel de la Torre, and Francisco Soto, he made a present of about twenty ounces of gold, not coined, but in little balls of one ounce each; because he had much affection for us, who had been his pupils and acolytes here in the mission where we learned to chant church music. The two brothers Raimundo and Gabriel and I had been with the padre over a year before we enlisted as soldiers. This gold must have been found at the

place called San José, near the mission. There were then—we being little boys—about twelve Spaniards within the site proper of the mission, who, as I believe, were engaged in cleaning silver and gold; and I ground my belief on this, that the father had many flasks of quicksilver, together with tools and materials for cleaning these metals. I know this, that we often desired to go in and see what these men were doing, and never were permitted. It was only some Indian alcalde that was allowed to enter the quarters under menace of severe punishment if he divulged any secret."..."When José Mariano Bonilla took charge of the mission he still found a room full of flasks of quicksilver and cotton, and it was he who sold the quicksilver to a vessel."

This Martinez once travelled from San Luis Obispo to San Cárlos in a fine coach, with coachman and postillion. The two savages who served in the latter capacity were gorgeously attired, silver and gold trappings shining resplendent. Now when this came to the ears of the father-prefect, Sarría, who was humility itself, he was wroth, and Martinez was severely reprimanded for his violation of the rules of the Franciscans, as in this carriage ride, however much he may have enjoyed it, there was about it little poverty or humility.

It was customary for the prelate and the missionaries to assemble from time to time at the San Cárlos mission for the purpose of consultation. On such occasions the missionaries proceeded to Monterey in carriages, while others rode on horseback. From Monterey to the Carmelo, some four or five miles, all walked, proceeding in double file, the Indian servants in charge of the carriages and animals bringing up the rear.

In the plain called Llano del Rey, fifteen leagues south-west from Monterey, stood Soledad, the indefatigable father of which mission, in order to obtain a plentiful supply of water, constructed with Indian

labor an aqueduct fifteen miles in length, by means of which 20,000 acres of fertile land was every year redeemed for the summer drought. So rapidly did horses breed at this mission that they were given away at times in order to preserve pasturage for cattle.

Nuestra Señora de la Soledad was placed on the site named by the natives Chuttusgelis, the 9th of October, 1791, by the father president. Lasuen, who made Friars Diego García, and Mariano Rubí its first ministers. The records show that there were 2,290 baptisms to 1841, 738 marriages, and 1887 deaths in the same period. This mission holds the remains of Colonel José Joaquin de Arrillaga, governor and commander of the forces of California, who died there on the 24th of July 1814, and was buried the 26th; also those of the missionary Florencio Ibañez, who was buried on November 18, 1818.

Mrs Ord states that the mission San Miguel was visited by her in 1833, when it still retained its wealth, Father Cabot showing her the warehouses full of produce and goods; there was also a considerable amount of money. When she was there again in 1835, she did not see even a tumbler to drink out of, and had to use a small jícara that she had with her. All the effects of the mission, the cattle inclusive, had disappeared.

The mission San Antonio de Padua was begun on the 14th of July 1771. It is situated in the sierra of Santa Lucía and Cañada de los Osos. Its founder was Serra, and its first ministers were Friars Miguel Pieras and Buenaventura Sitjar. The number of baptisms effected in it to the 14th of June 1850 was 4,571; of marriages to June 18, 1846, 1,282; of deaths to April 22, 1849, 4,063. Interred in this church were: March 15, 1801, Francisco Puyol, minister of San Cárlos, and September 3, 1808, Buenaventura Sitjar, both of whose remains were on the 14th of June, 1813, placed in one grave in the pres-

bytery; February 8, 1830, Juan Bautista Sancho, who with Father Pedro Cabot left Spain in company and lived together for a period of twenty-six years in this mission; May 24, 1835, Vicente Francisco de Sarría, minister of La Soledad, and who had served as prefect of the missions two terms of six years each. On the death of the president, Father Señan, who named Sarría his successor in August 1823, the latter assumed the duties, calling himself vice-president of the missions. Through his mediation the Indian revolt at Santa Inés, La Purísima, and Santa Bárbara in 1824, was terminated. When the mission San Antonio was in charge of fathers Juan Cabot and Juan B. Sancho, the latter directed agricultural operations, and also attended to the music, the mission having a good orchestra. He always kept near his person a handsome Indian boy named Josafat, who was charged to give timely warning of the venomous ants abounding in that region. Nevertheless the padre was often bitten, and then Josafat received a whipping at the hands of the mestizo, Antonio Rosas. Later Josafat became a good cook, whereupon the pious Sancho gormandized, and in consequence often had the stomach ache, for which Josafat was blamed, and given six or eight lashes, which caused the latter to ruminate on the mysterious ways of providence. These facts were obtained from Josafat himself in 1847, when he was still living in San Antonio at an advanced age.

A redeemed red man, named Jacinto, was once detected by Father Ambris, the parish priest, carrying off some fruit from the mission orchard at San Antonio hidden in a corner of his blanket. On being called a thief and a shameless fellow, he answered, "No Señor, I am no thief; those trees were sprinkled by my father and myself with the blood of our loins and buttocks. They did not cost you anything; and you claim them as your own simply because you say to us 'Dominus Vobiscum.'" Whereupon he turned

away, imitating the padre's lame walk and laughing at him. Oh, the beast, the backslider! But was there not here in this benighted brain more of manifest thought and originality of ideas than are found in twenty scores of pulpits?

Early in 1835 there was an Indian uprising; about 300 armed savages coming to the mission and threatening to kill the administrator, Mariano Soberanes, and his family, who had to shut themselves up in the mansion and barricade its doors. But through the eloquent pleadings of Captain Juan de D. Padilla, an old veteran of the Mexican war of independence, and the clerk and schoolmaster Florencio Serrano, and their good offices with Father Vazquez del Mercado, who seemed to be the instigator of the insurrectionary movement, the Indians retired without committing any violence. A few days later Administrator Soberanes was recalled by Governor Figueroa.

San Antonio was on a stream sixteen leagues north of San Miguel. Its lands embraced a circuit of forty-eight leagues, and the waters of San Antonio were conducted for twenty miles in paved trenches and dispensed over rich tracts.

La Purísima was seven leagues northward from Santa Inés, in the Coast Range, with about 1,300 square miles of land. This mission was likewise celebrated for the beauty and speed of its horses. At one time cattle increased to such an extent that permits were granted by the presiding priest for free slaughter in order to reduce the number. Thousands were killed under these permissions for the hides and tallow.

In the valley of Carmelo, which opens upon the little bay four miles south of Monterey, and through which winds a beautiful stream, stood the imposing mission of San Cárlos, founded in 1770, and secularized with the rest by 1835. It was an undulating, grassy country, over which were scattered oak, pine, and birch trees, the whole carpeted and perfumed with flowers in the spring. The mission buildings

stood on an elevation near the sea, and enclosed a square of about half an acre. On the north side of the square was the church and the apartments of the padres, while the adobe houses of the natives occupied the other sides. The dining-hall adjoining the church was about twenty by forty feet, with grated windows and wooden inside shutters. On one side was an aperture through which food from the kitchen was passed, while from the other sides doors opened into the four cells of the friars. An outside stairway led to the church tower, where hung six bells, one of which rang for meals, work, and rest, and the others for church services; and by means of which the daily routine of the mission was conducted with such regularity that even the laboring animals understood and obeyed. Ten years before its fall a piratical cruiser was reported on the coast, when the worthy friars counted up their specie to bury it, and found on hand $40,000. The place was deserted in 1840, overgrown with grass and brush, with scattering Indian huts in the vicinity, a family of half-breeds keeping the keys of the church.

The mission San Cárlos Borromeo was originally founded on June 3, 1770, on a site a gunshot from the beach of Monterey, and three times as far from the port on an inlet communicating with the bay at high water. It was transferred in 1771 to Carmelo bay and river; hence it has often been called mission del Carmelo, but San Cárlos was always its proper name. The foundation was made by Serra, at royal expense, like that of the other missions, and its first ministers were the father president and Father Juan Crespí. Among those buried in its church were: August 29, 1784, prefect and president, Junípero Serra, doctor of philosophy, by Father Francisco Palou, in the presence among others of the reverend Cárlos Diaz, captain of the royal vessel San Cárlos, and friars Buenaventura Sitjar, minister of San Antonio, Mathias de Santa Catharina of San Cárlos, and Antonio Paterna

of San Luis Obispo. June 27, 1803, was interred Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, president of the missions, vicar-forain for the bishop of Sonora, commissary of the Inquisition. He was buried by Father Baltasar Carnicer, Lieutenant-Colonel José Antonio Romeu, governor and commander of the forces, who died at Monterey on April 9, 1792, was buried at San Cárlos on the following day. Lieutenant-colonel Pedro de Alberni, captain of the Catalan infantry company, and military commandant of Alta California, who died at Monterey, March 11, 1802, was likewise buried here.

The edifice had a single aisle. In the south was a small chapel, being the first church founded by Father Junípero Serra, and was named Capilla de los Dolores. In the centre of the altar in this chapel was a large statue of Christ, later placed in the catholic parish church at Monterey. In the same parochial church were placed a St John the Evangelist and a Dolorosa, formerly belonging to that chapel. Above the sanctuary of the large church was the chief or high altar. St Charles, the patron saint, occupied a niche opposite the centre of the altar, St Joseph on one side, and St Anthony with the child Jesus on the other. There were other niches with statues of the archangels, and other altars with saints and devices of the catholic worship. The church had two towers, one of them arched with four large bells which were heard at the presidio; the other tower had two bells. Among the statues and pictures were those of St Benedict of Palermo, a Dolorosa with Christ dead in her arms, and a small statue of Christ of the size of an average child of two years. Of pictures there was a St Rose, one of Glory, another of Hell, exhibiting the condemned in their tortures. There were fourteen paintings of the passion of Christ, which were placed in the parish church of Monterey. There was one remarkable painting representing a beautiful, vain woman with a snake coiled around her arm, and

in the act of biting her under one of her breasts, the ornaments in her ears and on her arms were toads, serpents, and other unclean animals.

Paulino Serra, an Indian who was baptized at the San Cárlos mission by the father president, was till the day of the priest's death his body servant. Paulino was married, but not satisfied for he became enamoured of the caporal's wife. He was a knowing chap; and though his Spanish was imperfect, he was none the less thereby prevented from perpetrating poetry. On day while sitting at the house of Toribio Martinez, an old soldier and founder of the presidio, situated in the Huerta Vieja, just out of the presidio's walls, he broke out in the following quatrain

Aquí me siento, me canto,
Rimado con el Pader
A ver si puedo me saco
Del caporal su mujer.

Which transformed into correct Spanish would be

Aquí me siento á cantar
Arrimado á esta pared
Por ver si puedo sacar
Del caporal la mujer.

which signifies that he was there singing, seated by the wall, to see if he could not draw out the idol of his heart, the caporal's wife.

On St John's day in 1842 Rafael Gonzalez of Monterey invited several friends to dine with him. He had an Indian cook named Principis, an ex-neophyte of the San Cárlos mission, of whom he was particularly proud.

"I will show you this day, señores, specimens of the culinary art such as you do not often encounter."

The viands were thereupon ordered served. The guests waited, but nothing was brought in. Gonzalez grew impatient, and asked of his servants if dinner was not yet ready.

"No, nor will it be, I fear, señor."

"What!" demanded the master.

"There is no dinner."

"No dinner! Send hither the cook."

"Now, fellow, tell me, why dost thou not serve the dinner?"

"Señor, it has all been eaten," coolly answered the savage.

"All eaten; what do you mean?"

"Dost not thou eat every day, Señor? Months pass, sometimes, wherein my parientes may not once fairly fill themselves. I cannot see my kindred suffer!"

Within an amphitheatre of mountains benched by scalloped hills and broad flats sinks a basin, rimmed even on the seaward side; and in this basin sits the town of Santa Cruz; while on the rim, at the end of the bench, where the river San Lorenzo breaks through, and amidst hundreds of beautiful homes, stands the mission, the old church—which the last time I saw it was in use as a stable—cornering on the bluff, with an irregular square in front of it. Patches of fresco still adhered to the walls of the chapel.

On the left, looking toward the ocean down a steep embankment, is the broad river-bottom of the San Lorenzo, covered with waving foliage of every hue of green. Beyond, the bank rises into a bluff again, back of it the plain or bench, and back of that the mountains. From this point the western sun sinks, not into the sea, but behind the hills. Just above the lighthouse is a stony beach, the strata upturned edgewise, and upon this unyielding barrier, full of holes and abrasions, the waves break eternally, wave after wave, every moment one. Thus at Santa Cruz to-day is seen a city with its shops, churches, and temples of sensuality; its street-cars, telegraphs, and diverging lines of railways; its bummers and boot-blacks; its lawyers, doctors, and merchants; its milliners and milliner-made women.

The mission was founded on the 25th of September, 1791, its first ministers being friars Alonso Salazar and Baldomero Lopez. On the 10th of May, 1794, Friar Thomas de la Peña, associated with other priests, dedicated, with the usual pomp, the new church.

García Diego, bishop of the Californias, on the 16th of June, 1844, declared its main altar privileged, in that all priests, whether secular or regular, officiating thereat, might free from the sufferings of purgatory the soul of the person in whose behalf the holy sacrifice of the mass should be applied, this privilege to be good only for one hundred years, reckoned from said year. The bishop ordered the minister of Santa Cruz to give due publicity to his decree. This mission was plundered by Indians and others in 1818, during the removal of valuables, because of the invasion and bombardment of Monterey by two armed insurgent vessels from Buenos Aires under Bouchard. A general inventory and valuation of the mission and its property, made on December 1, 1835, showed the total of assets to be $84,335, and of liabilities, $4,979. The mission had 3,700 head of neat cattle, 110 tame horses, 400 mares, and 2,900 head of sheep, 28 hogs, besides 30 yoke of oxen, 41 mules, 7 jacks, 4 pregnant jennies, and a drove of yeguas aburradad.

A monster of cruelty ruled here from 1818 to 1821 —Father Ramon Olbés, though he kept the neophytes well clothed and fed. He would attend in person to the distribution of rations, first to the men and then to the women. Once he noticed two neophyte women with scratched faces, for they had been fighting. One of them was childless. Olbés inquired into the cause of the quarrel, and demanded the reason of the woman having no children, why it was so. Neither decency nor humanity restrained the priest. He would not accept the woman's explanation, and undertook to examine her person, but she resisted so violently that he was obliged to call to his aid the alcalde and the interpreter. Thereupon the brutes stripped the woman, and had her severely flogged, after which she was placed in irons, and confined in the monfério, or single women's quarters. The next step taken by this nineteenth century missionary of Christ was to have a wooden doll made, resembling a new-born child, and

compelled the woman to carry it about as if it were her infant, thus wreaking his revenge, and bringing the poor creature into deep debasement by reason of her infirmity. For nine days she was compelled to present herself at the church door with this insult in her arms. All the sterile women became greatly alarmed lest they should be so treated. The woman's husband must likewise be brought into ridicule. A pair of ox-horns were fastened with thongs to his head, in which guise, being also in irons, the man was brought from his prison to attend mass every day. As he passed along, the other Indians mocked him, playing with him as with a bull.

Upon the authority of Lorenzo Asisara, a neophyte born at this mission, this same Father Olbés often had the Indians flogged on their bellies. Even children of eight or ten years were given twenty-five lashes by the hand of a strong man, either on the back or belly, according to the padre's whim. He never ordered less than fifty lashes to a grown man or woman. Once there was a riot, because he wanted to flog on the belly a man named Dámaso, who had not been at work that afternoon, and was somewhat late in reporting himself after working hours.

The mission of San Juan Bautista, situated thirty miles northeasterly from Monterey, was founded in 1794, and secularized in 1834. In 1820, it owned $75,000 in merchandise, $20,000 in specie, 44,000 cattle, 69,000 sheep, and 6,000 horses.

The aboriginal name of the place was Popeloutachom. The father-president, Lasuen, officiated at the founding, on the 21st of June, 1797, and the first ministers appointed thereto were Joseph Manuel de Martiarena and Pedro Adriano Martinez. The number of christenings effected from the foundation to the 9th of December, 1849, was 4,896, including the gente de razon; that of marriages to November 29, 1849, 1,313; and that of burials to November 23, 1849, 4,617. There are burials recorded in the mission books: Sep-

tember 14, 1808, Father Andrés Dulanto; November 25, 1821, Sebastian Arrista, "intendente honoraris de provincia, comendado de la real órden americana de Isabel la católica," a native of and refugee from Perú, who died on the 24th; November 4, 1825, Father Estévan Tapis, minister of the mission, and ex-president of the missions. He had been minister of other missions. A poor fellow, buried October 28, 1819, lost his life "because he ate tobacco mixed with burnt shells, which is customary among the Indians." On the 13th of June, 1803, was laid the corner-stone for a new church, which was finished and dedicated to the service of God on the 23d of June, 1812.

Six miles from the embarcadero, at the southern extremity of the bay of San Francisco, in one of the richest valleys of the state, is situated the mission of Santa Clara, which in 1823 branded as one year's increase 22,400 calves. Besides a most magnificent church edifice, garnished with massive silver, the mission owned merchandise to the amount of $120,000, 75,000 head of cattle, 6,000 horses, and 82,000 sheep.

This mission was established on the 12th of January, 1777, by Junípero Serra, on the site called by the natives Thamien, and dedicated to "Santa Clara de Assis, vírgen, abadesa, y matriarcha de su celebérrima religion." Its first ministers were friars Joseph Antonio de Murguía and Thomas de la Peña. On the 19th of November, 1781, was laid by Serra the corner-stone of a new church for the mission, which being finished on the fifth Sunday after easter, was on that day solemnly dedicated to divine service by Father Serra, in the presence of fathers Francisco Palon and Peña. Governor Pedro Fages, who acted as secular sponsor, and Joseph Joachim Moraga, commandant of the presidio of San Francisco, were also present. On the 6th of March, 1833, the mission was transferred by the Fernandino friars to those of the college of Guadalupe de Zacatecas, and several ministers have been buried in the church of this mission: May 12,

1784. Joseph Antonio de Jesus María Murguía, and on the 22d of November, 1830, Magin Catala, to whom was popularly attributed certain miraculous powers, on the strength of which, it is presumed, the church took, in 1884, preliminary steps toward his beatification. Eusebio Galindo says: "Very many years before the Americans took this country, he told us we were to be witnesses of extraordinary events, including atmospheric changes, droughts, and other calamities, predicting at the same time the discovery of great riches toward the north, the coming of immense numbers of strangers from all parts of the world, and the establishment of many religious sects. He likewise announced that the missionaries would be expelled from California, but he would remain till death overtook him, which came to pass.

According to Kotzebue, the monjerio of Santa Clara in 1824 was entitled to the name of dungeon. He says the dungeons were opened two or three times a day to allow the inmates to attend church; that he saw the girls rush eagerly to breathe the fresh air, and were driven into the church by an old white man with a stick. After church service, they were driven back to their prisons. Some had their feet ironed, as a consequence of detected transgression.

In a rich valley east of the southern end of San Francisco bay, and fifteen miles north of the town which bears its name, was situated the mission of San José. This establishment for many years supplied the Russian settlements with grain. The archives now before me affirm that from 80 bushels of wheat sown was gathered the same year 8,600 bushels, and the year following, from the scatterings of the first harvest, 5,200 bushels. Besides a fine vineyard and fruit-trees, in 1825 it owned 62,000 cattle, besides horses, sheep, and mules, and watched over 3,000 Indians.

Mission San José boasted a good stone church, which was preserved beyond the days of secularization.

The place where was founded this mission was called by the natives Oroysom. On the 11th of June, 1797, the father-president, Lasuen, performed the ceremony, its first ministers being padres Isidro Barcenilla and Agustin Merino; but the first baptism took place only on the 2d of September of that year. The number of baptisms at this church from that date to May 8, 1859, was 8,945; that of marriages from September 24, 1797, to May 17, 1859, 2,587; and of deaths to April 25, 1859, 6,945. There is no entry in the book of interments for the period from May 1, 1849, to May 18, 1850. There is an entry by Father Duran on May 7, 1832, which says, "estoy aburrido con tanto enfermo, y morirse estos indios mas frágiles que el vidrio"; adding that he had five boys whose only occupation was to keep him advised of Indians taken sick, that no one should die without the sacraments. Father Rafael de Jesus Moreno, minister of Santa Clara, one of the college of Guadalupe Zacatecas, was buried here on June 9, 1839. José María Amador assures us that the Indians of mission San José were dealt with most rigorously. Violations of duty were seldom overlooked, a slight punishment being fifteen lashes, and a more serious one twenty-five. Any Indian failing to attend his work for two weeks, without leave or without good excuse, received fifty lashes. Fighting in the rancherías, accompanied with bloodshed, was punished with one hundred lashes, and the offenders were also kept in irons at the guard-house during the hours of rest for a week or two. Indians who failed to present themselves for prayers at the church were recorded in a list. No Indian was ever sent for, but when he made his appearance, the father at San José would say, "dente el socorro espiritual"—let him have the spiritual relief, according to the fault; if the absence had been of one day, six lashes; if from two days to a week, fifteen to twenty-five lashes. Sometimes the grim inquisitor would wax facetious over his painful duty.

"Ah, Lugo, is that you? Which way sits the wind, my son?"

"From the southwest, Señor.

"Yes, yes," Duran would say, striking a meditative attitude. "Well, let it rain."

Then, as the "spiritual relief" fell on the shoulders of the culprit, the good father would stand by and emphasize the blows by ridicule or cutting irony, or if in the humor, he might remit a portion of the punishment.

Every day there were a number of Indians flogged —some days as many as ten. The Indians did not seem greatly to mind short floggings, for after receiving them, they would rise up cheerfully and go to their work.

José María Amador, who relates to me the above, says that he never saw at the missions of Santa Clara, San José, San Francisco de Asís, San Rafael, or San Francisco Solano, the cruel punishments inflicted of which he heard as occurring at Santa Cruz, San Antonio, and other places. He looks upon the punishments he witnessed in the light more of reprimands than cruelty.

He relates an occurrence at Santa Clara, while Padre José Viader had charge of the mission. Three Indians had failed to appear at roll-calling. There was a large hole in the ground near the *ayunte*, into which the three Indians, by the advice of a soldier, went, and covered themselves with dry grass, which the soldier set fire to. The Indians rushed out, greatly frightened, which set the padre roaring with laughter. They came and knelt before him, kissing his hand, and he forgave them.

The Indians had converts to their beliefs as well as the Christians. For instance: the owl could paralyze the forefeet of horses on dark nights so that they could not travel. Then there were miracles in the form of sleight-of-hand. Amador says that when he was majordomo of the mission San José, an Indian of

Santa Clara, named Firmo, often came there to promote dances and practise devilish tricks. On such visits, the San José Indians failed to report for work. Father Gonzalez ordered Amador to ascertain the cause of such absences. He disguised himself and went to the woods where the dance was going on. The Indians recognized him, but said nothing to the sorcerer. This man swallowed a piece of *pita*, or agave fibre, saying beforehand that a viper would come out of one of his big toes, and it so happened. He did it twice, with the utmost neatness, and Amador was greatly surprised. However, he had the fellow seized, bound, and carried to the mission, where he was put in irons, and awarded a novenary of twenty-five lashes, that is to say, this number of lashes every day during nine days, to teach him that he should not practise deviltry, and that it might serve as a warning to others.

The Santa Clara mission buildings were once of broad extent, and the seat of much wealth. The padre president sought to forestall the inroads of civilization by leaving the surrounding lands to immigrants; but the inevitable was thus but for a short time warded off.

Mission San Francisco was founded on the 1st of August, 1776, and its first ministers were fathers Francisco Palou and Pedro Benito Cambon. The corner-stone of a new church was laid April 25, 1782. The record says that under the stone were placed some relics—bones of Saint Pius, and other saints, five medals, and a considerable quantity of silver coin. The mission was visited by an epidemic of measles in 1806, causing the death of 236 children between the 24th of April and the 27th of June. The following entry appears in the book of interments, under date of July 22, 1814, and signed by Father Ramon Abella: "Buried to-day Biridiana, the last adult that saw the first ministers who founded the mission; at that time she was about 25 years of age; "y de seis leguas al

contomo todos se han muerto de los que vieron á los primeros padres; y de los que han nacido despues raros son los que viven." This resulted in 38 years; and it must be borne in mind that to the 20th of January, 1810, 3,896 Indians had been baptized, besides 197 children de razon. It is therefore not to be wondered at that a project was entertained since 1822 to transfer the mission to the northeastern *contra costa*, on the gentile frontier. In March 1823, Father José Altimira, then a minister of San Francisco, in a memorial to Governor Argüello, recommended the transfer, and an exploration was authorized and effected, the symbol of christianity being planted by the missionary in the Sonoma valley on the 4th of July, 1823. San Francisco was represented to be on its last legs, and San Rafael, a branch of said mission, could not subsist alone. Altimira, by the governor's authority, went over to San Rafael, and took possession of the property. On the 23d, he departed for Sonoma, with an escort and laborers, and at once commenced to erect necessary buildings. However, the father-prefect opposing the scheme, and complaining of such usurpation of his prerogative, much correspondence ensued, until finally a compromise was arrived at. New San Francisco was to remain as a mission of regular standing, with Altimira as its first minister, but he was to retain his connection as an associate with old San Francisco. Neither this mission nor San Rafael was suppressed. It was agreed, however, that neophytes of old San Francisco could, if they wished, be transferred to San Rafael, and return within a year.

A soured sailor of the Dutch-English persuasion, just prior to the middle of the century, saw in the sheltered plain of Dolores about twenty scattered houses, the only sign of activity being the bringing in of a bullock. "The road to the mission was fatiguing and monotonous," he says, "and led through thickets of low trees and deep sand. The surrounding country was far from being picturesque; we saw it, more-

over, under sad auspices, ruinous, dirty, and about to become the abode of the Mormonites. The church of the mission, a slovenly, ill-built edifice, decorated in a tawdry, unpleasant style, common in the poorer churches in Spain and Italy, was still in repair. The houses intended for the Indians were of the meanest description, mere mud hovels, with only one apartment, but disposed regularly in ranges and streets. These were for the married couples; those Indians who remained single were locked up in a quadrangle, formed by the houses of the superior, the priests, and officers of the establishment. The church, the factories or workshops, and the prison—everything, was carried on within itself; carpentering, weaving, blacksmiths' work, were all pursued with success under the auspices of the industrious, painstaking padres. However, the confinement in which the Indians were kept, and a solitary life, were usually found so irksome that few of them continued long under lock and key; they soon acquiesced in that state of passive obedience which it was the aim of the institution to establish. That the fathers did not go beyond appears to have been their great fault, the rock on which their system struck. We found the house of the superior in the possession of some Mormons, who had arrived in great force; they are a peculiar sect with sensual maxims, but apparently as long as they can exist in plenty, disposed to be harmless." Here are our blessed people brought down to the level of swine, and Latter-day Saints placed on a par with rattlesnakes which will not bite unless unduly stirred up!

In San Francisco Bay, and all along the coast, seals and sea-otter were very numerous. Señor Amador, of Mission San José, affirms that in 1830 with three or four natives he lassoed thirty out of a hundred sea-otter which he found at Point Quintin. The last of the race within the Golden Gate were at the mouth of Sonoma Creek, a small but happy family, under

the protection of Vallejo. There they enjoyed undisturbed their ancient home until 1846, when certain hunters crept in from Santa Bárbara in light canoes and shot every one of them, securing forty-two skins valued at sixty dollars each.

In 1825 the property of the mission of San Francisco consisted of lands forty leagues in circumference, $35,000 in merchandise and $25,000 in specie, 76,000 head of cattle, 3,000 horses, 79,000 sheep, 2,000 hogs, and 18,000 bushels of wheat and barley.

The record books of the mission San Rafael have been nearly all lost. I found at Saint Vincent's Orphan Asylum one book of marriages, and at the parish church of Dolores one of baptisms, marriages, and deaths; the former beginning in August 1840, afforded no information worth relating here. The latter shows that San Rafael Arcángel, called an *asistencia* was founded at the placed called by the natives Nanaguanui, by the father prefect Sarría on the 14th of December, 1817, in the presence of fathers Abella, Gil, and Duran. Father Luis Gil was placed in charge, but it was declared that San Rafael being a part of San Francisco, the ministers could act at either place. The saintly missionary Juan Amorós who had been serving in California since September 1804, the first fifteen years in San Cárlos, and the remainder of the time in San Rafael, died July 14, 1832, and was buried here.

Mission San Francisco Solano, situated in the Sonoma Valley, began its work on the 26th of December, 1823, with the burial of an Indian woman from San Francisco; on the 4th of April 1824 occurred the first baptism. The number of baptisms from that date to the end of 1839 was 1,494; that of interments to the end of 1839 was 875. The record shows that the mission was visited by a pestilence in 1833, and that about sixty natives died of it between August 13th and November 28th. The smallpox raged badly from July to December 1838.

The last minister of San Francisco Solano was Padre José Lorenzo Quijas. In person he was large and of great strength; in character he was resolute and fearless. Alvarado says that he excelled in oratorical powers and, being no hyprocrite, he did not hesitate to inveigh from the pulpit against what seemed to him immoral, whether the offender was grandee or churl. Kind-hearted as well as strong-minded, he was often found on the side of the weak. Feeling it his duty to champion the cause of certain prisoners in confinement, in 1838, at Sonoma, the bold friar found himself in collision with the feudal lord of the north. Again in 1843, when Vallejo resisted the collection of tithes for the purpose of founding a seminary at Santa Bárbara, Quijas was unsparing in upbraiding the recusant son of the church.

At the same time his own moral character was by no means above reproach. He preached well, and fought well for the right; but he could not help loving wine and women, for he was human; besides, could he not sell himself whatever indulgence he required, being one of the Lord's anointed? In taking the habit of his order, there clung to him some of the old Adam of his early life, for in his youth, Father Quijas had earned his living as a muleteer. He had five trains of pack-mules, and used to carry goods to Santa Fé, bringing back to Mexico beeves and sheep. He fell in love with a fair Santaferiana who jilted him, and in despair he became a friar. Salvador Vallejo says that during the first few years of his residence at Sonoma he was considered a model of virtue, but by reason of frequent visits to the trading vessels his morals were corrupted, and he took to strong drink, which ultimately made a wreck of him. He frequently went, without a pass, to Ross, and always returned full of liquor, and bringing plenty with him. The Russians themselves, no triflers with the bottle, swore that Father Quijas could hold his own with any Kadiak at Ross, while

Alvarado, who was well qualified to form an opinion in the matter, held that the friar could lay any man in California under the table.

In his cups he was, up to a certain stage, good-humored and agreeable, but when he exceeded that limit, which was almost always the case, he became quarelsome, and even dangerous.

Arnaz relates that when the governor of Ross visited San Francisco, a ball was given on board the Russian vessel. This ball Father Quijas attended, and was so carried away by his enthusiasm that he hastened to borrow Arnaz' coat in order to take part in the dance.

The estimated wealth of the twenty-one missions at the time of their opulence, in stock and grain, was $435,000, San Gabriel heading the list with $110,000, while San Rafael had but $5,000 worth of property.

All the missions of Upper California were under the control of a father president, who was responsible for his actions only to his superiors of the college of San Fernando in the city of Mexico. Each mission was directly managed by a resident priest, whose power over his flock was absolute, but who was subject to removal from one mission to another by the father president. It was the duty of the resident father to keep books of accounts and to make annual returns to the father president, which should be a faithful exhibit of the state of his charge, both in sacred and secular things; it should state the number of baptisms and conversions, births, marriages, and deaths; and should set forth the amount of stock and grain produced during the year, and the quantity remaining on hand. This statement was forwarded to the father president with a request for such articles as were needed by the mission for use during the ensuing year.

Thus we observe as a rule the missionaries and the soldiers coming, a little band of each together, to

occupy the country for God and the king, taking up their quarters near enough to be of aid to each other, but not so near that the soldiers should interfere with the work of the saints. The presidio, or soldiers' quarters, was usually at the port, or near the landing, as I have said, while the mission buildings would be placed some two leagues away. And when settlement began, the incomers at first always located themselves having an eye to proximity to the presidio, the towns indeed springing up usually immediately around them. But soon, owing to the mild character of the people and the country, immigrants settled themselves anywhere and everywhere throughout the entire region.

When a mission was to be founded, the first building erected was the presidio, whose forts and walls were of adobe, the latter eighteen feet high in some places, and in other less exposed points twelve or fourteen feet. On each side of the presidio was a clear space of about 300 feet. The walls were six feet thick, and had iron or bronze guns at each corner. The guns were generally useless, except to inspire terror. The San Diego Indians called them creators of thunder. Church, warehouses, and dwellings were all inside the walls. The gates were of heavy timber. Besides the central establishment there were on an extent of from thirty to forty square leagues, a number of accessory farms, and a few branch chapels at which religious services were held on stated days.

In the neighborhood of each presidio, and generally at a distance of four or five leagues, ranchos de real hacienda, or ranchos nacionales, were set apart for the use of the soldiers. These, at first, were also intended for depositaries of tithes, to be collected in cattle and grain by the government; but as the missions were never liable to tithes, and the other settlements were of small value, this branch of revenue was never of much consequence, and the ranchos only contained a few cattle belonging to the presidios. They were un-

der the direction of the commandants of the respective presidios.

The lands of each mission joined those of other missions on either side, so that all were connected, or, in other words, the missionaries occupied all the land along the coast, except the presidios, the three pueblos and their lands, and a few ranchos which were held by virtue of grants from the king of Spain.

I have said elsewhere that the missionaries objected to any settlements in the country but the missions; the presidios they regarded as a necessary evil. They would like to have all the lands to themselves. José María Amador related to Commandant-general Victoria the following case, which occurred in his presence. He and another soldier had gone to the mission San Luis Obispo escorting Father Tapís, who was then president and vicar-forain. It was on a quiet night, with the moon shining brightly. Amador and an old man from Spain were sitting on one side. The priests began a discussion on the nature of the moon, and the old Spaniard was asked by one of them for his opinion. He coolly remarked as follows: "Land it cannot be, nor water; frost, still less. Were it land, there would be sheep of the missions up there. For when your reverences hear of some poor fellow asking for a piece of land to place his live-stock on, and earn a living for himself and family, you say to the government that he must not have it, because the mission needs it for its flock of sheep."

At a later date, many of these ranchos, by virtue of the colonization law, were given to private individuals; but while they pertained to the missions, each rancho was managed by a mayordomo, either de razon or an Indian. Each rancho was, as a rule, dedicated to one particular branch of industry—as horned cattle, sheep, agriculture, and the like; but where two or more branches were attended to on the same rancho, each of these was under the care of a capataz. The neophytes who labored on these ranchos dwelt there,

and were subject to the same general discipline as those at the mission proper. Early in the present century, there were about 50,000 Indians connected with the missions. None but the alcaldes, carporales, and vaqueros were allowed to ride on horseback.

During the epidemic of measles, about 1825, which carried off so many natives, the mortality seemed to be greater on Sundays and Mondays; this was attributed to the free use of beef, as the slaughter of cattle and distribution of the meat took place on Saturday. The neophytes at the San Cárlos mission were reduced from 1,000 to 300 souls. During the small-pox of 1834, which ravaged the northern part of the state, particularly Sonoma, the southern section almost entirely escaping, the natives suffered severely from being left to themselves. It was a scurvy trick for civilization to bring its pestilence and foul diseases to scatter among these simple savages, and then abandon them to their fate, not to mention rum, syphilis, and other virulent refinements, causing fearful havoc.

The ranchos de ganado mayor of the presidio companies were formed at their cost, and well tended by a corporal and four privates, who acted as herders. In a certain month, once a year, the free soldiers gathered there to brand the cattle, the comandante generally attending. This was concluded with a ball. The soldiers also had large fields of grain on the river near Monterey. In later times, Comisario Herrera attempted to interfere in the management of the presidio ranchos, or ranchos nacionales, intending to make personal profits out of them. Yet he knew they were the property of the troops. This gave rise to disputes between the comandante at Monterey and the comisario, whereupon the governor despoiled the owners of the property.

The mission buildings, besides the church, which was always the grand and prominent figure, consisted of the dwellings of the padres and their attendants, barracks for the escolta, storehouses, outhouses, and

corral sheds. Then there were huts and houses of all grades, built chiefly of adobe, however, for the tamed Indians, married and single, the former living in houses of their own, and the latter divided, the boys in one house and the girls in another, each watched over by proper superiors. Often the buildings at a mission were disposed around a large hollow square, the different edifices being accessible from the interior. One or two large doorways, called portones, gave ingress to the court-yard. The house of the padre ministro, which was next the church, and like it fronted outward, was also in the square. Opening into the interior of the square were the workshops of the carpenters, blacksmiths, saddlers, weavers, hatters, tanners, soap-boilers, as well as the warehouse where were deposited the agricultural products and manufactured articles of the missions, and the effects which the padres bought from vessels or traders. Within the square were the kilns for burning brick and tile. Outside the square were the pits where adobes were made. Sometimes the buildings were partly of adobe and partly of adobe stone and cement, with roofs of timber and tile, all being of very solid construction. The missions purchased from importers all such articles as were required for their Indians, and as a rule the missionaries were faithful and honest in their transactions.

The house of Virmond was the only one in Mexico at one time that did business with the padres, receiving in payment the stipends, or orders on the pious fund, payable on presentation. Other business of missions, in 1840, was done through the administrators. "Although appointed to enrich themselves, the administrators kept good faith with us traders," says Arnaz.

On planting a mission, the first object of the fathers was to induce wild Indians to come in from the surrounding country and settle near them, to become domesticated, to accept the faith as it was held out to them, and to assist in cultivating the soil.

At the several missions, the native dialect was generally different, and this had to be learned by the priests, the Indians being taught at the same time to speak Spanish, the latter language coming more and more into use. The children were early taught Spanish, and encouraged as much as possible to drop their mother tongue.

In a few of the missions, boys of musical tastes were taught, besides their prayers, even in their own tongue, vocal and instrumental music, and their services were in times utilized to add solemnity to the high mass. I have in my library a curious relic from 1813 of the San José mission, a large folio of sheepskin leaves, bound in wood, the first few pages of which give lessons on gamut; the rest being chants for masses. The Indians were also utilized as acolytes, and in other capacities about the churches. I have likewise another specimen of mission music, a hymn for a quartette choir written on parchment that had previously contained writing which had been, not very carefully, erased. The notes pertaining to each part are in a color distinct from that of the others. The music is simple and adapted to the comprehension of the neophyte choristers, nor is it inharmonious. The words written in the church Latin which ignore dipthongs, etc., are those of a hymn of the catholic church, which may have possibly been the composition of the pious padre who wrote the music, and perhaps composed it. In my library is also a copy of a trisagion supposed to have been composed by the native Californian Juan José Higuera.

The temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of their charge was in the hands of the priests, who taught the Indians, with something of civilization's politics and moralities, agriculture and mechanics, taking care that the practice incident to these teachings should redound to the public weal. Thus was cleared the land round the missions, and houses built, and water for general use and irrigation brought in.

While some looked after the stock, others planted corn, potatoes, fruit-trees, and vines, and still others learned to be carpenters, masons, weavers, smiths, quarrymen, and the like. Whenever strangers who knew anything of mechanics, arrived at the missions, says Robinson, the padres availed themselves of their services to teach the Indians. The centenarian Eulalia Perez, who lived many years in the missions, stated that a neophyte was taught the work for which he manifested a liking. The more intelligent were likewise taught to read and write. It was so, at least, at San Gabriel, when Father Zalvidea was in charge. And while these thus near the drippings of the sanctuary were proceeding so gloriously along the highway to heaven, the surrounding pagans, living some distance back, would come over the hills, and down to where the sweets of earth and heaven were being hived by the busy swarm of industry, waiting and watching for what they could get of the crumbs of civilization without working for them.

The natives were quick to learn the mechanic arts and willing to work; but left to themselves they would do nothing. They were but children, and needed the presence of the father. And so it was that lands were not assigned to individuals or families, but to communities having an overseer. In that way they would work and eat together, cultivating the land in common.

Likewise the padres were physicians for the body as well as for the soul. If they were so great and good as they claimed, they and their god and their king, then they must do great and good things, as they claimed their master did of old, feed, clothe, heal the sick, raise the dead, and cast out devils. The climate being salubrious and food plenty, the priests were usually equal to the emergency; though the whitewashed savages could not fail to notice that howsoever prevailed for a time the legerdemain of the priests, Satan was sure in the end to get the best of

them; for under the white dispensation as under the red, all men sooner or later came to grief, were obliged to die, and be buried in the ground—whereupon the priests would then say it was all for their good, and that they might in this way alone reach heaven, the poor savages perforce accepting it all as true, not having power to contradict or question.

At each mission there was an infirmary, consisting of a galeron, or gallery, and some mats on which the sick neophytes lay; sometimes the padres acted as physicians, but generally the Indians preferred being treated by their hechiceros, or medicine-men, who by study or tradition had acquired a certain knowledge of the virtues of plants. The missionaries had directions to perform the Cæsarean operation on women who died enceinte. I notice that one was performed at San Francisco on Novemher 12, 1805, and another at San José December 21, 1825. In both cases the dead children were baptized *sub conditione*. There is no evidence of any such operation being ever performed at the missions on a living woman.

The charitable and conscientious priest could not do all he desired on his stipend of $400 a year. For him who served the maker and ruler of the universe this was rather a small allowance, even in this lotos-land. Half of his money he must spend on his own dress, for his livery must be in some degree in accordance with his pretensions; then he must have his chocolate and his wine, and good tobacco and other articles. His rations had to be paid for out of the stipend, and a few pesos had to go in relieving the necessitous, etc. When adult prisoners were brought into a mission by a converting expedition, they were first taught to say their pater noster and one or two other prayers, and then were christened. Men and women were soon after ranged in separate lines in presence of the mission people, and haranged by the padre, with the aid of an interpreter, on the merits and responsibilities of marriage. Each person was asked whether he or

she wished to be married, and every one saying aye, was ranged in a separate line of his or her sex. Any man or woman who admitted having had sexual connection, was placed apart to be married to her or him with whom that connection had been, to be married whether they were willing or not. The rest of the men were then asked, one by one, which of the women opposite they chose to marry. If the selected woman showed unwillingness to accept the man, he had to choose again. If any could not be matched among the gentiles, christianized men and women were called up to choose or be chosen. If several women chose one man, and he did not manifest a preference for any of them, their names were thrown together into a box, and the man drew out one, whose owner was forthwith through a messenger, advised of the result, and required to set forth her objections, if any she had. The marriages of the several couples took place on different days, for each one, or for such group of old and new Christians.

There was an Indian herder named Cashuco, who was chosen by ten women at the same time. They cast lots, and the one that drew the prize was made supremely happy.

Care was taken early to instill into the hearts and minds of the native children the power of religion and the dogmas of the church; infants who lived with their parents at or near the mission were brought almost every day to the priests, who would see to their food and general comfort, until they were four or five years of age, after which the child remained at the mission. Thus these little California shock-heads became, indeed, children of the church. The missionaries were very attentive to their spiritual duties, exerting themselves to increase the number of Christians, and in keeping the latter well instructed in the tenets of the faith; often using to that end the Indian language. They were at all hours of the day or night prompt in administering the sacraments, or

attending to the needs of the sick, for they often acted as physicians and furnished medicines to their neophytes, and even to the gentiles who came to beg for such assistance. The gentiles were never refused food when they asked for it. This was an inducement to many gentiles to embrace mission life.

Down to the period preceding Echeandia's rule, which was from 1825 to 1831, the mission Indians regarded the missionaries with the awe and submission of children, but this governor imbued them with the idea that they were citizens and had political rights, thereupon discipline became relaxed, and the ministers were not obeyed as formerly. The old Spanish friars or Fernandinos, were mostly moral men. A few of their number caused scandal. Much cannot be said in favor of the Guadalupanos, who succeeded the former in later years in the management of the northern missions. The good men among them were few, the scandalous ones many. Among the few who deserve especial mention were García Diego, the first bishop of the Californias and predecessor of Bishop and later Archbishop Alemany; Gonzalez, who after the death of the first bishop, was for a long time guardian of the diocese, and Bernardino Perez, who went home to become the guardian of his college. It is quite possible that the founders at first purposed not merely to convert the natives to christianity, but to teach them also the arts of civilized life. But be it as it may, they were taught what was barely necessary to utilize their labor. Neither the government nor the missionaries took any pains to make them in any way capable of relying on themselves after the secularization of the missions, which had to be the case pursuant to the royal orders under which the system of missions was established. The neophytes never became anything else than large children, with many vices, incapable as a rule of reasoning or of self-control, or of earning independently their own living. This was clearly shown at the

secularization of the San Cárlos. The commissioner was instructed to make three partitions of the property, one for the Indians, one for the government, and one for the church. The Indians accordingly took their portion of horses, sheep, neat cattle, goats, grain, etc., besides one piece of land for each single one, and two pieces for such as had families. It was forbidden to buy any of the property from them. But this precaution amounted to nothing. In about one year the Indians had either sold or gambled away what they had not eaten or drunk. After a while some died, and the rest dispersed, abandoning their lands, which eventually fell into the hands of rancheros, under grants by the government. The administrators after the secularization, never took care of the Indians as the friars had done. The recently catechised mostly rejoined their gentile tribes, and often led the bands that raided the ranchos to plunder and drive off stock.

Before the secularization of the missions, but the missionaries were aware of its coming on, the latter resolved to turn to money as much of the cattle as they could dispose of. Immense numbers of cattle were slaughtered, contracts with private persons being entered into to accomplish the object in view, the contractors receiving one-half of the hides. The slaughter was so large that the government became alarmed at the thought that the country would be left without any cattle, if such destruction were not checked. It accordingly adopted measures to put a stop to it. Pio Pico was one of those who entered into such contract with the mission San Gabrial, according to his own statement. Mrs Ord, who had the best opportunity to know the facts, denies that there was any such wholesale slaughter of cattle. Nevertheless she acknowledged having heard that the mission San Gabriel did have about 30,000 heads killed, because it had not land enough for its enormous stock, said to have been about 100,000. And possibly San Luis Rey did the same.

The bachelors lived in a separate edifice, and were locked in at night, the key being given to the padre. The young women lived in another edifice, called the monjerio, under a matron who guarded them night and day. They were locked in at night and the key given to the padre. The alcaldes by order of the mayordomo gave the Indians their task, and released the locked-up bachelors, as did the matron the spinsters. The unmarried were fed daily. The married received every Saturday one ration for the week of maize, wheat, frijoles, and meat, fresh or dried. Breakfast was eaten at daybreak, of atole or pozole. At 11:30 A. M., laborers returned from work to the pozolera, if the work was near enough, and went back to work at 1 P. M., stopping at sunset, when the third meal was given, of atole as before. They were well fed.

Once a year the mission Indians were allowed to go to the woods to gather fruits. It was generally the old men and women who went, escorted by some others. Every Indian received one blanket a year, and if he tore it, or wore it out, before the year was over, he received another. Every man received a taparabo, or loin cloth, and a coton de jerga, or serge blouse. Every woman got serge for a petticoat. In later times a variety of cloth was given for clothing. Indians working at remote ranchos generally lived there, and had their pozolera.

The missions had various mayordomos, who were charged with different branches or with a rancho. They were gente de razon. Capataces, who were also interpreters, were chosen from the most intelligent; one of their duties was to transmit orders to those who did not understand Spanish. They also aided the alcaldes and mayordomos in keeping order.

The mission herders were chiefly Indians, and tended stock under the care of mayordomos, many receiving saddles and boots. Women were seldom employed in field work, because there were generally men enough. They attended rather to weaving, sew-

ing, and keeping the houses clean. In each workshop was a teacher de razon. Indians could not quit the premises without leave, which was seldom granted. Many were sent under contract to work at presidios and ranchos, the pay going to the community, it was said—the padre receiving it, however. A few Indian boys were taught to read; and other accomplishments, besides trades. They acted as the pages of the padre, and were better dressed and fed than the others. None but vaqueros might ride. Nearly all the missions had musicians

Each mission had an escolta of generally one cabo and four men, to keep order and protect the padres. San Gabriel had a larger force. Ordinary punishments were administered by the padres, aided if necessary by the escoltas.

In graver cases the person in charge at the mission had to secure the guilty person, investigate the charge, and report to the comandante of the presidio.

Eulalia Pérez, for many years llavera, or housekeeper, at San Gabriel, says that the married neophytes lived in their rancherías, and with them their children while small. At from 7 to 9 years girls were brought to the monjerio, where they were reared until the time of marriage. A married Indian woman, known as the madre abadesa, had charge of the monjerio. Every night this was locked, and the key given to the llavera, who took it to the padre ministro.

At the door of the monjerio stood an Indian who called the roll of names as the girls went in at night; she who was missing was the next day brought to the monjerio, and shut up for a certain time; her mother, if she had one, was also brought and punished for having detained the child. In the morning the girls went first to mass, and then to the pozolera, where they broke their fast, sometimes with champurrado—chocolate with atole of maize—with dulce and bread, or on feast days, pozole and meat. After this, each monja literally nun, went about her daily task.

From the earliest days the missions were allotted by two ministers each. As a rule, the one most competent to attend to temporal affairs was placed in charge of them, while the other looked after the spiritual. The former also assisted in baptizing, burying, and teaching. Prior to 1828, the padres had no stewards; they would select from the neophytes the most suitable for such work, and place them in charge, each of some one part of the farm work. The padre took personal care of the warehouses, and superintended the cutting of garments for the natives, and the distribution of rations. They labored much harder than after 1828. Very few missions had servants de razon, unless it was sometimes the llavero. Occasionally they would employ the corporal of the guard, or some old soldier, who understood how to till the soil, but this was usually discountenanced by the comandantes of presidios, on the plea that after a soldier gained the good will of the padres and became accustomed to the luxuries and comforts of the mission, he neglected military duties.

The Indians rose early. After dawn the bell rang for mass, which the padre said while the Indians recited the prayers. After the first mass another padre said a second mass, after the Indians had gone to work, breakfast being over. All Indians in the rancherías came to the pozolera before dawn, to take breakfast of atole, made of barley roasted and ground, and sifted.

The bachelors and spinsters breakfasted after mass, which, as residents at the mission, they had to attend daily. The neophytes had three meals each day, the desayuno before going to work, the comida at 12 M., and the cena after work was done. Their food consisted, besides the pinole, of beans and maize or wheat cooked together. Sometimes in the morning they were given meat and atole, which was maize boiled with lime, and after a thorough cleansing, ground by the women into a paste, after which it was made into a gruel. To the married there was served out every

week a ration of grain, maize, wheat, or beans, and daily one of meat, generally fresh, but sometimes dried.

Then again three further times each day the mission bells would ring, when, whatever was being done, off went the hat and a prayer was said. At such times the monte-dealer paused in his exciting game; no matter how nefarious the pursuit which at the time occupied the devotee, these bells brought him at once into communion with his maker—at least in form.

At mass there was a sermon on some point of doctrine, some portions thereof being delivered in the Indian tongue, as was done by Padre Zalvidea and others. When the padre ministro was unable to do this, he had recourse to an interpreter. Generally, however, the neophytes had learned sufficient Spanish to be able to understand what was said. Regidores led the recitations, and they also taught pagans to pray; the office was generally held by some blind person. None were so poor or unfortunate that they could not serve God.

The mass was generally sung, the musicians and singers being neophytes, several of whom understood music well and had excellent voices. There was at Santa Bárbara an Indian named Antero, who died about 1843, whose excellent tenor voice filled the church, and was admired by foreigners as well as Californians. He also played the bass-viol.

The same religious exercises which were held in the morning were repeated in the afternoon. Sometimes the morning labor lasted from sunrise till 11:30 or 12, when a second meal was eaten, after which work recommenced at 1 or 1:30, and lasted till sundown in the season of short days; but during the time of long days, work ceased about an hour or so before nightfall.

On Sunday, which was a day of rest, the Indian men presented themselves at mass, each dressed in a clean blanket, shirt, and breech-clout.

Coronel says that at the sound of the morning bell

all the neophytes arose, went to the church, and offered a short prayer. At the second ringing of the bell they went to breakfast, desayuno, the single men and women to the pozolera, or place where the pozole was prepared, and the married to their own houses. All these operations took place before sunrise. At the third summons of the bell, just at sunrise, the cuadrillas of neophytes went about their labors. The ox-drivers, gañanes, goad and yoke in hand, presented themselves at the corral. The caporal, or mayordomo's assistant, whose duty it was to look after the oxen, indicated to each the animals which he should take. The ox-drivers yoked each his oxen, and when all were ready went in groups to the localities assigned them.

At 11 A. M. one or two carts laden with a refresco, made of water and vinegar and sugar, or lemon and sugar, were sent by the padres to the Indian laborers in the field as a preventive of illness.

It was a curious spectacle, that of a priest, aided only by four or five Californians, called soldiers—though such they were not—managing a large number of neophytes, with such perfect order, and without the least want of respect on the part of the Indians. It is true that these Indians worked for their maintenance, and a blanket and shirt, which was what the men generally received, although to the women were given rebozos, and stuff of which to make enaguas, or petticoats, nor did they receive other instruction than that contained in the doctrina of the church; yet they respected all gente de razon. These Indians had learned the organization of the family; this alone was progress. It is true that at some missions where the padres still had charge in 1834, discipline had become lax, for the Indians were full of the idea of the liberty which secularization would bring them.

The neophytes were divided into gangs, cuadrillas, some being laborers afield, others herdsmen, others artisans, others hunters. Each cuadrilla had its re-

spective overseer, who managed his men according to the instructions given to him by the padre ministro.

Each cuadrilla of neophytes, when working in a place apart from the others, was directed in its labors by an alcalde, or capataz (foreman), who in the afternoon, after work was done, gave an account thereof to the principal overseer, and he to the padre, at the same time receiving his orders for the next day.

The neophyte men were taught all the trades—carpentering, blacksmithing, how to weave, make blankets, carpets, and many other things. The women learned to spin, sew, and all the various domestic duties. At every mission, day after day, the girls could be seen out in the square at the spinning-wheels, and the men at their various occupations. "The missions were like a large prison at the east in this respect," says Robinson, "where they carry on work, with workshops of all kinds."

The neophyte women were also employed in harvesting and cleaning the grain, in cutting the grapes, in cleaning the wool and weaving it, and sometimes in bringing clay for the manufacture of tiles, especially the single women, who were constantly employed.

Mission padres used to offer Indian girls of eight and ten years to serve in the houses of the wealthy, exacting in return that they should be taught to sew. When they reached fifteen, the padre would urge neophytes to seek them in marriage, and get them back to the mission. There were accordingly many good sewing-girls and dancers among the Indians.

The workshops were under the supervision of a director, or master workman de razon, or that of an Indian who understood the work. The mission of San Fernando had one mayordomo for field-work and one for the house. As to manufactures at the missions, although they fell far short of perfection, they sufficed for the wants of that epoch. With regard to agriculture, it may be said that, while the implements of modern husbandry were of course unknown, it was

nevertheless in a sufficiently advanced state. The principal cereals cultivated gave abundant harvests, amply sufficient for the missions' use, and wherewith to sell to and aid the people de razon and the presidial troops.

"From my own observation," says Coronel, "and from what I learned from frequent conversation with Padre Zalvidea of San Juan Capistrano, the system of agriculture, manufactures, and instruction in operation at the missions was based on a work entitled, *Casa de Campo y Pastoril,* a treatise which contained full information regarding the proper management of the property and the laborers."

At the missions he who passed judgment on the offences of the neophytes was the padre ministro. He heard the complaints of the alcaldes, mayordomos, or foremen, and ordered the application of the punishment—stripes (azotes), or the stocks (el cepo), irons (grillos), or the corma (a sort of portable ambulatory stocks). Besides this, there was always a calaboose in which to secure culprits. When the punishment consisted of azotes, the culprit was either triced up to a post or stretched face downward on the ground, his breech-clout was removed, the flap of his shirt raised, and the alcalde or capataz delivered on his buttocks, or the back below the shoulders, the number of blows ordered by the padre. Generally punishment was administered at the guard-house, which was next to the calaboose.

Neophytes were sometimes punished by confinement and the stocks. When the offence was grave the offender was taken to the guard-house, there bound to a post or cannon, and given 25 stripes, or more according to the case. Sometimes the head was put in the stocks; at others a gun was tied to the legs just behind the knees, and the hands were brought down and tied to the gun. This was a severe punishment, and was called the ley de Bayona. Padres Zalvidea and Sanchez always showed great kindness to the Indians.

The system of corporoal punishment established by the padres was adopted by the administrators of missions, the alcaldes, and commissioners, and even by individuals who had Indians in their service. Every one arrogated to himself the right to chastise at his own pleasure the Indians in his service.

The mission Indians fancying themselves abused at their missions had a right to prefer complaints before the comandante of the presidio to whose jurisdiction the mission belonged; and it was his duty to redress their wrongs, but obviously for several reasons there were few such complaints made.

While Padre Duran was at San José several Cosumnes presented themselves for baptism, which rites they received, together with a blanket and a shirt, as usual. Misdemeanors were punished every Sunday after mass with a dozen or more lashes at the church door, after which the culprit went to kiss the padre's hand in sign of submission. One of these Cosumnes who had been thus punished became enraged, and on reaching the padre took off the shirt, and threw it with his blanket at the feet of the holy man, saying: "Padre, take back thy christianity; I want none of it; I will return a pagan to my country"

In early times the padres were wont to go to distant rancherías unaccompanied by any military escort, thus imperilling their lives. After the assassination of Padre Quintana, the government adopted severe measures prohibitory of the padres' running like risks. Therefore, the escoltas received strict orders, the corporal and soldiers being individually responsible for a compliance therewith, never to allow the padre to leave the mission without the escolta, whether he liked it or not.

One Salvador Espinosa, soldier of an escolta, was obliged, on a certain occasion, to use force in order to prevent the padre, who was better mounted than he, from going on in advance. Espinosa was put in the stocks, and the padre complaining of him was obliged

to appear before Governor Sola, who, on learning the circumstances, approved of what Espinosa had done, and praised the fidelity with which he had obeyed orders. It is to be noted that in those times, "cuando todavía se amarraban los perros con longanizas" (when dogs were still fastened with sausages)—or in other words, before the people of California had their eyes opened—laying violent hands on a padre ministro was a most heinous offence, which was punished with the greatest severity. The individual so offending lost his position in society, being excommunicated and ostracized.

The corporal of the escolta had criminal jurisdiction, and in cases of weightier import which did not come within the cognizance of the padre, he it was who ordered punishment, consisting of lashes and the stocks, to be administered. In still graver cases he made the preliminary examination, and then sent the culprit to the presidio for judgment. The corporal was charged with the defence of the missions in case of a sudden attack by either internal or external foes, and possessed even the power of life and death, but this only on an emergency when it was impossible to communicate with the comandante of the presidio.

In early times double escoltas were stationed occasionally at the missions, such an escolta being commanded by a sergeant. In those days the corporal of an escolta was appointed by the governor, who alone could remove him. In an urgent case, however, he might be suspended by the comandante of the presidio to the jurisdiction of which the mission belonged. Ordinarily the escolta consisted of a corporal and five men.

A soldier of the escolta kept watch by day, and at night a sentinel was placed, who by means of a bell announced the four watches. Of course the corporal had to be present at each relief; and when there was a less number than four enlisted men in the escolta, was himself obliged to keep a watch, which was either

the first or the last. The mission furnished rations of meat and grain to the escolta, afterward sending in the account to the habilitacion.

The married corporals and soldiers of an escolta had their families with them at the mission, and there was a little group of houses for the use of the troops. The wives of the married men prepared the meals of the bachelors, who made over to these women their rations free of charge. On extraordinary occasions, such as feasts of the church, the padres made presents of fruit and wine to the escolta and their families. When the corporal acted as mayordomo, he received from the missions additional pay as such, say $10 a month.

In the mission escolta it was so arranged that one soldier acted as sentinel from 6 A. M. till 12, another till 6 P. M., another from 6 to 9 P. M., the rest all taking their turn for three hours during the night. When the padre wanted an escort, the soldier was sent who had been sentinel el cuarto de alba, or the next one. The day sentinel walked with sabre or sword, the one by night with musket constantly in hand. Cabo and men had all to sleep in the guard-house, whether married or single. When the cabo did not watch them, the soldiers would seek the Indian girls at the ranchería.

On October 7, 1827, Jefe Político Echeandía issued a bando to the effect that no person should leave his place of residence without apprising the local authority, or spend the night away from it without a pass; persons found without such passes must be detained, and no person should tarry at any other place than that specified, or beyond the specified time, unless sickness or other sufficient cause rendered it necessary. In no case should any one settle in any place without permission.

Each mission was not only self-supporting when once established, but was an instrument for the rapid accumulation of wealth. They possessed within them-

selves all the elements of success. They guaranteed to their converts the most possible of both worlds. They acquired titles to broad and fertile lands, and paid their laborers in spiritual wares. Their costly edifices, workshops, and storehouses were erected and filled upon a credit which was to run throughout time; all their work was done by laborers, who at the close of every day found themselves more and more indebted to their employers—obligated to such an extent that implicit and blind obedience and faithful services throughout time and eternity would be all too short in which to make their acknowledgments.

It would appear that if it were possible under any circumstances for christianity and civilization to benefit the Indians of America, such fruits could not fail to appear among the missions of California. That the purest motives sometimes actuated the missionaries in devoting their lives to this work, there is no question; that their treatment of the natives was upon the whole kind and judicious, all travellers bear testimony, and their success outwardly was great. Thousands were brought into the fold, taught morality, industry, and the arts of peace. Their condition was greatly benefited; and with the exception of the wilder spirits, within whose breasts the longings for their ancient liberty still burned, they were contented and happy. But it was all the same to the doomed red man, as if Satan with his angels was let in upon the country to burn and destroy. To the savage, civilization is Satan.

After secularization, mingled with the Californians, as servants, and partly by marriage, were many aborigines from the plains and missions. The mission, broken up and despoiled, no longer afforded shelter to its children, save a few of more solid character, who had managed to secure a portion of the community land and effects, and retain them. The rest had been dispersed to seek refuge among settlers or in the wilderness, leaving the establishments which had been

built up with so much labor and devotion to be carried away by plunderers, or to decay under the unavailing efforts of half a dozen remaining friars. These, perforce, must now turn their attention to the spiritual wants of the settlers, whose fitful ears heard the peal of bells only on sabbath mornings, rolling faintly through the distance, and to be drowned perhaps by more alluring calls, unless revived by promptings of gallantry and display. The natives who deserted to the woods relapsed into barbarism among the wild Indians, living in rancherías of sheds or brush arbors, depending on the hook or trap for food, with roots and fruit, and occasionally some maize from a petty field tended by the women. The practice obtained in the forties, though forbidden by law, for families to purchase Indian boys and girls from New Mexico. It was winked at because of the benefit accruing to the Indians so purchased, for they were educated and treated as members of the family whom they served.

Adhering to the traditionary usage of missionaries, the settlers would still descend upon these waifs in armed force, and after killing a number of warriors, capture the women and children, or even men, for compulsory service in tillage and toil, for which no compensation was accorded beyond food and scanty covering. Such outrages afforded just cause for retaliation under the guidance of mission fugitives; and although generally confined to stock-stealing, their raids at last caused great anxiety, especially in the south, with constant calls for garrisons or volunteer expeditions. In the north the scantiness of population had led to a more general employment of natives at fair wages, which were squandered during frequent intervals of idleness in tawdry finery and needless articles of consumption. But of social and domestic characteristics we shall have fuller facts anon.

Before the revolution a salary of $400 per annum was allowed to each of the priests connected with the missions. This salary was discontinued by the repub-

lic, greatly to the disgust of the clergy, who were also required to renounce allegiance to the king of Spain and acknowledge the authority of the republic. An order was executed liberating from the jurisdiction of the missions all christianized Indians of good character, who were to have lands assigned them for cultivation. The work of the missions was still to continue; they were to appoint parish curates over the liberated Indians, and prosecute their efforts to reclaim untamed gentiles. All this gave rise to much dissatisfaction, and many of the missionaries abandoned their labors.

The new order of things, instigated no doubt by the most philanthropic and economic motives, operated against the interests of the church in California.

The Indians thus emancipated were essentially the support of the missions, under the strict surveillance of the priests; they performed their labors faithfully, held in check the vicious, and were an example to all; but with their new liberty, unaccustomed to the exercise of forethought or self-command, they soon fell into dissolute habits, and rapidly melted away.

The care and discipline of the fathers being withdrawn, as a matter of course the spirituality of their children was soon dissipated. Abandoning themselves to spirituous liquor when they could obtain it, and giving way to laziness and vice, the converts fell; and as their own original means of support had been withdrawn from them, the depth of their degradation was greater than during their primitive state. Some of them pursued the shadow of their former progress, and cleared the weeds from spots sufficient to sustain themselves; others abandoned all attempt to maintain their former state of comparative ease and happiness, and made acquisitions only in the new vices which were taught them by the settlers who were now rapidly closing in around them.

The administrators placed in charge of the missions after their secularization were most of them incompetent or unprincipled men. The few who were honest tried

to save the property, but their efforts were unavailing against the orders they constantly received to deliver it to others. It is well known that several administrators grew rich by despoiling the establishments they had control of. Stealing was carried on to such an extent, that plates, pots, and pans, doors, tiles, and every other movable thing was made away with from several missions. The departmental government tolerated these things to secure the support of a certain clique.

After secularization the administrators slaughtered large bands of cattle under the pretext of covering expenses. One of the occasions of great slaughter was to meet the cost of the schooner *California* for government uses. It was said the schooner cost 7,000 hides. Nothing was utilized but the hides. The slaughterings were let to contractors who frequently killed largely in excess of the number required, carrying off the surplus for their own benefit.

Soon after Alvarado became governor, in 1836, he began to lend cattle to his friends and favorites, few, if any, of which were ever repaid. None of the loans were of less than 100 head, some even exceeded 1,000. Add to that the orders of the government for cattle to meet debts, and the draft was ruinous. The loans were made on the following terms: to return the same number of animals and of the same quality in five years; otherwise, to pay the price stipulated if demanded by the government or any ecclesiastical authority, a way of doing business so criminally loose as to invite rascality. In Soledad 1,000 head were sold at $1.50 each, payable in goods, when the current price was $4 to $5 per head in silver. The same man gave 800 cows of from one year to three years old for fifty horses. The same fellow delivered fifty cows belonging to the Soledad mission for fifty bottles of common brandy. A general debauch followed. This according to the testimony of Estévan de la Torre.

After the missions had been stripped of their live-stock, the administrators and others petitioned for lands, which they stocked with neat cattle, sheep, and horses from the missions. Some of them would take just enough to pay themselves for arrears of salary; others were less scrupulous. The government was well aware of the rascality, but accustomed to such dealings.

When Alvarado, José Castro, and their forces, returning from the south in 1836, arrived at Tecolote, the place where the eccentric Indian Cristóbal Manojo lived, he greeted them "Viva California libre, mete la mano onde quiere!" Being asked what he meant by saying "poke in the hand where you please," he coolly answered, "pues, todo se la roban," which means, "well you steal everything." All laughed, and he was let alone. After the missions were fully secularized, Manojo's remark fully expressed the situation.

All governments are erected upon the supposition that a large proportion of their servants must be rascals, who shall give bonds for their good behavior. The chief difference in this regard between the Mexican government, including the California branch of it, and some others in Europe and America, was this, that while in the latter it was expected that some officials would prove honest, no such state of things was looked for among the Mexicans. If any were above peculation or other rascality, they were the exception, and their honesty was often the result of a lack of avarice, or the absence of any disposition to appropriate to their own use the public funds.

The colonial laws of Spain gave the Indians a right to as much land as they needed and would use for cultivation and pasturage. Settled communities were to be provided with land for this purpose, and the scattered families of the wilderness were ordered brought to the villages, tamed, and christianized. It was for this, primarily, that the missions had been established. Indian lands in actual use and occupa-

tion could not be granted to Spaniards. Mission lands were the property of, or held for the benefit of, the Indians. This was the theory: when a grant was made of land upon which was a ranchería, or Indian settlement, such grant was made subject to the rights of the Indian, and the grantee did not acquire title or possession until the village, of its own free will, removed from the grant. So much better were the laws of man than the deeds of these men of God!

The system of despoliation which began with the conquerors was continued around the circle of missionary enterprise, until the cause was left where it was commenced, with the difference only of a few millions of Indians having disappeared in the mean time. The Jesuits, by their influence and address, had obtained from individuals the means with which to found the missions of the Californian peninsula, and the natives were then called upon to contribute to their support. Fortune rolled in upon their efforts, and when in the height of their prosperity the orders reached them from Cárlos III. to turn over all their property to the Franciscans and depart from the country without the spoils, was created the Pious Fund of California; and the Franciscans, with splendid resources, immediately set out for their new field in the north, where, after drawing upon the natives for thirty thousand laborers for half a century, they acquired immense wealth, only to be themselves deprived of power, and their neophytes robbed, through the secularization of their missions, in 1833–5, by agents of the government. But the end was not yet; for as the government was robbed by the administrators, so were the Californians robbed by the incoming Yankees. What power shall next appear to wrest these lands from us we cannot tell; but whatever it may be, as good and civilized Christians, we must hail it as sent of God, in his infinite mercy and wisdom, and for the glorious purposes of progress.

Decay and death, however, are not our present theme, but life, and light, and joy. All through the golden age lay this blissful land in slumber breathing, dreaming like the unblown blossom of its future glories, its soft wind sighing the longings of ambitious youth; meanwhile onward marching the constrained impatient world through time from eternity to eternity, never ceasing, never resting, the same force that brings men into life hurrying them hence, the same summer sun that warms into being, that forces from the buried seed the wide-spread tree and sweetens the ripening fruit, bringing rottenness and death. Woods decay, forests fall, rivers die, mountains melt, nations come and go, mind only remains, and with the ages gathers strength and volume.

Gone are those happy hours when plenty bloomed, and care and wealth alike were unknown; gone are the light labors and healthful sports, without which Eden would be no paradise; and in their place we have the screeching of steam, the bustle of trade, the cumbrous activities of opulence, and hearts heavily freighted with care.

Will California ever have another golden age? I trust so; but not in the near future. When it comes it will be neither an age of savagism, nor an age of pastoral sensuousness, nor yet an age of city-building, of soil-subduing, of mad money-gathering; but it will be the day when mind and morality shall reign superior to avarice and passion, when genius is worshipped in place of gold, and when studious leisure and tasteful simplicity shall take the place of absorbing lust and gaudy splendor.

CHAPTER VII.

COLONIZATION, PUEBLO SYSTEM, AND LAND GRANTS.

> But still there is unto a patriot nation,
> Which loves so well its country and its king,
> A subject of sublimest exultation.
>
> —*Don Juan.*

The thrifty padres from the start insisted that the missions would hardly support the neophytes, let alone providing for the presidios; wherefore the government contemplated, as early as 1776, establishing pueblos or towns in fertile regions. This plan had a double object, namely, supplying the new presidios at reduced cost, and settling the land with gente de razon.

Governor Felipe de Neve recommended two spots as eminently fitted for this purpose, one on the river Porciúncula in the south, and another on the Guadalupe in the north. Without waiting for the sanction of his superior, he proceeded at once to found the northern town, with nine soldiers from Monterey and San Francisco, and nineteen other persons, with their families, making a total of 66 colonists. The pueblo was founded near the eastern bank of the Guadalupe, and about three fourths of a league southeast of the Santa Clara mission. This foundation took place on the 29th of November, and the town was named San José de Guadalupe, though an effort was occasionally made to attach to it the name of Galvez, the visitador-general of New Spain, to whose energetic measures was due the existence of the new establishments. To each settler were given a tract of irrigable land sufficient to sow thereon three bushels of Indian corn, a house-lot, ten dollars a month, and a soldier's ration,

besides a yoke of oxen, two cows, one mule, two sheep, two goats, and the requisite seed and implements. Such was the origin of the beautiful city of San José, on which has been bestowed in later years the well-merited title of the garden city.

Neve's act could, until 1781, be regarded as only experimental. From the beginning it met with opposition from the missionaries, who now were willing to supply the presidios. But the governor had another object in view, which was to people the land with Spanish subjects.

A regulation for the military government of the new settlements, duly sanctioned by superior authority, has been credited to Governor Neve, and went practically into effect early in 1781. It embraced also a plan of colonization. Under it was made a formal redistribution of the lands in the pueblo of San José, and the foundation of Los Ángeles on the Porciúncula was also effected. This regulation bears the title of *Reglamente é Instruccion para los Presidios de la Peninsula de California, Ereccion de Nuevas Misiones, y fomento del pueblo y extension de los Establecimientos de Monterey.* Its 14th section deals with the subject of pueblos and colonization. Under this section, settlers were to be brought from the older provinces. Each of them was to receive a house-lot, and a tract of land for cultivation, being four fields of 200 varas square each, some live-stock, implements, and seed, to be by them gradually repaid in five years from the products of their lands. Adults leaving their country to settle in California were, furthermore, to be allowed in clothing and other necessary effects, at cost price, $116.50 a year during the first two years, and $60 yearly for the next three years. The settlers were also exempt from taxes and tithes during the entire period of five years. As communities they were, besides, entitled to the use of government lands for pasturage, and to all needed wood and water. Other colonists, such as honorably discharged soldiers, were to have the same

privileges in respect of lands. In return for these favors, the colonists were to sell to the presidios exclusively the surplus products of their lands at fair prices, to be from time to time fixed by the government, taking as a basis the market prices for such products in the southern provinces. In the absence of other purchasers, this condition was a benefit rather than a burden. Each settler was to hold himself in readiness with his horses and arms for military duty. Other conditions were to the benefit of the colonist, rather than to the government. The settlers were to have their farms within the pueblo limits of four square leagues; they could neither sell nor encumber their lands; they were to build houses, construct ditches for irrigation, cultivate their lands, and keep their implements in serviceable order; they were forbidden to kill or dispose of their live-stock except under certain conditions, nor was any one to have over 50 animals of any kind, so that none should monopolize the wealth of the pueblo. Each community was bound to construct dams and irrigating sluices, provide roads and streets, erect a church and the necessary town buildings, and keep the propios, or pueblo lands, tilled, as from their products had to be defrayed the municipal expenditures.

The colonization system thus established must be held to have been a wise one, well suited to the requirements of the country. And yet, it failed to yield the desired results, owing to the character of the settlers, most of whom were half-breeds. Something may be due, likewise, to the mildness of the climate, and to the influential opposition of the missionary college of San Fernando in Mexico, whose faiars were opposed to any other establishments in the land but their missions. They felt obliged to endure the presidios, but they wanted the government to provide for them.

Captain Rivera y Moncada, former commandant of

the new establishments, and now lieutenant-governor of the two Californias, was directed to procure settlers for the southern town on the Porciúncula. The organized expeditions, consisting of soldiers and priests, started for California, to found several missions in the Santa Bárbara channel, as well as of colonists for the new pueblo. They arrived at different times, without mishap, at San Gabriel, and the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, otherwise called Reina de los Ángeles, was founded on the 4th of September, 1781, with twelve settlers and their families, 46 persons in all, whose blood was a mixture of Indian and negro, with a few traces of Spanish. Lands were given to them, and the possession was formally confirmed at the expiration of the first five years, in September 1786, by Alférez José Darío Argüello, commissioned therefor by Governor Fages, Neve's successor. Nine of the settlers then remained, each of whom was summoned, and in the presence of his neighbors, and of the legal witnesses, who acted in lieu of a notary public, the commissioner granted him first the house-lot, then the four fields, and finally the iron for branding his live-stock. A form of measurement of town lots and lands was gone through, and a separate title-deed was drawn up for each of the grants, and signed by the commissioner and his legal witnesses. None of the grantees knowing how to read or write, each appended a cross to the documents, after he had been duly informed of its contents. At San José, the same formalities had been effected, in May 1783, by Lieutenant Joseph Moraga under similar powers from the governor. At this place education was not utterly absent, one of the settlers, the ancestor of the afterward famous bandit, José Tiburcio Vazquez, being able to sign his name, while the alcalde, Archuleta, was not so fortunate. The boundary between the pueblo and the mission Santa Clara was defined in 1801, making the Guadalupe river the line, with a reservation of mountain woodland. In July of that

year the limits were surveyed, and landmarks fixed, the missionaries having gained a point. The place was given the name of San José de Alvarado in 1839, in honor of Governor Juan B. Alvarado, who then ruled California.

The municipal officers were at first appointed by the governor, and afterward chosen by the people. The governor was, however, represented at each pueblo by a comisionado, usually a corporal or sergeant, whose duty it was to see to the maintenance of order, to the furnishing of supplies for passing troops, and to the compliance with the fundamental regulation. The municipal officials were under his supervision, though he was not allowed to hinder them in their legitimate functions.

Nothing further was done toward forwarding colonization in California, except to allow a few discharged sailors at ports to become colonists. Thus it was that down to 1790 no new pueblos were founded; no other immigration of *pobladores* occurred. A few changes took place, it is true, some settlers leaving, and some discharged soldiers and a few sailors being enrolled as colonists; a few boys grown to manhood had taken to farming in preference to becoming soldiers. The population of both pueblos had varied from 185 to 220, of both sexes and all ages. The settlers had shown some inclination to disorder, but on the whole, must have given due attention to their tillage. Los Angeles, in 1791, was transferred from its former site, which in heavy rains was exposed to freshets, to a higher one. The agricultural products exceeded the average of the missions. Los Angeles, in 1790, yielded more grain than any mission, San Gabriel only excepted.

The necessity of an increase of the Spanish population being fully recognized it was contemplated to establish more pueblos of gente de razon. In November 1795, orders came to select a proper site to found a villa to bear the name of Branciforte, in honor of

the Marqués de Branciforte, viceroy of Mexico. It was intended to be a military town, thoroughly fortified, and peopled by soldiers; though in the matter of land grants the existing pueblo regulation, and the laws of the Indies were to be enforced. Every officer and soldier was to have his town-lot, and between the lots of the officers were others to be assigned to chiefs of Indian rancherías who might wish to live among the Spaniards. The site finally chosen was Santa Cruz, because it afforded facilities for exporting merchandise, with abundance of fish and good building materials. It was concluded that the settlers should be from cold or temperate climes. Houses and granary were to be built and made ready, so that they could immediately after their coming devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The scheme of having Indian chiefs among the settlers was given up as impracticable, as there were no suitable chiefs at hand; but mission Indians might be advantageously admitted in the colony to work with and learn from the gente de razon. Governor Diego de Borica, who was a man of practical views, called for four classes of settlers, to wit: robust tillers of the soil, mechanics, artisans, and a few sailors to develop whale-fishing, as whales abounded on the coast. The college of San Fernando objected to the site selected so near a mission, but no heed was paid to it, and Borica was directed in January 1797 to proceed at once with the foundation, which he did, receiving as settlers a number from San José and Los Angeles who had no lands. He was promised new settlers and artisans from Mexico; but the people sent out were not the best suited to lay the foundation of a moral, law-abiding community; perhaps it was hardly consistent with the eternal fitness of things that a colony bearing the name of one of the worst men that ever disgraced a country should succeed. To this day Santa Cruz feels the effects of the bad beginning made there by Branciforte. Most of the new settlers were vagrants

and minor criminals. The ship *Concepcion* arrived at Monterey on the 12th of May 1797, with a party of such colonists in a most pitiable condition from ill-health and destitution. Gabriel Moraga as comisionado carried out the foundation. His instructions were to see that the townsmen lived peaceably; to tolerate no prostitution, gambling, drunkenness, or neglect of work. Such offences were to be severely punished. The observance of religious duties was to be enforced; each settler had to produce from time to time a certificate to the effect that he had attended to the church service, the confessional, and communion, as prescribed by the ecclesiastical authority. The colonists were to maintain the best relations with the friars, to have no intercourse whatever with the natives of the neighboring mission. A number of other useful recommendations need not be detailed. Among them was one to see that the settlers prepared shelters for men and animals before the arrival there of Córdoba, the government engineer. Córdoba arrived in August, surveyed the lands, did something toward erecting temporary houses, began a canal for irrigation, and made search for suitable materials for the permanent buildings. He furnished the governor with an estimate of the cost, $23,405, which was duly forwarded to the viceroy. In October the works were suspended for want of funds, and thus was the greatness of the villa de Branciforte indefinitely put off. Nevertheless, the place did not remain empty. There were some temporary huts, nine settlers, the comisionado, and the military guard. These settlers were not convicts, though of a class that Guadalajara, whence they came, could well afford to part with. They were provided with means to get along, after a fashion, for the first five years, but never showed a disposition for hard work. In 1798 Governor Borica requested Moraga to stir them up against their natural laziness. Indeed, they were not only lazy, but vicious, and the governor pronounced

them a curse to the country for their dishonesty and immorality. Down to 1800 there was no change in the number, though a few discharged soldiers were added to the settlement. Moraga was in charge till 1799, and was succeeded by Ignacio Vallejo, a just man. The crop of 1800 was 1,100 bushels of wheat, maize, and beans, and the live-stock had reached 500 head of horses, and neat cattle. The settlement of Branciforte was the last one attempted during the Spanish or Mexican domination.

The united population of San José, Los Angeles, and Branciforte in 1800 was about 550, in a little over 100 families, including twelve or fifteen men raising cattle in the vicinity, whose families mostly dwelt in the towns. About thirty of these families had been imported from Mexico, and the increase resulted from children grown to manhood, and discharged soldiers, some of whom were pensioners. Agriculture and stock-raising were the only industries of the townsmen. In 1800, they had 16,500 head of cattle and horses, about 1,000 sheep, and raised some 9,000 bushels of grain, the surplus of which found a ready sale at the presidios. Each settler cultivated his fields, and delivered yearly to the common fund a certain quantity of grain, which served to defray the town's expenses. At each pueblo was a guard of soldiers, who were practically settlers. The alcalde and regidores had charge of the municipal affairs, and the comisionado a general supervision. Most of the labor was done by natives not attached to the missions. Father Salazar reported that the settlers were idlers, and cared more for gambling and guitar-playing than for tilling their lands or educating their offspring. Los Angeles was the most populous as well as prosperous. Branciforte was still in debt to the government at the end of 1800.

The governor of California had endeavored, in 1797, to obtain from New Spain superior approval to a scheme intended to force retired soldiers to dwell in

pueblos. He wanted, also, a reënforcement of marriageable women. His efforts failed. But another class of colonists, obtainable with greater ease, was sent out, thus making of California a penal colony, which, to some extent, Fages was the author of. In 1791, three convicts were brought to Monterey. That same year a convict blacksmith was instructing the Indians at San Francisco. In 1798, twenty-two convicts, of various grades of criminality, were brought by the *Concepcion*, all of whom were put to learn and teach trades. Such arrivals were afterward quite frequent. In 1800, a number of foundlings were sent from Mexico, and here distributed among the families in the presidios. The practice of sending convicts to California was continued by the Mexican republic as late as 1834.

After the occupation of California by Spain, in 1769, the absolute title of land vested in the crown. There was no individual ownership of land. Usufructuary titles only existed during the Spanish rule. The king held actual possession of the ground occupied by the presidios and a few adjoining lands. The aborigines were recognized as the owners, under the crown, of all the lands needed for their support. This arrangement limited the area, thus leaving a portion open to colonization. So it was that under the general laws of the Indies four square leagues, or their equivalent, of land could be assigned to each pueblo. Neither missions, church, nor religious orders owned any land. The missionaries had only the use of the land needed for mission purposes, namely, to prepare the Indians that they might in time take possession as individuals of the land they were then holding in commonalty. This purpose once accomplished, the missions were to be secularized, and made pueblos, the houses of worship naturally going under the control of the church, and the missionaries going to seek other fields of usefulness. It was planned from the

beginning that each mission and presidio should eventually become a pueblo, and that other pueblos should likewise be founded, each having four square leagues of land assigned thereto. The settlement of boundaries was left for the future, when called for by the increase of the number of towns. The missions, in their temporary occupation, were not restricted as to area. The conversion of most of the presidios and missions into towns was finally effected under a law of 1834. This law, according to the spirit of the Spanish laws, involved the distribution of the mission lands to the ex-neophytes.

The granting of lands to natives or Spaniards in California was permitted as early as 1773. Thus we see that a grant was made to Manuel Buitron in 1775. In the same way, informal grants were made to the inhabitants of San José in 1777. Neve's regulation established the mode of granting land, as we have seen, providing, likewise, for the gradual extension of towns by the grant of new lots and fields. All grants, however, were forfeited by abandonment, failure to cultivate, or non-compliance with the requirements of the law. Such lands could not be alienated at all until full possession had been given.

It is known that in 1784 Governor Fages allowed several men to temporarily occupy certain lands. In 1786, he was authorized to grant tracts not exceeding three leagues in extent, nor encroaching on the area of any pueblo, nor causing detriment to any mission or Indian ranchería. The grantees had to build a store house on each rancho, and to keep at least 2,000 head of live-stock. Governor Borica, in 1795, for substantial reasons, opposed the granting of ranchos, though recommending that settlers of good character should be allowed to occupy lands near missions, to be granted them at a later day if deemed expedient. Several ranchos existed at the time under such temporary permits. Preference was given by the government to this arrangement, possibly because

the settlers were not willing or able to comply with the terms demanded in the case of full grants. Some ranchos occupied by special permits were subsequently taken from the holders because needed by the missions.

At the end of the eighteenth century, there were in California eighteen missions and four presidios without settlers, but each was intended to become in due time a pueblo; three towns of Spaniards, so called, with about 100 heads of families; and finally, twenty or thirty men occupying ranchos under provisional permits, which involved no legal title to the lands. The Spanish córtes, in 1813, passed a decree to reduce public lands to private ownership; but this decree, like another of the same year for the secularization of missions, was unknown in California before 1820, and was therefore inoperative. Colonization rules were decreed by the Mexican government on November 21, 1828, to give effect to an act of congress of August 18, 1824; but they did not authorize the distribution of mission lands. The mode of granting lands to individuals prescribed by the law was the one rather carelessly practised till 1846. A law of April 6, 1830, somewhat modified those of 1824 and 1828, authorizing the national government to seize all lands required for national defences, and forbade frontier colonization by foreigners who were citizens of an adjoining nation.

In 1822, after the Spanish sovereignty had ceased, the provincial diputacion passed an act establishing ayuntamientos for towns, but the change from the old system was only in name, and in the addition of a treasurer and secretary to the former list of officials. After the government of Mexico became centralized, and the new régime took effect in California, ayuntamientos were suppressed, being replaced by justices of the peace and prefects.

Monterey, a presidio since 1770, was made a town in 1820. In 1828, the ayuntamiento adopted an ordinance for the preservation of good order. In 1830,

the territorial diputacion fixed the extent and boundaries of the town lands. I find that Monterey was, in 1840, raised by the diputacion to the rank of a city, and declared to be the capital of the then department of California. Los Angeles had been, by a decree of the Mexican congress of May 23, 1835, made not only a city, but the capital of the territory, which naturally caused much displeasure among the people in the north, with corresponding elation in the south; but as the people of Los Angeles made no provision of buildings for public uses, the matter dropped out of sight for some time. An attempt was subsequently made to make that decree effective, which failed, and it was only in 1845 that Los Angeles actually became the seat of government, remaining so until the country ceased to be an appendage of the Mexican republic.

As a result of the secularization of the missions, new pueblos were organized, namely, San Juan de Argüello, Las Flores, San Dieguito, and San Pascual in the south, San Juan de Castro, San Francisco, and Sonoma in the north. Santa Bárbara, the former presidio, also became a town.

CHAPTER VIII.

LOTOS-LAND SOCIETY.

Quanto mas que cada uno es hijo de sus obras.—*Cervantes.*

The theory of the mission system was to make the savages work out their own salvation, and that of the priests also. In fact, whatever work was to be done, it was foreordained that the natives should do it. Work was a necessity of civilization. Souls to save was a necessity of the church. Servants to raise cattle and till the land was ever an indispensable factor in missionary economy, Here were all the elements for a new church militant, a new heaven and a new earth.

Since that beauteous mischief, unreflective Pandora, opened her box, evils have been abroad; the gods concealed our food, hid from us fire, and then decreed that we must work to find them if we would not go hungry and cold.

Pity the poor Spanish man who does not like to work! The motto of the Zacatecas padres, as indeed of many more modern churchmen, was, "Divertirse hoy que ya mañana es otro dia." This California country, about as well any could, suited the Mexican settler, with his inherent indolence, relieved only by slow, spasmodic energy. With the richest of soil around him, which to the scratching of the wooden plough would yield sixty and a hundred to one, he disdained tillage, partly because this labor had been turned over to Indian serfs, partly because there was no market for cereals. The plodding tasks and nar-

row confines of the farm were not for him. More suited to the chivalric instincts of the Mexican, coming to him honestly in his Spanish blood, was general domination over animals, with lordly command of men and horses to aid him in controlling vast herds and flocks. It pleased him to have at his bidding a suite of dusky retainers, drawn from wandering tribes; for the settlers served one another only as friends and brethren, connected as they often were by consanguinity in greater or smaller decree.

With few inhabitants, and a vast extent of country, land was of little value, and could be occupied as fancy dictated, the stock-raiser extending his range beyond original limits whenever the communal tract round the pueblo became too narrow for a rising ambition. Cattle, indeed, roamed in a half-wild. state upon the plains, and wiry-limbed, swift horses, of larger size and longer neck than the Mexican prototype, were subordinated at times by nomadic rancheros. Cattle formed a ready recourse with which to obtain from flitting trading vessels such comforts and luxuries as growing taste suggested. The annual rodeo constituted the stock-taking period, when additions to the herds were counted and branded, old marks inspected, and stragglers from adjoining ranges restored to claimants. The occasion became a rural festival, from the necessary congregation of neighbors for mutual aid and supervision of interests. Wives and sisters lent their charms to the meeting, and animation to the scene, by inspiring the horsemen to more dashing feats, either in rounding up the herds, or during the sports that formed the appropriate finale to the event.

These were the equestrian days of California. The saddle was the second and life-long cradle of the race. The men in walking grew awkward, as indicated by the uneven gait, attended by the jingling of the immense spurs at the heels. Riding began in early childhood. The boy, mounted by a friendly hand,

sped away in exhilarating race, whirling the lariat at whatsoever attracted his fancy, and speedily acquiring skill for veritable game. The saddle became an object of dearest pride, elaborate with stamped leather and glittering adornments, which extended from the high pommel to the clumsy wooden stirrup, partly hidden by the leather cover that shielded the foot. The bridle was of braided rawhide, with a large and cruel bit. Little was thought of long horseback journeys, and camping under the open sky, with the saddle for a pillow and blankets for a cover. The horse might be exchanged from among the bands roaming in all directions. Even the women preferred riding to driving in the clumsy, springless carretas, with frames of rawhide, and sections of logs for wheels. Wagon-roads did not exist. When women rode, they would generally be seated in front of their cavalier, shaded by his huge sombrero.

The Californian ever aspired to gallantry; with a graceful figure, when mounted, he was well favored. Latin peoples are more demonstrative in their manners than Anglo-Saxons, more picturesque in their politeness. The common people are more cordial, and the better bred young men more gallant. To French politeness Spaniards add chivalrous courtesy. With only a lasso for a weapon, he ranked not as a soldier, but was not the less venturesome and dashing in facing wild herds, in bearding the grizzly, in mounting and taming the wild horse. Frank and good-natured, polite and ever punctilious, he proved a good friend and admirable host, until checked somewhat in certain directions by the rebuff and deception on the part of blunt and grasping foreigners. Spoiled partly by bountiful nature, he yielded his best efforts to profitless pursuits, heedless of the morrow. Moved by impulses which soon evaporated, his energy was both unsustained and misdirected, and he fell a ready prey to unscrupulous schemers. He lived for the enjoyment of the hour, in reverie or sport, rejoicing

in bull-fighting and bear-baiting, eager for the chase as for the fandango, and sustaining the flagging excitement with gambling, winning or losing with an imperturbability little in accord with his otherwise movable nature; yet he gambled for excitement, while the foreigner, who freely gave vent to his feelings in round oaths or ejaculations, was impelled mainly by avarice.

Sunday morning was spent, where possible, in devotion, with senses quickened to loftier feelings by the solemnity of the place, the illuminated splendor of the altar, the beauty of the chant, the awe-imposing ritual. This duty was quite irksome, however, involving as it did so great a restraint. After service, amends were made, the remainder of the day being passed in active games or social entertainments. The load of sins removed by penance or confession, the soul was ready to take on a fresh load of iniquity, to be as easily removed another day. And when in winter time the sun hurried the day along, and night slackened its pace, then lovers met. The old-fashioned rule in Spain was that a kiss was equivalent to betrothal; but there were here many kisses for every betrothal, and many betrothals for every marriage, and sometimes a marriage without a priest. The guitar and violin were in constant use, the players being always ready for dance and song, the simple music being usually marked by a plaintive strain. The singing was frequently improvised, especially in honor of guests, or in sarcastic play upon men and events.

Lazy some of them might be, and were; day after day, at morning and at night, lazily they told their rosary, lazily attended mass, and lazily ate and slept. They were as sleepy, and indolent, and amorous, as if they fed exclusively on mandrakes. But the languor of ennui was not common with them. They could do nothing easily and not tire of it. Theirs was that abnormity wherein rest was the natural condition.

Supremest happiness was theirs; the happiness that

knows no want, that harbors no unattainable longing, no desires that might not be gratified, the happiness of ignorance, of absence of pain. Nor might it truthfully be said of them that theirs was only a negative happiness. Was it not happiness to breathe the intoxicating air, to revel in health and plenty, to bask in the sunshine and fatten on luscious fruits, to enjoy all of God's best gifts uncursed, in their Eden to possess their souls in peace? And of the doings of the outer world, of past ages, of progress—these are not happiness; does not knowledge bring with it vastly more of pain than pleasure? Yet sadness they were not wholly free from; a shade of melancholy is characteristic of their features. But what of that? Does not the serenest joy often spring from quiet hearts, and sad thoughts find expression in sweetest song?

There were not lacking verse-makers among them, though in poetry no attempt was made to achieve the upper regions of Parnassus, their half-fledged muse being apparently content to flutter round the mountains bare.

Like their language, the Spanish are a poetic, rythmic people; yet stern, majestic, and with a melancholy tone. In their softer moods they are touchingly sweet and tender, but when roused their tongue is terrible.

The empirical law of human nature, which asserts that youth is impetuous and old age cautious, finds in the Hispano-Californians an exception; the young men were impetuous, and the old men scarcely less so. A life-long experience failed to generate circumspection.

Though bursting with conditions favorable to wealth, there was comparatively little wealth in the land. Gold lay scattered in the streams and imbedded in the crevices of the Sierra foothills, and the valleys were fat with grain-producing soil. Yet there lacked the applied labor that should turn these resources into tangible riches. Some, nevertheless, acquired what

might be called wealth in those days, though not by voluntarily saving part of their earnings, but because they could not spend their accumulations. They did not love money. Any time they would pour out a gallon of it for a pint of pleasure; but the trouble was too often that there was nothing to buy.

Life then was unlike any of the modifications of feudal Europe; it was unlike the fixed features of Oriental society, the nomadic communities of Arabia, the aristocratic tribes of America, or any of the great types of human society, aboriginal or colonial, that had ever before existed. Idleness there did not seem to visit the people with its usual curse. Firmly enough they held that pleasure, up to a certain point, must be classed among the utilities, as well as ploughing or sheep-raising, for without enjoyment the race would speedily degenerate.

The products of these engendering conditions were of the most material and practical kind, such as were wealth and wealth producing. As they were not largely exchanged for money, silk, foreign wine, and tobacco, not sunk or squandered in these things, they were left to increase, which they did rapidly. All were productive consumers as well as productive laborers. Little was lost or squandered in luxuries or pleasures. Luxury and pleasure there were an abundance of, but they were of such a character as not to be dependent upon money or wealth.

Years passed by with never a broken siesta of priest or comandante, with never a noon-day disturbance, midday and midnight were alike sacred to slumber.

Though farming was limited, their wants being not extensive in this direction, and the care of horses and cattle claiming the most attention, yet seed-time and harvest were epochs in their quiet lives, and sometimes pruning and vintage, for in due time the padres had well-filled wine-cellars, in the disposition of which they themselves were not their worst customers. In their farming operations, as in everything else, they

held, with Hesiod, to their lucky and unlucky days. The old men saw visions, the young men dreamed dreams. Nor were women old or young without their schemes—innocent and childlike little plots they were; not bloodless, indeed, for the blood of young men and maidens is rich and warm; but there was little of blood-spilling in these dreams and schemes other than the blood of bullocks fat for feasting.

Living thus surrounded by such scenes of natural beauty, amidst olive orchards and vineyards, ever looking forth from sunny slopes on the bright waters of bay and sea, living so much in the open air with high exhilaration and healthful exercise, many a young woman glowed in her lustrous beauty, and many a young man unfolded as perfect as Apollo. Even the old were cheerful, strong, and young in spirit.

Gathered at their festivals, it might be said of the assembly as some one said of the Ionians gathered at Delos, so fresh and blooming were they, as if blessed with endless youth. And indeed, life here was almost like a returning of the world to its infancy; a returning of mankind to artless, thoughtless boyhood, when science held little sway, and men lived simple lives, and excess of piety and excess of culture had not sobered the mind and made serious the art of living. It was almost as in the early days of Greece, when religion was but a love of the beautiful; when every star was tenanted by a god, and every stream was made to move and sing by some laughter-loving nymph; when Jove himself hurled the thunder and flashed the lightning, and made the clouds to move, such things as laws of nature being yet unheard of. And of the young women at work, one might almost imagine them the princess Nausicaa and her maidens, washing in the stream the household linen, stamping it clean with their pretty bare feet, and ending their labors with ball-game and banquet. By their behavior one would think they were born in the silver age of Hesiod, when childhood lasted for a hundred years,

for none of these were one hundred, and they all acted like children.

As nature grows, so grows man's intelligence; as nature speaks, so speaks the heart of man. The bird sings, and man prays; human life, like leaves, comes and goes, and no one knows whence or whither. That which built mountains builds churches; seas and forests, like nations, are born and die; that which unfolds the hidden seed unfolds the germ of intellect; nature and man—wild man or tamed—are one, and all alike are but blind chance or the development of infinite thought.

In America, wherever the European plants himself, the native is overshadowed. And the lower in the scale of humanity he is, the quicker he dies. No people have longer endured the intimate contact of Europeans than the Nahuas of the Mexican table-land. The Tasmanians have gone, and the Australians, the New Zealanders, and the Hawaiians are fast going. Our food, our drink, our clothes, our shelter, our piety, our cruelty, our diseases—all tend to waste them away. Being intellectually weak and inferior, they sink into the earth beside their neighbor of ranker individuality.

Take from the mountains or prairies hardy wild cattle; confine, feed, and fatten them, and they are the first to fall before some rinderpest. Wild beasts never can be made to work beside domesticated animals. A civilized horse would kill a dozen of the untamed kind at ploughing, whereas, free, the wild horse would soon run the tame one to death on the prairies. Our present civilization tends to toughen men; it does not enervate and degrade, like that of ancient Greece and Rome. In Spain, in Sicily, and in Gual, the barbarian with the Roman endured. The contact was beneficial rather than prejudicial to both barbarian and Roman. But then, these barbarians were not exactly savages, nor were the Romans then the hardy, warlike people they once were.

The savage is not so far removed from us as we may at first suppose. All are children of one common father; and weighed in the great balance of life and immortality, the primitive man will if anything turn the scale. Every one of the great blessings upon which civilization so prides itself carries with it to some extent a counteracting curse. Man, in emerging from a savage state, has much to give up. The restraints of civilized life to the savage are like prison walls. He cannot jump at once from unbounded liberty, from perfect freedom in thought and action, from health and the full enjoyment of nature, into the strait-jacket of forms and refinements, without undergoing a severe struggle. The growth must be gradual. The seed cannot at once be transformed into a tree, nor the child into the man. Every attempt that has ever yet been made to abruptly change the life and condition of the Indian has proved a failure. Even the catholic fathers in California, actuated by the kindest motives, devoting their lives to the amelioration of one of the most abject races of the world, raising them from a condition of nakedness, hunger, want, and exposure, and comfortably clothing, housing, and feeding them, were doomed to see them gradually fade away. They can no more endure kindness than cruelty.

Their songs of native gladness were changed to minor moods, as they were made to sit in sackcloth, and cry *peccavi!*

The savages are great imitators; and once the missionaries succeeded in gaining their good-will, they soon were full of some kind of enthusiasm, they hardly knew what. These strange white men they felt to be their superior, hence to do as they did soon became the fashion among them, even to falling down and worshipping a saint-figure with crucifix and skull, glaring down upon them from the church wall—certainly no small tax upon the credulity of the savage or civilized mind.

So far as the natives were concerned, between the fathers spiritual and the soldiers temporal it was an absolute despotism they were under, with no intermediate class between the rulers and the ruled; and if they avoided Scylla the government, they were sure to fall on Charybdis the church.

The natives were of necessity forced to obey their spiritual advisers, and indeed, soldiers of the presidio, and citizens of the pueblo, rancheros, vaqueros, and loungers, were all subject to a mild clerical espionage. Between the intellectual caliber of the missionaries and that of the natives there was a great difference, with no intermediate class. It was the cunning of civilization, the cunning of christianity, the cunning of zealous, self-devoted fanaticism, in close and deadly contact with savage simplicity. Had there been any to stand between them, any to question the one as to the validity of his pretensions and encourage the other to disobedience, the missionaries never would have succeeded.

Natural advantages exercise a powerful influence upon a people, particularly where they are indigenous. But those countries possessing the greatest advantages of soil and climate do not always produce the greatest people. Of energy there was enough among the Spanish colonists, but it was of that spasmodic kind which aroused by passion subsides before beneficial results are secured. It was the very opposite of that tenacious and stubborn principle which governed the Anglo-Saxons in America, whose patient and self-denying industry laid the foundations of superior political institutions.

Both Indian and Spaniard were alike in natural indolence, love of luxury, fondness for amusement, and hatred of menial occupations. Both would undergo the greatest hardships without a murmur; but when the passion had cooled, or when the exigency which called forth these spasms of energy had passed, there came a reaction in which indulgence was in as great

excess as the discipline had been severe. For the continuous application of those faculties of body and mind which alone achieve permanent greatness, the Latin races were children beside the Anglo-Saxon.

For a time few foreigners were here, the population being chiefly Indian and Mexican, with presently interminable intermixtures. All others were regarded with more or less suspicion, and were plainly made to understand that their presence was not desired, unless they would become catholics, and marry a woman of the country, which indeed many did.

Across the mountains came the uncouth sons of the Saxons. At one time in all the mission churches te deum was sung for divine interposition to save the country from the Americans. And when the strangers came, all along this line of missions the past was there; these buildings might be a thousand years old, howsoever virgin the country. Immigration brought innovation, steamboats and stage-coaches were the curse conveying to silent ranchos and sleepy pueblos vagabonds and sharpers. As a rule, there was no public house in these towns; such things were unneeded where hospitality only placed the distributor under obligations.

A bitter feeling sprang up early between the Californians and the Mexican government, resulting from the policy of the latter to turn their country into a penal colony for Mexican convicts. This displeasure became further increased when the government resolved to fill all the official positions with Mexicans, to the exclusion of Californians. This feeling soon grew to one of hostility toward the people of Mexico, or, as they were called, "los de la otra banda." "The best of the Mexicans among us," says Alvarado, "were insulting and offensive and were far more cordially hated than any foreigners." Alvarado had once inflicted chastisement with his own hands, on a Mexican schoolmate named Romero, for making in-

sulting remarks on the dress of the administration of which he was a member. A quarrel between Alvarado and Alférez Pliego was another event growing out of the sectional hatred. The character and conduct of the battalion of cholos, brought by General Micheltorena in 1842, capped the climax, exasperating the Californians to open rebellion, for the soldiers were not only vicious and a disgrace to the service, but altogether useless, and a burden which the slightly developed country could ill support.

Said José de Jesus Vallejo to Cerruti: "General Micheltorena sent to Mexico, by Coronel Tellez, a person in whom he placed full confidence, several official notes addressed to the minister of war of the Mexican republic, demanding of him assistance to fight the Californians, whom he represented as unworthy of his confidence, because they were united by masonic bonds and all conspired against him. I believe that General Micheltorena would have done a great deal better if he had frankly confessed that the soldiers under his orders were thieves and not military men, and such a pack of cowards that our rancheros, mounted on their horses, carrying in their arms their young children, fought one against three, and vanquished them." The following will give some idea of what the quarrel was composed of:

General Micheltorena's officers, with a few honorable exceptions, were corrupt and altogether bad. Colonel Garfias, an old veteran, who had been appointed commander of the battalion, refused the command, and told the general: "Most of your officers are a miserable set. If you send them to buy six pence worth of cigarettes, they will lose the coin." Among them was a Lieutenant Aguado, whose servant was a cholo soldier. The latter was coming from the direction of the orchards—in Los Ángeles,—wrapped in a striped woolen blanket, and meeting the lieutenant, opened his wrap a little to show the

head of a large turkey, and said, "My lieutenant, see what a fine *violon* (base viol) I have with me." "That is right, my son, take it to my quarters," answered Aguado, who well knew he would have for his dinner a good share of the stolen turkey.

Manuel Requena, a citizen of Los Angeles, notified Alcalde Coronel in 1842 that his poultry yard had been robbed of a number of turkeys, and that he had reason to believe the thieves were some of Micheltorena's lambs. An Indian woman identified one of them at the barracks. On being asked what had become of the turkey, he answered with a question and a reply thereto. Didn't you receive a nice little stew from my woman? And you ate it? So did I and my companions. He alleged not having stolen the turkey, and explained the process by which he came to have it, drawing out of his pocket a line at the end of which were several pieces of crooked needles securing a number of grains of corn. He added that it was a way he had of amusing himself, and in passing Requena's house, he threw those little grains on the other side of the fence to see if he could catch some crows or other birds. Presently he felt a pulling at the line, whereupon he slowly and carefully drew it to himself, fearing that the line might part; finally he discovered that the violincito had entangled itself. He then wrapped it up in his serape, judging that it was his by right of conquest. Being told by his colonel that this was theft, he answered that he had always understood theft to be taking things without their owner's consent; but in the present case the little animal had come to him of its own accord. This ingenious pleading did not, however, save him from the punishment, in the form of blows with withes, that his commander ordered applied to his bare back.

The first foreigners who established themselves among the Californians were regarded by those who came later from Mexico as renegades and apostates, or even traitors to their countrymen. They accused

them of secretly plotting for their expulsion, fearing that their ascendency over the Mexicans was in danger of being shared or destroyed by the poor but bold and enterprising settlers who were beginning to reach the country. The majority of these older emigrants had conformed to the catholic religion, and were accustomed to out-Mexican the Mexicans in drinking, gambling, and fandangoing, that they might obtain favor of the Californians, and become traitors in the eyes of the minnows of Mexico—the female minnows especially.

The character of the Californians was what in the main would be called good—mild, well-meaning enough, though not very pronounced. They had received but little training, scarcely any education, yet they possessed virtues worthy of record. They were kind-hearted and liberal; a person could travel from San Diego to Sonoma without a coin in his pocket, and never want for a roof to cover him, a bed to sleep on, food to eat, and even tobacco to smoke. Serrano says in travelling he once came to the house of some poor people who had but one bed; this they wished to give him and sleep themselves on hides spread on the ground. The guest resisted, until they considered themselves slighted, and he was forced to yield. This hospitality was not only extended to acquaintances, but to strangers; and if any one attempted to pay for services rendered, the poorest Californian would never accept any reward, but would say, "Señor, we are not in the habit of selling food."

"On arriving at a rancho," says Arnaz, "the traveller was received with joy, and the best things were prepared for him, with horses and servants on leaving. Even their beds were given up. When the missions flourished a man could travel from one end of California to the other, obtaining horses, servants, food, etc., without cost to him, and this hospitality was kept up, or nearly so, by rancheros after the decline of the mis-

sions." Some of Belden's party reached Aguirre's rancho unable to speak Spanish, and hardly knowing how to get along. He made signs for food. The Californians lassoed a bullock, killing it, and told them to leave the hide and take as much meat as they wanted, and refused to accept pay.

Every man travelling carried his serape, which served him well in rainy or cold weather; at night it was a covering to sleep under. He could always count upon a hide to lie on in the common houses, and a simple bed in those of the better class.

At the missions the same. The traveller being fed was lodged in the guest's apartment; his horse was taken care of, and when he departed he was given provisions for the remainder of his journey. If his horse was tired out, he was given another, until such time as he returned to exchange it for his own. "And so," says Robinson, "any stranger travelling through the country could stop at any one of the missions as long as he pleased—for months, if he chose; his plate would always be laid at table, and every possible attention paid to him. When ready to leave, all he had to do was to tell the padres, and his horses would be ready, with a guide, and provisions for the road, which were generally a chicken or two, a boiled tongue, a loaf of bread, boiled eggs, a bottle of wine, and a bottle of brandy, and the traveller was at no expense whatever." A gentleman bummer, as the slang of to-day would have it, could thus spend a lifetime going round from mission to mission, and be always well received, and all free of charge. He must have a constitution that could endure some religion, however. The padres were always glad to have strangers come.

"It is a proverb here," Bidwell remarks in 1841, "and I find a pretty true one, that a Spaniard will not do anything which he cannot do on horseback. He does not work, perhaps, on an average one month in the year. He labors about a week when he sows his wheat, and another week when he harvests it; the rest of the time is spent in riding about."

Both the men and women were quite fine-looking, tall, robust, well-made, handsome in feature, and healthy in appearance. There was here a greater purity of race than in Mexico. Many of the women were as fair as those of New York, and had rosy cheeks, contrasting with their jet-black hair, eyebrows, and eyelashes. Their beauty was by no means of an inferior order. Both the men and women had small feet.

Vischer saw in San Diego and Santa Bárbara the cradles of California society, the classic type, Greek or Roman, running through whole families, with a frequent occurrence of the oriental and Gothic. Their demeanor was one of quiet dignity, all affectation being absent.

As I have said, the people were all indolent; only here and there was one who showed any inclination to better his condition. They were not vicious, and drunkenness was a rare thing in the country. They lived comfortably, and were happy. Their wants originally were few and simple. They knew nothing beyond their own country, and had no desire for anything but what their own land afforded them, until other things brought by the incoming vessels attracted their attention. They passed away their time without care, had their amusements when not occupied in their necessary labors, and never gave a thought to the future. In a moral point of view, they compared favorably with the people of other countries.

The Californians, generally, were the happiest and most contented of communities, more free from care, anxiety, and trouble than any others in the world. They were simple-minded, and not at all sanguinary; shedding blood was abhorrent to their nature. They were different from many of their countrymen of other parts of Mexico in this regard. "Their fine physique was due," says Torres, "probably to the quantity of roast meat eaten, without vegetables."

One who left New Mexico in consequence of the

insecurity of life and property of foreigners there, and came to California not with any intention of remaining, says: "Receiving so much kindness from the native Californians, I arrived at the conclusion that there was no place in the world where I could enjoy more true happiness and true friendship than among them. There were no courts, no juries, no lawyers, nor any need of them. The people were honest and hospitable, and their word was as good as their bond; indeed, bonds and notes of hand were entirely unknown among the natives."

All over this great west, for that matter, travellers, trappers, wanderers, were treated with a kindness and hospitality that they felt to be beyond thanks or recompense. Those who quietly remain at home in the enjoyment of indulgent ease can hardly comprehend the joy of houseless missionaries and pioneers in meeting friends, and friendly receptions now and then in the course of their weary journeyings. But the settler in a strange land could, and he always was kind to strangers. He knew too well that solitude could have no charm, save, perhaps, infrequency. He had felt that faintness and sickness which come to the rudest heart with long separations from friendship and sympathy. The solitary are generally the most hospitable. From the lonely and wandering Tartars, the little band of Arabs that huddle round a well, or the half-dozen huts that constitute a western settlement, the stranger is never turned empty away. The having suffered like things is at the root of this, as of most other virtues of deed or expression. Who can pity the poor like the poor? Who can sing of blindness like Milton, or of love like Sappho, or depict an exile like Hugo?

Particularly is the *hijo del país* well formed, graceful in his movements, and athletic. Spending his life in manly pursuits, roaming his native hills, breathing the pure air of the Pacific, the horse his companion, the lasso his weapon, he carries about him and into all life's commonplaces the chivalrous bearing of the cavaliers

of old Spain. His courage no one will question who has seen him face a herd of wild cattle, or lasso a grizzly, or mount an unbroken horse, or fix his unflinching gaze upon the muzzle of a pistol pointed at his breast. He is by nature kind and frank. The treatment he received at the hand of hard-featured, ill-mannered, grasping, and unprincipled strangers taught him to be suspicious; but his confidence once gained, he is yours wholly and forever. In his ardent nature there is no half-way course: either he loves or hates; in his eyes every one he meets is either for or against him, every one is either friend or foe.

Absolutely unconfined, socially and politically, or as nearly free as it were possible for poor erring humanity to be who cannot escape a master of some sort, or who make any pretensions to government, religion, or social ethics,—masters of all their eyes surveyed, the beautiful earth and its fruits as free as the sweet air and sunshine, lands unlimited, cattle on a thousand hills, with ready-made servants to tend them, born here, basking here, with none to molest or make afraid, with woman to love, and offspring to rear, and priest to shrive, with heart full and stomach full, yet relieved from skull-cracking brains withal—how should they be else than happy, than lovers of home and country?

Life at San Diego in 1825, what was it? Life, not death, for nine tenths of life is death or a dreaming. "Ah, what times we used to have!" exclaims what a little later was a wrinkled old woman of reflective memory. "Every week to La Playa, aboard the ships—silks! officers! rebozos! music! dancing! frolic!" Such was the impression a ship at La Playa every week for one or two weeks created on the female mind in the year 1825.

"Days of primitive simplicity, its traces not yet all gone from among the descendants of the founders," continues the sighing one. "The summer labors and harvest and their cattle filled most of their wants.

The missionaries drew a heavy commerce from abroad that supplied many luxuries in exchange for the products of individual industry. The arrival of a ship was more than a sensation; its date served the memory to reckon ordinary events thereafter. And cold the heart not to relish the gayety and enjoyment that followed the dropping of the anchor at La Playa. Liberality on one side, unbounded hospitality on the other, contributed to gild and prolong the festive hours."

In the south society was most refined at Angeles and Santa Bárbara, these settlements being larger and the people more wealthy than elsewhere on the coast. Moreover, at these points larger military forces were in garrison, and the officers were men of a culture far superior to that of the rough rancheros, wherefore an improvement in manners was felt. In this vicinity, too, were to be found choice lands, together with the most inviting climate; and these lands were secured by the most influential of such as came to the country.

San Diego would, undoubtedly, have been the metropolis of early Alta California had the country immediately surrounding the harbor been as fertile as the valleys of Santa Bárbara and Los Angeles, which latter place bore off the palm—although in point of respectability, Santa Bárbara was not far behind.

The blood of Spain, already somewhat mixed with that of the people of Montezuma, was still further reduced by the occasional union of the Mexican and Indian. When in 1835 the government began to make grants of land, and the missions were secularized and sold and the troops disbanded, many of the common soldiers wived with Indians. Hence came the baser stock of Hispano-Californians, such as, in the time of gold discoveries, were yclept greasers.

Thus there were two distinct classes—that which sprang from the admixture of Mexican and Indian, and that of Mexican blood alone.

Whiteness was the badge of respectability, and the

white Anglo-American mated with her he chose from among the rich dusky daughters of Mexican descent. This claim is to this day rather a sensitive point, not only with the Mexico-Californians themselves, but with the Americans and Englishmen who married here. A too close scrutiny of the blood with which they allied themselves is not always palatable to the fathers of dark-complexioned children, especially if the fathers be rich and respectable and the sons and daughters educated and accomplished.

Morineau's observations in 1834 are not wide of the mark. "Since the time of La Perouse," he says, "the creole population of California has increased rapidly. The number of births is triple that of deaths. There are often nine or ten children in a family. This is owing to the good climate, and the exercise which the youths take—lassoing, riding, etc. Their violent exercise and lack of education make the Californians rough and almost brutal. They have little regard for their women, are of a jealous disposition, and are strict with their families. Although brusque, they are kind to strangers. Their wives are dances, attached to their children, and hospitable. Being almost all related to each other, they live in great intimacy. There is no difference of rank among them. One who has become rich by his industry is neither admired nor envied by any one. Theft is extremely rare. Murder is without example. They do not like work, but are all day in the saddle, looking after their herds, or hunting. The women manage the household. In the evenings they sometimes go to pass the time with a neighbor, and play cards for money. Without priding themselves on their politeness, they sometimes give balls, and dance to the guitar and violin. Besides the jota and jarabe, which they dance in pairs, they have a favorite dance executed by a single woman. From the crowd of admirers are thrown pieces of money at the feet of the dancer, while the tallest cavalier places his hat on her head and his cloak on her

shoulder; a gage which he may not take back without making an offering to the beauty. The creoles served no drink at their festivals but brandy; lately they have used French wines. The women prefer Frontignac and the men Bordeaux. If the men are fond of violent exercise, the women like spectacles of a similar kind, such as bear and bull fights and horse-races." Which is as this man saw it.

Laplace avers that "whatever good qualities the native Californians may have inherited with their Castilian blood are more than counterbalanced by their laziness, pride, vindictiveness, and jealousy of foreigners. For the most part they are very ignorant, and pass their time smoking and sleeping when not gambling. They are indifferent husbands, faithless and exacting, and very hard masters. The women are pretty, but vain, frivolous, bad managers, and extravagant. They prefer to take their husbands from among the foreigners. The houses of the lower class were scarcely better than Indian huts. An air of squalor and slovenliness was over things and persons. Some of them when mounted and equipped had a fine, brave appearance, not in their case always a proof of bravery. Their daughters and wives were gracious and attractive."

"The state of society here," says Wilkes, "is exceedingly loose; envy, hatred, and malice predominate in almost every breast, and the people are wretched under their present rulers. Female virtue, I regret to say, is also at a low ebb; and the coarse and lascivious dances which meet the plaudits of the lookers-on show the degraded tone of manners that exists." Wilkes found the men with no trades, and dependent for everything upon the Indians at the missions. They were so indolent, and withal had so much pride, that they regard all manual labor as degrading. "An anecdote was related to me," he says, "of one who had been known to dispense with his dinner, although the food was but a few yards off, because the Indian was

not at hand to bring it to him. . . . Priest and layman are alike given up to idleness and debauchery." They delay paying their debts, but always pay in the end if they can. Had Wilkes seen more, perhaps he would not have been quite so dogmatical.

The constant horse-riding made them slovenly in appearance and manner. They were so little used to walking that they waddled from one side to the other. They were roused from idleness only by the necessity of looking after the herds.

Arrillaga and many other governors were continually complaining to the viceroy of the need to repair this or that fort or house, the want of artillerymen at certain forts, and the need of padres at presidios, all of which, by a little thought and energy, could have been accomplished by the soldiers at no expense; artillerymen could have been sent from a central presidio to train soldiers in gunnery at other points, and pious readings might have been held by sergeants.

Little wonder is it, therefore, that in looking back the old inhabitants, sorrowing, maintain that California was a perfect paradise before the foreign immigration set in to corrupt patriarchal customs; then robbery and assassination were unheard of, blasphemy rare, and fraudulent creditor not known. Captains would sell goods along the coast, and return in twelve or eighteen months after to receive payment in produce. "I never heard of a complaint against Californian rancheros," says Fernandez, "from Argüello's to Figueroa's time."

Micheltorena relates that Santa Anna, on sending him to this country, said that the Californians were lambs which he commended to his care. "I wish," retorted the governor later during the revolts, "that Santa Anna would come to pasture them now.

"The Californians vent their grief too reservedly," says Hayes, in 1856. "It is only to their friends they unbosom themselves, and always very quietly. As

yet they have not come universally to appreciate their position as a part of the people."

"Nature gave the Californians high talents," says Bandini, "frankness, and simple manners. They were hospitable, and were capable of making great sacrifices to aid the afflicted. I do not believe there is one of the many white men who professes a trade; their occupation is tending stock, some small cultivation, and idling."

Speaking of the characteristics of the families who came to pastoral California, Sepúlveda says: "Settled in a remote part from the centre of government, isolated from and almost unaided by the rest of the Mexican states, and with very rare chances of communication with the rest of the world, they in time formed a society whose habits, customs, and manners differed in many essential particulars from the other people of Mexico. The character of the new settlers assumed, I think, a milder form, more independence, and less of the restless spirit which their brothers in old Mexico possessed. To this the virtuous and intelligent missionaries doubtless contributed greatly."

In January 1845 Larkin at Monterey writes to Parrott at Mazatlan: "The people here do not know what Mexican family to associate with, it being impossible to decide whether the officer and his woman are man and wife or not. This has held so too often in Monterey, from the generals to the ensigns. Dr Mora was sent out here when I came up, with his wife, as he said—opened house, purchased furniture, received company, and paid visits. In a few weeks came an order from the government in Mexico to retain part of his pay for his wife in Mexico. In twenty-four hours this man and wife had not a Californian house open to them, to my knowledge. This is not a single case. This couple have now gone, with three or four more officers, and 50 to 75 soldiers have run away. If General Micheltorena would despatch the whole of them, and depend on the Californians,

he would do well. At present soldiers use knives and officers swords too much for good order." Perhaps the consul was a little more particular and prudish than he would be were he living in Monterey to-day.

In 1796 I find the governor referring to a tailor in very courteous words. Coupled with this conventional politeness of the governor were some fiery doings on the part of the females. In the San Diego archives it is recorded in 1843 that a man was fined fifty dollars in a conciliation suit, because his wife had severely beaten an Indian servant, a niece of the alcalde of a town. Thus it seems that gentle woman had her race prejudices. When a negro was taken from the Bouchard party, a strong-minded female, who proposed to burn him alive, tried to find out if he had a tail, as the holy fathers had taught them to believe that all heretics had a tail. This upon the authority of Governor Alvarado in his manuscript *Historia de California.*

The creoles had no servants as a rule, and they rarely were able to get Indians from the missions to tend the cattle. Neighbors regarded the property of one another to some extent as common, and none cared whether the other slaughtered one of his bullocks or took one of his horses. They called one another cousins though no relationship existed. When families met at a house, every woman went about the household duties as if she lived there. On returning from church, they often remained at the first rancho belonging to one of the party for the night. The men went to kill a fat calf, and the women set about different duties as if they were at home. After eating there was singing, music, and dancing.

The Californians were not accustomed to see negroes except in menial positions, and of these there were only two in 1831, a female slave brought from Peru, and the negro captured from Bouchard's party. This was the reason the women of California, especially, were very adverse to associating at balls and parties

with the gobernador negro Victoria, as they called him. All this, however, was somewhat upon the principle of the so-called respectable women of our day waging war on prostitutes. They find it necessary to do so in order to keep their own virtue up to the social and commercial standard. Now, the women of California were dark, while each, above all things, aspired to be of lighter skin than her neighbor; so she daubed on the cosmetics and powder, and held up to holy horror a negro.

One governor did not like to see the Spanisn people decline in social dignity, and in 1799 he wrote to the viceroy, referring to rather indecorous means resorted to by the poor subalterns to subsist; such as letting their wives and daughters wash their own clothes, and make bread and sew for others, and at the same time fail to procure shoes and stockings for the children.

The lower classes of the community, which were composed chiefly of a mixture of Spanish with aboriginal blood, presented a cadaverous appearance. They were bushy-headed, black-eyed, and sinewy. Except when roused by some excitement, they were drowsy and listless. A society of these beings presented the appearance of having been recently emptied out of a dilapidated graveyard before the sounding of the final trump, and sleepily resting until called somewhere again.

The following tale savors more of the manners of unfledged fiends than of the nature human. On the 12th of January, 1822, in a thicket near the Mission Dolores of San Francisco, the body, partially eaten by wild beasts, of an Indian boy and a bit of rope of rawhide were found. By order of Captain Argüello, the matter was investigated by Lieutenant Martinez. It was ascertained that the remains were those of Juan, a *pajarero*, a boy employed to frighten birds from the growing grain. The other pajareros were summoned, and Braulio, to whom, because of his slight knowl-

edge of religion, no oath was administered, stated that about the 5th or 6th of the month, he, as pajarero, was in charge of the planted field close by the mission. Marcelo, aged eleven years, invited deceased to go for wood, which, however, the latter declined to do. Marcelo, continuing to urge him, Juan threw a small stone at him, which struck Ventura, aged nine years, on the head. Marcelo and Juan then grappled, the latter being brought to the ground. Marcelo then called Vicente, aged ten years, who cried, "Kill him! kill him!" Vicente then tied the raw-hide rope, which Marcelo had for fetching wood, round the neck of the prostrate boy. Meanwhile Marcelo was fastening Juan's hands, and called out to Ventura and Ildefonso, nine years old, to come and assist. The four carried Juan to a piece of rising ground and threw him down. Vicente tightened the rope about Juan's neck, at the same time filling his mouth with earth; Marcelo had charge of the hands while he kicked Juan in the stomach; Ventura, with a large stone, beat Juan upon the breast. Thus the little murderers choked and pounded their poor comrade to death. Juan being despatched, the four boys scratched a shallow grave in the sandy soil and buried the body; which done, they went away, taking with them the dead boy's blanket and cotton breech-clout. After they had gone away, the deponent ran off to the mission. The four boys made a full confession, declaring that they knew it was wrong to kill any one, and that their hearts ached for what they had done to Juan.

They were great gossips and newsmongers. Having lived so long upon the little events of their spell-bound days, they were filled with inquisitive awe, and earnestly questioned one another as they met, and whatever the occasion, a long questioning conversation followed. They had their rendezvous in every town, where, before siesta, they assembled to talk—a sort of social and business exchange. Their place of meet-

ing was usually the open street, and if the sun became oppressive, or the rain troublesome, they either wrapped their capacious cloaks more closely around them, or withdrew to the shelter of some shed or shop.

Before 1825 the military chiefs and the padres were regarded as demi-gods, and woe to the unhappy person who passing within a hundred varas of them did not take off his hat. Friends then termed one another valedor. Bandini and Pico addressed each other as estimado or amado compadre; and wives as comadres.

Indians saluted thus:

"Ave María Purísima!"

"Sin pecado original concebida!"

"Mar à Dios!" (for amar à Dios.)

"Mar à Dios!"

The second and fourth lines were the answers.

Father Junípero taught the Indians of San Cárlos to salute all with "Amar à Dios," a fashion which spread all over the country, and was used even by pagans.

Persons of the same christian name, in writing or speaking of or to one another, used the word tocayo—namesake, as in other Spanish countries.

It was the custom for any of the pueblo, white as well as Indian, meeting a padre to kiss his hand.

The population being limited, it was impossible to have any social gathering without inviting all classes, and impossible to pay the usual attentions to social distinctions between different grades of civil and military employés, when these different grades were held by different members of the same family.

Says Sir Simpson: "A son, though himself the head of a family, never presumes to sit, or smoke, or remain covered in presence of his father; nor does the daughter, whether married or unmarried, enter into too great familiarity with the mother." With this exception, Californians knew little of the restraints of etiquette; generally, all classes associated equally,

and on particular occasions, such as one's saint's day, or the day of one's marriage, those who could afford it gave a ball to the whole community. Singing and dancing was as common as eating and sleeping. For days beforehand sweetmeats and delicacies were prepared in great variety, and the festivities were often continued for several nights.

"All are musicians, and in every house may be heard the guitar or singing. They play nothing but national music, fandangos, boleros, etc. In a word, the Californians are a happy people, possessing the means of physical pleasure to the full, and knowing no higher kind of enjoyment."

"Until I was twenty-six years of age," says Pio Pico, "I was in complete subjection to my mother, my father being dead. When younger I could repeat the whole catechism from beginning to end, and she would send for me to do so for the edification of strangers."

It was considered improper for a young man to smoke in presence of an older person, even though the latter was but five or six years older.

A Frenchman says that the Californian is hospitable, but vain and shy. "The father expects great submission from the children, even after their marriage. A child seldom sits at table with the father, who generally eats alone, served by his wife and children. Smoking is almost innate with them, and a man is seldom seen without his cigar; still a son will not smoke before his parents." What would this Frenchman say of the French?

"I saw," says Arnaz, "more than once in the north and south an old man lashing his son, who was married and had children, the son humbly kneeling to receive the blows. The same respect was shown to the mother, and nearly the same to all old people."

They were strict observers of the habits of good society. In 1833, we find Figueroa, the governor, sending to the president of the ayuntamiento the

pamphlet which Joaquin Gomez de la Cortina published about the rights and duties of society.

The cards of most of the Mexican governors of California had the arms of their ancestors, and a family motto, either of a religious cast or of a warlike nature, or still oftener referring to some act of gallantry. Governor Figueroa's card bore the words Honor y Lealtad.

Friendly reunions were held at times without dancing. Fresh meat was hung up under a tree, and a huge fire kept burning to enable any one to cook a steak when hungry.

Social rank was settled by the amount of Spanish blood each could lay claim to. Dana affirmed there were but few of pure Spanish blood. These kept up an exclusive system, and were ambitious to speak pure Castilian. From the extreme upper class they descended by regular shades. Each person's caste was decided by the quality of the blood, and the least drop was sufficient to raise one from the position of serf and entitling him to full dress, long knife, etc. An altogether too high estimate, during the past half-century, has been put upon this superficial glance at the early Californians by this sailor boy.

On the ranchos, after supper, every one went to bed; or they amused themselves in some way, playing cards, or playing the vihuela, a kind of guitar, singing and dancing in a family reunion.

People generally arose at 6 or 7, according to the season. The civilian had no other occupation than stock-raising or agriculture. After the desayuno, he took his yokes of oxen and went to work; or attended to cattle and the stock kept for service. The men as a rule, though not always, looked after all the out-door work; the women attended to the in-door labor, and the bringing up of the children, the care of their husbands and brothers.

"In Monterey," it has been said, "there are a number of English and Americans, who are called *Ingléses*,

from their speaking the English language. These have married Californians, have joined the catholic church, and have acquired considerable property, owing to their possessing more industry, frugality, and enterprise than the natives, and these qualities soon bring the whole trade of the town into their hands. They usually keep shops, in which they retail to advantage the goods purchased in large quantities from vessels arriving in the port. They also send merchandise into the interior, receiving hides in payment; these they again barter with the vessels for goods. In every town on the coast foreigners are to be found engaged in this lucrative traffic. In Monterey, but two shops are kept by natives. The people are naturally suspicious of foreigners, and would not have allowed them to remain in their towns if they had not become good catholics; but by marrying natives of the country, and bringing up their children as catholics and Spaniards, taking care not to teach them the English language, they managed to allay suspicion, and even become popular; so much so that the chief alcaldes, both at Monterey and Santa Bárbara, are Americans by birth.

"The men are always on horseback; horses being as plentiful in the country as dogs and chickens are in Juan Fernandez. These animals are never stabled, but are allowed to run wild and seek for pasture where they please; they are however branded, and attached to their neck is a long green-hide rope, called a lasso, which trails behind them, and renders them easy to catch when wanted. One is generally caught in the morning, a saddle and a bridle is thrown over him, and he is used for the day; at night he is turned loose, and another takes his place the next day. When they go long journeys, they ride one horse till he breaks down; another is then caught, saddled, and bridled, and ridden till his strength also fails him, when a third undergoes the same process; and so on until the journey is accomplished. There are not better riders in

the world than the Californians, perhaps from their being so early accustomed to equestrian exercises; as they mount on horseback even so young as four or five years old, their little legs not being long enough to come half-way down the horse's ribs, and from thenceforth they are so continually on horseback that they may almost be said to have grown there. The stirrups are covered or boxed up in front, to prevent the feet catching when riding through the woods; the saddles are large and heavy, strapped very tight upon the horse, and having large, high pommels, round which the lasso is coiled when not in use. They can hardly go from one house to another except on horseback, there being always several of these animals standing tied to the door-posts of the little cottages. When a cavalier wishes to show his activity, he makes no use of the stirrups in mounting, but striking his horse sharply he springs into the saddle as the animal starts; then, with a prick from his long spurs, he dashes off at full gallop. Their spurs are most cruel instruments; they have four or five rowels, each about an inch long, and dull and rusty. The flanks of the horses are often in a terrible state from their use.

"Monterey is also a great place for cock-fighting, as well as gambling of every kind, to which may be added fandangos, dances, and every sort of amusement and knavery. Trappers and hunters who occasionally come down here from the Rocky Mountains, bringing with them valuable skins and furs, are greeted with every sort of pleasure and dissipation whilst their money lasts; when, however, their time and their money have been completely wasted, they are quickly sent away stripped."

The cainameros called the English and Americans 'greasers' because they bought fat and tallow, and the latter returned the compliment because the Californians sold the stuff. Ábrego says that many supercargoes knew no Spanish, and on entering a house would say: "Señor, mi quiere grease," hence the name greaser

was applied to supercargoes or captains who traded in grease, while it was also applied by them to the Californians who sold it.

When José de Jesus Vallejo took command of the mission San José, there were 5,000 Indians there, men, women, and children. To keep this body in order but eight men were required, five soldiers and three officers. An outbreak was not feared, for two reasons: the savages were of a mild and friendly disposition, and being not all of one tribe, but of different and oppugnant peoples, if one should entertain evil, or endeavor to hatch conspiracy, the others would be sure to report it.

To feed this horde, fields of wheat were cultivated, the Indians cutting it with sickles, and carrying it on their backs to the thrashing corral, where the horses tramped it out, the wind winnowing it. It was then sacked in bags made of sail-cloth, and some of it stored and some sold to the Russians. In summer on Saturdays a hundred cattle were killed, and the meat given in rations to the Indians, great quantities being dried in the sun for winter use. To those who would not work, or who absented themselves from morning and evening prayers, the whip was applied, the culprit having the choice of a raw-hide or hazel twigs. The mother who through neglect allowed her child to die must carry a wooden block of equal size, and for the same length of time she would have carried the child had it lived.

"The Indian girls and widows," says the daughter, Guadalupe, "were separated from the others; a whole square of houses was assigned to their use, where they were kept secluded and busy, spinning, etc. A large pond of water was in the court-yard for their use in washing and bathing. They were visited by their parents, but were never allowed to leave except to walk for exercise or to go to prayers, always well guarded by alcaldes. They left this nunnery or cloister only to be married. Ten or twelve of them would gather to-

gether to go and demand a husband of the padre, naming whom they had selected, and it is said that it was never known that one of these elected husbands refused.

"Widows lamented as much for this imprisonment, which was sure to follow, as for the dear departed.

"Wheat, barley, and hides were the chief articles of trade with the Russians. In the winter when the roads could not be travelled by wagons, about a thousand Indians were loaded each with a hide, and thus carried them to the embarcadero.

"Among the whites, one of their customs in balls was to stop in the middle of the dance at the word 'bomba,' called by the musicians, and the gentleman who occupied the floor had to say something in compliment to his partner. This was commonly said in verse, and often improvised for the occasion.

"Girls who persisted in marrying against the consent of their parents were made to take the whole responsibility of housekeeping."

In conclusion, we may sum up our Lotos-land society in this wise: ignorant, lazy, religious, the religion being more for women, children, and Indians than for European men—though Coronel speaks of pausing in the midst of a fandango or rodeo to pray; and all went to church, though they gambled freely afterwards. It was common for heads of families and all circumspect persons to wear sanctimonious faces in the presence of the young, refraining from the mention of wickedness lest they should be contaminated. Morals at first were quite pure; later they became very bad, syphilis being quite common among all classes and both sexes.

They were a frank, amiable, social, hospitable people, and honest enough where it did not require too great an exertion to pay their debts. No obligations of any kind weighed very heavily upon them. They were an emotional race; their qualities of mind and heart floated on the surface; they not only possessed feeling but they showed it.

They were not a strong community in any sense, either morally, physically, or politically; hence it was that as the savages faded before the superior Mexicans, so faded the Mexicans before the superior Americans. Great was their opportunity, exceedingly great at first if they had chosen to build up a large and prosperous commonwealth; and later no less marvelous, had they possessed the ability to make avail of the progress and performance of others. Many were defrauded of their stock and lands; many quickly squandered the money realized from a sudden increase in values. They were foolish, improvident, incapable; at the same time they were grossly sinned against by the people of the United States. There was a class of lawyers, the vilest of human kind, whose lives were devoted to a study of the cunning and duplicity necessary to defraud these simple-minded patriarchs. Nevertheless, as I have said, it would be difficult to find in any age or place, a community that got more out of life, and with less trouble, with less wear and wickedness, than the people of Pastoral California.

CHAPTER IX.

MILITARY SYSTEM.

So Jove's bold bird, high balanced in the air,
Stoops from the clouds to truss the quivering hare.
—*Homer.*

California from its first settlement, and almost to the end of the Spanish domination, was under a strictly military rule. A provisional arrangement existed until the beginning of 1781, when Governor Felipe de Neve's *Reglamento é Instruccion para los Presidios de la Península de California*, went into effect. Under this regulation the governor had authority over the two Californias, with the seat of government at Monterey, and the commandant of the presidio of Loreto, in Lower California, was ex-officio lieutenant-governor. Upper California was divided into four military districts, with a presidio at each, whose commandant was clothed with civil and criminal jurisdiction within its limits. At that time there were three presidios, namely, at San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco; the fourth one was established, in 1782, at Santa Bárbara. The military force then consisted of four lieutenants, four sub-lieutenants or alféreces, one surgeon, six sergeants, sixteen corporals, and 172 privates, from which number the missions and pueblos of San José were furnished with guards. The rest of the force garrisoned the forts, cared for the horses and cattle, and carried the mails, this last-named service being the hardest in time of peace. There were also a few mechanics and native servants. During the Spanish domination only men of good character were admitted in

the service of the presidial companies. Each soldier had a broadsword, lance, shield, musket, and pistols; six horses, a colt, and mule. One horse was kept constantly saddled and ready day and night. Each company had also an extra supply of arms, and an armorer to keep arms in repair. The governor was provincial inspector of the presidios, in the discharge of which separate duties he was assisted by an *ayudante inspector* of the rank of captain, and with the pay of $2,000 a year.

In the presidial companies were a few cadets and *soldados distinguidos.* The former received their appointments from the viceroy, and though doing duty in the ranks, did not live with the soldiers, but associated with the officers. As they received only a soldier's pay, they were required to have an income to enable them to live and dress genteelly. Their promotion was direct to alférez. The soldado distinguido was mustered into the service like any other soldiers; but on producing evidence of gentle birth was enrolled as a distinguido, with the prefix *Don* to his Christian name. Any commissoned officer's son would have the privilege. He lived in the barracks, and did military duty as the other soldiers, but was exempt from all menial work. He had to go through the grades of corporal and sergeant before obtaining a commission of alférez. Another peculiarity of the service was the granting to old veterans who had rendered honorable service from 30 to 40 years as privates or corporals, on their retirement, the honorary rank of officers-alférez for 30, and lieutenant for 40, years—besides their pensions. They could wear the uniform of such rank.

To provide a system of regular defence against foreign invasion was found to be surrounded with insuperable difficulties. Forts would be of little use in a distant province having no resources of its own. It was then decided to have batteries of eight 12-pounders for each port, with a sufficient number of gunners

as a protection against mere corsairs, and vessels for coasting service. During a period of war with France a company of Catalan volunteers, called the Compañía Franca de Voluntarios de Cataluña, or Compañía de Fusileros de Montaña, 75 men in all, was sent out as reënforcements, and distributed at San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco; its captain, Brevet, lieutenant-colonel Pedro de Alberni, being stationed at the last-named place as commandant of the presidio. A small detachment of artillerymen under Sergeant Roca was also provided. An inspection of the fortifications at the three presidios—Santa Bárbara had none—by an engineer officer in 1797, established the fact that they were exceedingly defective, indeed, almost useless. In Monterey there was a barbette battery consisting mostly of a few logs of wood, irregularly placed, behind which stood about eleven pieces of artillery. In San Diego, according to the records, the priests blessed in November 1796, the esplanade, powder magazine, and flag. Early in 1795 Point Guijarros had been chosen for a fort of ten guns. This work was not finished until after 1800. In San Francisco the presidio buildings were more or less damaged. The San Joaquin fort, in form of a horse-shoe, was completed in 1794, and its eight guns mounted on the spot now known as Fort Point. Its main walls were of adobe faced in the embrasures with bricks; the cost was $6,000. The elements soon began their work of destruction, and repairs had to be almost constantly going on. Another battery was planted in 1797 on Point Médanos, since known as Point San José and Black Point, renamed Mason. At that time it was called Batería de la Yerba Buena. It was a less elaborate work than the San Joaquin, mostly constructed of brushwood fascines, with eight embrasures, and five 8-pound guns. No garrison was kept here, but the work was daily visited, and to some extent kept in order. In 1816 the San Joaquin was repaired, and in 1820 it

had twenty guns, of which three were 24-pounders. The presidio was newly built in 1816.

Supplies for the presidios came at stated periods from Mexico and San Blas on the royal ships from the latter place. They were purchased there, in accordance with the *memorias*, or memoranda, of articles needed, forwarded a year in advance, in March or April, by the governor to the viceroy of Mexico, and delivered to the presidial officers and men for their pay. There was an important change made under the new system. Formerly the men were charged a profit of 150 per centum on the effects delivered them. This extra charge was now done away with, the supplies being furnished at cost and free of freight from San Blas. But to offset this the pay of the men was reduced 40 per centum; thus a sergeant's pay was reduced to $262, the corporal's to $225, the private's to $217.50, and the mechanic's to $180. The pay of the lieutenant was made $550, that of the alférez $400, and the surgeon's $450. The men had likewise to submit to losses and damages incurred at sea, and to the payment of a commission of two per cent to an *habilitado*, elected by all the company, who under the inspection of his commanding officer received and distributed the pay and rations, and kept the company accounts. This *habilitado* could purchase California productions when offered for sale. There was an *habilitado-general* in the city of Mexico to attend exclusively to the affairs of both Californias, who was chosen by the votes of the companies' officers. This position was in after years often filled by an officer from California. The accounts for each presidial company were kept separate. No articles of luxury could be included in the memorias sent to Mexico for supplies. Some coin came with each invoice, enough to cover the pay of the governor, and one or two other officers, with a small amount for the soldiers.

At the beginning of 1799 the expense of the military establishment was nearly $74,000, which included

$4,000 for the governor's salary. From each private soldier of the presidial companies was retained a certain portion to form the *fondo de retencion*, which did not go into the royal treasury. The total of such retention, at first of $50, and later of $100, was reimbursed to the man on his being mustered out of the service at the end of his term. There were other funds, to wit: *fondo de gratificacion*, made up from an extra allowance to each company yearly of $10 per private soldier, and intended to meet contingent expenses. The liability of the presidial company was well defined. Horses, mules, and all effects assigned thereto, were duly charged. If any animal died, or any of the effects were lost, whatever the cause, even by defalcation of its habilitado, the company had to pay for the same, unless for some powerful reason the government in Mexico exempted it from the responsibility. The *fondo de invalidos* proceeded from the discount of eight maravedís on each dollar, from officers and men, and was applicable to the payment of pensions on their retiring after service of at least eighteen years; and the *fondo de montepio* was another deduction from officers' pay for pensions to their widows and orphans. It must be borne in mind that officers could not marry without first obtaining the king's consent. Such consent was not given to any one below the rank of captain, unless he produced evidence of having an income of his own, separate from his pay; even then his widow would not be entitled to montepío, though she would probably get a pension if he had died in battle. The widow of an officer who married her when he was of the age of sixty years or upwards, was not paid any montepío.

In the decade, 1801–10, the Catalan infantry company was withdrawn from California, and the cavalry companies were increased by about 90 men. In 1810 the total force of the presidios was 412 men, to wit, two captains, one more absent in Mexico acting as habilitado-general, one surgeon, four lieutenants,

four alféreces, nine sergeants, 31 corporals, 4 cadets, 242 privates, three mechanics, one phlebotomist, making 301, besides 95 inválidos, and 15 artillerymen.

Officers and soldiers, at such hours as they were not attending to their military duties, would cut wood, and procure other things for their families. Some were shoemakers, others tailors, etc. The mission escorts, usually consisting of a corporal and five privates, beside their strictly military duties of standing guard, and looking after their arms and ammunition, were required to protect the persons of the priests in and out of the missions. The corporal had charge of the criminal justice; in certain cases which were beyond the priest's authority, he could order flogging and stocks. In very serious cases it was his duty to institute proceedings of investigation in writing, and to forward them, together with the witnesses and accused to the presidio for trial. He could at times, in defending the mission from assaults, exercise extraordinary powers, even to the point of taking life. However, he could do this only when there was no time to apprise the commandant of the presidio, and await his action. In the early years there were occasions, when double escorts, some of them under sergeants, were stationed at missions. In those times the corporal or sergeants were appointed by the governor himself, and he alone could remove them; though in urgent cases the respective commandants might suspend them.

Early in the present century, most of the men in California were soldiers, beginning their career on entering their sixteenth year. The rule was to leave to parents, having two or more sons, one chosen by themselves. The rest were mustered into the cavalry, or artillery, the choice being left to the recruit. Later in the third decade, when the government called on the alcaldes for recruits, usually the vagrants, lazy, or vicious, were summoned. Governor Figueroa called them "mataperros, ensilladores de

caballos agenos, quitadores de algun cuero." Of course, the industrious and well-behaved were often mustered in from necessity, and occasionally out of spite on the part of the alcaldes to them or their families.

Discipline was very rigid. Among the punishments inflicted on soldiers for serious offences, besides loss of pay, were death, hard labor in the chain-gang, imprisonment, increase of service, etc., *carreras de baqueta*, the culprit having to run between two lines of men, each man armed with a ramrod and striking him as he pleased. The old Spanish articles of war prescribed the death penalty for even what would appear a trivial offence in a civilian. It was really astonishing how any man could escape the death penalty. Grumbling was a serious matter. Once a number of men at Santa Bárbara made known through their sergeant to Captain de la Guerra, that they wanted to know how their account stood. After forming the company in line, the captain walked up and down, and asked who were the grumblers. He then related how once some men for saying, "must we eat bread like this?" were shot. He told one or two more stories of a like nature, and awed the men so that a dead silence prevailed. Finally, they all begged pardon, which he granted, and no more was said about the accounts.

The decade 1811–20 was in New Spain, as well as in South America, one of strife. Revolution raged, and the Spanish authorities were often at their wit's ends to procure the means for carrying on the war against the insurgents. This state of affairs was purposely kept secret in California. The archives, both secular and ecclesiastic are silent. Nevertheless, mails being pretty regular all the time, the officers and friars must have known what was taking place in the viceroyalty. There were no signs of disaffection to Spain among the troops, and all awaited patiently the result of the struggle, though the viceroy was

constantly abused in every one's mind for his apparent neglect to send supplies. The troops suffered severely for want of clothing, shoes, and other articles that the missions could not furnish. Owing to the influence of Father Payeras, prefect of the missions, the soldiers did not want for food. The missionaries, though with an occasional grumble, furnished grain and other things on credit, as the provincial government had no funds to pay for them. Rations were distributed, which occasionally might be traded to Spanish ships, or illegally to the Russians or Americans. The friars were also without their stipends, but they carried on a surreptitious trade with foreigners; whereas the soldiers were in a sorry plight, having nothing to sell.

With the change of sovereignty the soldiers lost all arrears of pay due them, including what they had in the *fondo de retencion*, and the old inválidos did not get their pensions. Amador says that for over eighteen years' service he received nothing—aside from his rations—from the government, Spanish or Mexican. Or, as he expresses it, "el único prest que recibí fueron los 14 agugeros de flecha que tengo en mi cuerpo." The hapless soldier underwent hardships, had to stand guard, pass sleepless nights, march and countermarch at all hours and in all seasons when required, carry mails, care for horses, etc. Furthermore he had to be humble and submissive to his superiors, or in other words, an abject slave.

Shortly before the oath to support Mexican independence was finally administered, one Pedro Chabolla appeared before Governor Sola, who was a martinet, and usually, when in public, wore his colonel's uniform and had in his hand his baton of command. Chabolla took off his hat, saluted, and put it on again. Sola eyed him in astonishment, and demanded what he meant by wearing his hat in the governor's presence. Chabolla answered, "Liberty has given me the right to wear this hat." He had

been reading the Acta Constitutiva, adopted by the Sovereign Provisional Junta of Mexico in 1822, which had surreptitiously entered California in pamphlet form, and the soldiers had read it. Sola was furious; with his cane he struck Chabolla several times, and sent him to the calaboose. Chabolla in an irate manner said before retiring: "Señor Gobernador: Your *senoria* in punishing me unlawfully makes use of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers." The acta enjoined that the three powers should not be vested in the same person.

Another instance is given of Sola's military despotism. Rafael Galindo, who had been a soldier, asked him in Monterey permission to buy some cigarettes from the habilitado of the presidial company. Sola came close to Galindo, and brusquely said:

"Who are you?"

"The alcalde of San José," was the answer.

"Then attend to your duties at San José," said the governor.

The presidial companies could do but little service in the coast defence, as was evident when Monterey and other parts were assailed by the Buenos Aires insurgents with two ships, under Bouchard, in 1818. This occurrence made a stir at court in Mexico, and a cavalry company from the escuadron de Mazatlan, composed of good, orderly men, and an infantry one from San Blas, mostly made up of jail-birds, together with a small detachment of artillerymen, and a few poor arms and ammunition, were sent out the next year.

The same military system continued under Mexican rule. Guards were not kept at the secularized missions. The force in 1835 consisted of 307 men, including 22 officers of all ranks, among whom were the governor and commander-in-chief, who was a brigadier-general, and two naval lieutenants. The organizations were one artillery company, 38 men, four presidial companies, 138 men, Mazatlan company, reduced to

37 men, and a small detachment of infantry, 36. Later, a militia was organized in battalions, called auxiliares defensores de la patria. The presidial and other companies declined to mere skeletons. The last record about the San Diego company is Alférez Salazar's report of November 1842, to the effect that he had 14 men without arms or ammunition. Earlier in the same year, Mofras saw a few soldiers and an officer at the pueblo, and a few cannon half buried amid the ruins of the presidio and fort. When Commodore Jones seized Monterey in 1842, Phelps, master of the American ship *Alert*, spiked the guns, and threw every movable article into the bay. After 1842, an occasional wail is heard that San Diego has neither soldiers nor means of defence.

From 1842 to 1845 the batallon fijo, brought by General Micheltorena, garrisoned the department, causing a very heavy expenditure. This battalion was withdrawn on the general's departure. In 1845, the Monterey company still existed, with 20 or 30 men, though the presidio had disappeared. In the previous year, an auxiliary company of cavalry had assumed the role of defenders of the country from internal and external foes. The so-called fort had about twelve men, and three or four serviceable guns. At San Francisco were, in 1845, an alférez and ten men from the old San Francisco company, which during several years had been stationed at Sonoma. Forty or fifty defensores held themselves ready to fight. The company at Sonoma—40 or 50 men—was disbanded about 1844. For a time there had been an Indian infantry company, which was also mustered out. There were some sixty militiamen in the district. Down to 1843, the place was entirely under military control. According to a report of the minister of war of Mexico, there were in California in 1840 three 24-pounders of iron, mounted, eight 8-pounders, eight 6-pounders, ten 4-pounders, one 2-pounder, some of iron, others of brass; a number were dismounted.

In the latter part of 1845, the monthly pay-roll of officers, a few retired soldiers, and one widow, amounted to $2,959. There were officers enough for a force of 3,000 men, all drawing pay with more or less regularity. A number of those officers were useless, and many of them rendered no service. The rank and pay were given them as a reward of partisanship. When the Americans invaded California, most of those fellows proved themselves utterly incapable. In July 1846, the Californian forces, 400 or 500 strong, and all mounted, concentrated at Los Angeles. They had neither food nor clothing for several days. Then some old oxen were provided for their use. There was a *compania de honor*, made up of officers. The first old ox slaughtered for this company was nicknamed the "buey fundador de la mision de San Gabriel." The men of the company of honor preferred to it the pears and apples they used to steal from the private orchards. When the forces were on their march south, even the officers, their commander, José Castro, excepted, went hungry. In the Soledad valley, he received from the Guadalupe rancho a large supply for himself of cooked provisions, poultry and pastry. He supped alone, under a tree, with his back turned to his hungry companions. When he had satisfied his appetite, he wrapped up the things, and left the bundle on the ground, covered by his saddle. About midnight, Lieutenant José Antonio Chavez crawled to the spot, and brought away the eatables, and with his friends demolished them; after doing which, he went back with the bones, and placed them, together with dry horse-dung, under the saddle. Then finding a bottle with brandy, he of course confiscated it. Next morning Castro, on discovering the trick, looked around with a fierce scowl, using the vilest of language, and threatening dire vengeance, but no one paid him the slightest attention. Ever after, on receiving new supplies, he would hold his orderly, Felipe Espinosa Barajas, responsible for them.

CHAPTER X.

WOMAN AND HER SPHERE.

Kennst du das Land wo die Citronen blühn,
Im dunkeln Laub die Gold-Orangen glühn,
Ein sanfter Wind vom blauen Himmel weht,
Die Myrte still und hoch der Lorbeer steht,
Kennst du es wohl?
Dahin! Dahin
Möcht ich mit dir, o, mein Geliebter, ziehn.
—*Goethe.*

Women were not treated with the greatest respect: in Latin and in savage countries they seldom are; hence, as these were half Latin and half savage, we are not surprised to learn that the men too often idled away their time, leaving the women to do all the work and rear the family. True, while the women, besides attending to their domestic duties, cut the wood, cultivated the garden, went washing to the water, where they erected an arbor, the men were on horseback lassoing wild cattle, and if they brought home some meat the wife was thankful and content.

There was strong affection, and never a happier family than when the ranchero, dwelling in pastoral simplicity, saw his sons and his son's sons bringing to the paternal roof their wives and seating them at the ever-lengthening table. Additions were sometimes made to that most comfortable of buildings, the family adobe, and if here was not the highest intelligence and refinement, happiness was present.

On the other hand, as Sanchez says, the women were not without their champions. Chico and Pico

did the most for them, and for their education, according to tradition, refusing them nothing. During all their wars, he affirms, the Californians never neglected their wives and daughters. True, there were times when the women were exposed to hardships, and some men did not treat them with due consideration. This, however, changed gradually; and with Pico's rise the difference became so radical that even the gentlest women seized their husbands by the beard.

Fermina Espinosa, owner of Santa Rita rancho, now Sotoville, was very masculine, and did all the rancho work, breaking colts, lassoing cattle, while her husband did nothing but eat, sleep, smoke, and increase an already numerous family. She was much respected. V. Ávila of Sal-si-puedes rancho had four daughters, fair and blue-eyed, who worked like men, roamed the mountains in men's attire, guarding stock and felling timber. They also made blankets and cheese, and drove the old wooden-wheeled ox-cart here and there as duty demanded. One girl married; the rest remain single to care for the old father.

The days of legal discipline were not yet over, and woman here came in for her share. I will quote a few cases in actual life taken from the archives.

In 1840, at Los Angeles, Prefect Arguello directs the 2d justice of the peace to conduct by force a woman who refuses accompanying her husband. At San José, Juan Lisaldo complained to the alcalde that he believed his wife María de las Nieves was about to abscond. A summons was issued on the 27th of April, 1847, and the case tried the same day. The alcalde directed that the parties be united again, or be imprisoned until they consented to live together. On the 1st of May a letter was sent to the priest of Santa Clara, who ordained that they should be compelled to live together. After three days given for reflection, María refused to comply, whereupon she was put in prison, there to learn obedience.

Said Sub-prefect Suñol to Alcalde Guillen: "If Juana

Galindo still manifests repugnance toward her husband and refuses going back to him, the alcalde shall have her taken from her house, and putting handcuffs on her, shall deliver her to her husband, charging him with her care and responsibility. Dios y Libertad."

Writing to Ortega the 25th of March, 1783, Fáges declares that he has learned what has passed between Curro and his girl-wife, and thinks it is her love for her parents which makes her object to the duty imposed by nature. Let her go and live with Curro in some other place, suggests the governor, and then she will yield to his desire.

Yet plainer is the complaint of José Madariaga to the justice of the peace at Monterey in 1845—too plain for printing forty years later. Repelling all of his advances, he finally asked her if she had made a vow of chastity, and was answered no. He proposed that they should confess to the priest, who should suggest a remedy, but she refused to confess, or have anything to do with the priest. That night she ran away.

Sometimes the wife even dared to complain of the husband. At Monterey, in 1846, Mariano Silva, captain of artillery, petitions in the name of Señora Briones that her husband Miranda be exiled at least fifty leagues from his family at Yerba Buena, because of drunkenness, immorality, and cruelty. He had already been exiled from Sonoma for immoral conduct.

"It was considered very improper for any girl to receive a proposal of marriage," writes the charming Guadalupe Vallejo, "before her parents had been consulted by the lover or his parents. Old maids were scarce, and very much thought of. A lady who did not marry in those times was not for lack of suitors, for, indeed, white women were very much in demand, but from choice; and therefore she was very much admired and venerated.

"I have an aunt (a sister of my mother), whose parents having died, and being dissatisfied with her

life at her uncle's, formed the determination of accepting the first offer that should be made to her. She was then fourteen years of age, and they lived at a ranch a few miles from Santa Bárbara.

"Very soon a letter came to her uncle, with proposals of marriage for his niece, from Don Ignacio Peralta, a young gentleman from San José. She was told of it; and (I think) that much to the surprise of all, she accepted, although she had never laid eyes on the suitor. The answer was accordingly sent, and arrangements proceeded for the wedding. The accepted lover soon arrived, accompanied by his brother; and indeed, it required all her moral courage and strength to sustain herself in her determination; for such uncouth person she had never seen before; she was totally unprepared to meet her fate with such a face. However, she kept her word, and rode on horseback, accompanied by her friends, to Santa Bárbara to be married. She says that she wept bitterly all the way; her face, all tear-stained, was more like that of one proceeding to a funeral than that of a happy bride. He died last year, after having been married fifty-nine years. She was at last liberated from her cruel fate, at the age of seventy-three!"

It was common to betroth children at a young age, an arrangement effected by the fathers, the children being seldom consulted. About two years before the marriage, the girl's father would ask the other father for his son, who was sent to live in the house of the former. This act made them novios, or affianced, and the young man treated the girl's father as his own, working for him, and being regarded as a son, not even opposing the infliction of corporal punishment for faults. When the young man had learned to work, the marriage was consummated.

Girls married at from thirteen to fifteen, the parents selecting the husband. A man wishing to marry sent his father to ask the father of the girl; he himself never asked for her, for that was not considered proper,

though he might address a letter intimating his desire to the girl's parents. In whatever way negotiations had been opened, the applicant was obliged to wait eight or ten days for an answer. If during that time he heard nothing, he might then beg his father to go for the answer. Sometimes the answer would come at once. The parties were usually married in the church; sometimes there were two bridesmaids and two groomsmen. There was usually no marriage settlement, notwithstanding the lengthy deliberations of the señors over the event.

The marriage day fixed, the fathers spoke to the priest, who proceeded with the publication of the bans, unless he was paid to omit them. The bridal party marched silently to church, and without music; but after the ceremony, friends received them at the door with music, and bore them home in triumph. If the pair lived at a distance in the country, another band of musicians met them half-way, and all proceeded to the rancho, where an arbor had been prepared for the dance, which lasted sometimes a week or more.

The wagons of the party were adorned with colored coverlets, and silk kerchiefs, branches, and flowers. The men were all on horseback, and some of the women, who, at times, had a man on the croup of their horse. A special table was generally set for prominent guests; the others feasted beneath the trees, by the creek or spring, cooking their own steaks. Most of the men played instruments, so that the musicians could always be relieved.

Often the happy pair were dressed in their ordinary apparel, the bride adding only a crown of artificial flowers, sometimes white, but usually variegated. Often the fathers would not allow the pair to meet till after the feast. The padre attended, but was not detained more than a day. The padrinos of the pair were selected by the parents of both. The pair considered it a duty to visit the padre after mass the Sunday following the marriage, accompanied by their

fathers and padrinos, to give thanks. The padre presented the party some fruit. The fee was paid in money or produce. This according to Híjar.

Another relates that when the marriage contract is agreed on by the parties, the first care of the bridegroom is to get, by buying, begging, or stealing, the best horse possible, and also a saddle and a silver-mounted bridle; the overleathers of the saddle must likewise be embroidered. These articles were deemed indispensable to a wedding, no matter how poor the parties might be. The bridegroom must furnish the bride with not less than six articles of each kind of woman's clothing, and provide everything necessary to feast his friends for one, two, or three days.

The wedding day being come, the fine horse is saddled, and the bridegroom takes up before him on his horse his future godmother, and the future godfather takes the bride before him on another fine horse, and so they gallop to church. The ceremony over, the newly married couple mount one horse, and the godfather and godmother mount the other, and so they gallop back to the house of the bride's parents, where they are received with squibs and firing of muskets. Before the bridegroom has time to dismount, two persons who are in readiness seize him and remove his spurs, which they keep until he redeems them with a bottle of brandy, or money to buy one. The married couple then enter the house, where the near relatives are waiting in tears to receive them alone. They kneel down before the parents and ask a blessing, which is bestowed. Then the bridegroom signs to some one near him, whereupon the guitar and violin strike up, and dancing and drinking begin.

Shortly after Micheltorena's arrival in 1842 at Angeles, he and his officers and the prominent people were invited to a wedding there, to be held in a huerta. Branches of willows were laid thickly upon a trellis-work to afford shade. At the further end thereof an apartment was formed of yellow cloth, open toward

the trellis-cover, in which were placed half a dozen chairs for the general, his wife, and officers, and behind which were rude benches in rows. In the centre of the room was a large table covered with clean cloths, china plates, and cut-glass decanters. At one side was a row of barrels of drink—wines, brandy, and other liquors.

A calf hung ready for roasting in the huge glowing fire, and other fires were ready for various preparations, while delicacies of all kinds abounded.

Between eleven and twelve A. M. the marriage party left the church for the grove, attended by all the guests, godfathers, and parents—all marching in procession, preceded by music of violins and guitars playing popular airs. The general arrived an hour later, was conducted to the grove by the bridal party, and seated by the side of the bride, at the head of the table, while the general's wife sat next to the groom, then the godfathers, and next the officers according to rank, and after them the people of the country. Toasts were given, and four hours after the general's arrival they rose from table and proceeded to the house, where the ball took place. The soldiers were invited to the second table. The party did not break up till dawn of day.

Men have a trick or two in love, as well as women; both sometimes deviate from immaculate cleanliness in their tricks. A woman will say of a man whom she tries in vain to marry, that she has refused him once, twice, several times. Male wooers—I cannot call them men—are sometimes black in heart enough when defeated to rail against the sex with Draconian severity. So it was with the baser sort of early adventurers among the Californians; and so it was that many credulous fools were caught by these Iagos, and many worthy and chaste dames guiltless met reproach. It is not probable that the women of the time were cold as the curded snow that hangs on Diana's temple; but is that a reason why they should be cursed on

every convenient occasion, bitterly as was Meroz, in richest pioneer idiom?

It was a happy day for the Californian bride whose husband was American; and happier still for the Californian husband whose bride was Yankee. In 1847 there lived at the rancho of San Lorenzo two bachelor brothers who once entertained Mr Bryant for the night. They were men of intelligence and politeness, and their hearts yearned for something to relieve the desolation of their loneliness. They prayed with simple earnestness that Mr Bryant should send them two American women, that they might marry, live happy, and die lamented.

Girls were taught to sew, embroider, and weave. Some could knit (tejer) fine garters, chiefly silken, for the botas of the vaqueros, with silk or gold thread tufts, or knots of gold and silk and silver, bearing figures of men, hearts, etc., forming quite a bunch on the side of the calf. The rich strove to place all possible ornaments there.

A prudent calculation gives each California family an average of ten children; if some had none, others had twenty or twenty-five.

The occupations of the women were in every way superior to those of the men, as well as more arduous and continuous. They had charge of the kitchen and of the sewing, which was by no means a light task, for there was a great deal of embroidery about the clothing of both men and women, as well as bed-linen; and all of this was the work of their hands. In ironing the hand was used instead of a flat-iron, by many women. They also combed and braided every day the hair of their fathers, husbands, and brothers. Many of them made the bread, candles, and soap consumed by the family, and many took charge of sowing and harvesting the crops.

Notwithstanding the fact that women were sedulously taught that for them to be able to write was prejudicial, and at most they might learn to read, they

were of good morals, says Coronel, industrious, and neat. Dedicated to their domestic duties, many of them were able to assume, and did assume, such as legitimately pertain to men. They were both charitable and hospitable, the housewife holding that articles of food should not be sold to neighbors, and gave to others such as to them were lacking, and of which she herself possessed a superabundance. Mothers carefully guarded their daughters, and often the traveller went away without having even seen other than the male members of the family.

On the rancho were big vessels in which the women bathed in winter. In summer all women resorted to the rivers or seashore. They were, with few exceptions, excellent swimmers, surpassing the women perhaps of any other country in this art. The poor women entered the water with merely a cloth tied round the neck to cover the breast. The rich women were attended by Indian servants, who carried the *canasto* (*coras*, baskets) with *amole* (soap-plant), a *mate* (calabash cup) for pouring water, and a broad-rimmed straw hat. Besides the hat, they used, at times, a blue bathing-dress and sandals.

"I never saw a mother in California," says Torres, "give her infant to a stranger to be suckled. California mothers were tender, and as wives, affectionate. The few unfaithful wives were Mexicans."

Divorce was not easy in those days, unfortunately. By Mexico law, marriage by the church rite was a sacrament, and could not be dissolved by civil tribunals. But the marriage of the unfaithful without the church was but a simple contract. There were few marriages in pastoral times not hallowed by the performances of the priest. A wife might through the ecclesiastical court obtain a separation from a drunken husband, provided she had money or influence enough. On the 18th of May, 1842, the bishop writes the prefect at Angeles with reference to his decision of

May 9th, in the divorce suit of Sepúlveda, that the civil judges must not interfere in the case, but remit it to his ecclesiastical court. The prefect accordingly, on June 7th, urges the judges of Angeles to tell the wife to appear at Santa Bárbara, and state her case in person or through the curador.

On the 18th of December, 1835, a prominent citizen of San Diego sued his wife for gambling away $1,000, and asked for a separation. The wife confessed the fault, but begged pardon, and promised better behavior. A temporary separation was granted by the alcalde.

Governor Mason, on the 8th of December, 1847, assures Mrs Hetty C. Brown that neither he nor the alcaldes can grant her a divorce. "If your husband has abandoned you," he says, "and left the county, I think he should be viewed as though he were dead." That is all very well, but may the poor widow marry again?

The juez eclesiástico of the northern missions, on the 31st of August, 1835, asks the aid of the civil authority to oblige the consorts Angel Bojorges and María Gabriela Altamirano to resume at once their conjugal relations, there being no ecclesiastical law which permits their living apart.

Petra, wife of Hilario Ponciano, living at San Diego in 1838, was accused of infidelity by her husband, who asked for a separation before the alcalde, who turned the matter over to Padre Oliva as ecclesiastical judge. Several papers, summons for witnesses, etc., are on record. The woman was once sent back from the mission to the alcalde for want of proper proofs and a proper place to confine her.

For the dissolution of the civil contract of marriage proceedings were after the following fashion: The amounts granted as alimony, it will be noticed, were not excessive. On the 18th of March, 1842, appeared before Judge Fernandez, of Monterey, María Guadalupe Castillo, with her hombre bueno, Gabriel de la Torre, and also her husband, Edward Watson, with

his hombre bueno, Manuel Castro. María asked a separation on the ground of frequent ill treatment. The husband, at first reluctant, finally agreed to a divorce. The judge ordered that the wife should live at la Torre's house, the husband to pay $12 monthly for the support of her and her child.

"Tell Casilda Sepúlveda," writes the prefect to the juez de 1ª instancia of Angeles, "that the bishop is ready to let any objections regarding the dissolution of her matrimony with Teodoro Trujillo be brought before the ecclesiastical tribunal." The bishop had written the prefect on May 3d a sharp letter on certain preliminary cognizance taken by the juez de 1ª instancia, in this case, and declared any steps taken by him to be void; and in accordance with that letter the prefect wrote the juez as above. On the 16th Padre Esténega of San Gabriel writes the prefect that the girl Casilda who seeks a divorce from T. Trujillo refuses to enter the private house he desires to consign her to till she shall be ready to appear before the ecclesiastical court at Santa Bárbara. He desires the prefect to compel her to appear before that court. The prefect replies to the judge of Angeles that there need be no restriction of liberty; the girl might appeal in writing to Santa Bárbara. Again the padre writes, May 17th, that he merely asks her to restrict herself to an honorable house for a time, and then appear in person at Santa Bárbara.

On the 19th of February, 1842, suit was begun before José Z. Fernandez, justice of the peace at Monterey, by María Ana Gonzalez, to obtain a divorce from her husband, José M. Castañares. She presented herself with her hombre bueno, José Ábrego, and Castañares with his, Florencio Serrano. The parties being agreed to separation absolute, and for mutual tranquillity, it appeared best to the hombres buenos, and the judge determined to grant the usual certificate. The plaintiff having asked for alimony, the husband assigned $250 a year for the present, to be increased if his cir-

cumstances should become better, he being free to live where he pleased. Upon this hearing, the arrangement not seeming entirely good to the judge, he ordered that Ana should reside at the house of her father, Rafael Gonzalez, to which measure all agreed. On the 7th of December following, the parties in this suit came together with their hombres buenos, and agreed to withdraw the causes of complaint, remaining from date united in the bonds of matrimony, the proceedings of the 19th of February to be null. Happy conclusion! In 1811 the president of missions wrote to the missionary at San Rafael, transcribing authorization by the bishop of Sonora on March 1, 1811, to the missionaries of California to ratify, in foro concientiæ, after imposing a salutary penalty, marriages contracted unlawfully in face of the church with unknown impediment of affinity when illicit copulation had occurred, provided one of the contracting parties was in good faith and was ignorant of the relationship—the impediment not to be made known to the innocent party; otherwise, if the impediment had been published before court this privilege was not to apply to either of the parties.

In 1821 the governor asked the padre prefecto to order the hysterical padre Gil de Taboada not to interfere in marriages. He had broken several engagements, among them that of Valle and Catalina Mamaneli. The latter had her father's consent, and was willing, when this padre ordered her to retire into seclusion for a few days and repent of the engagement.

In 1825, at Santa Bárbara, J. A. Yorba wanted to marry a first cousin of his first wife, who was fond of his children. The request was not granted by the padre president.

One Carpo, a neophyte, had when a gentile married a woman, also a gentile, after the gentile manner, who died. He had become a Christian before marrying another woman, also a Christian. It was discovered that the women were daughters of two gentile sons

of the same father, but of different mothers. Padre Arroyo separated Carpo and his wife, and reported the case to Padre Prefecto Sarría, who decided that a dispensation should be given, and the couple remarried, the first marriage being null, as the women were within the prohibited degrees of affinity. At San Diego, in 1825, one Valdez asked permission to marry a relative in the second degree, with whom he had had intercourse. He desired this also on the score "of God's service and the salvation of his soul." The president remarked that he could serve God and save his soul with any woman, and denied the petition. In a letter to a padre the president said that if the impediment to the marriage were unknown to the public, the dispensation would have been easier to obtain.

The neophyte Felipe, being a widower, had been betrothed or desired to marry a neophyte woman, but they were within the second degree of affinity, for the woman had had intercourse with Felipe's cousin, which she confessed to Padre Arroyo, otherwise the matter was a secret. Padre Arroyo reported to the Padre Prefecto Sarría, who decided that they should be married, since they were betrothed, and in order to avoid scandal; and moreover Felipe was innocent, and might not be able easily to find another woman to his liking. That the woman might recognize the favor done by holy church, she must hear mass on three days, but without telling her husband or any one else why.

In 1825 M. C. Montero, enceinte by the soldier Soto, had agreed to marry García, an own nephew of Soto, to escape dishonor, and García took steps to obtain a dispensation, owing to the relationship. Montero soon changed her mind and wanted to marry Ingles, claiming that the relationship between Soto and García was interdicting. García, who had remained constant, then demanded reimbursement of expenses for dispensation. The padre president at

first declared the palabra de esponsales between Montero and García to be null; but other padres represented that dispensations between second cousins had often been granted, and that this marriage had been ratified, and the president accordingly declared the marriage valid, unless Montero could present better objections.

María Josefa Castro was brought to the juzgado by Antonio Galindo, with the request to be married. The parish priest was present and ordered her to be depositada till her disability as to age should be removed by proper authority. Thereupon the subprefect referred her to the prefect, that this might be done in accordance with the petition of herself and of the padre priest.

On the 23d of June, 1847, Padre Gonzalez, governor of the diocese, declared the marriage of F. de Paula Johnson and Juana Silva valid; but as they confessed in marrying to have broken the laws of their parents and of the church, they should be subject to the penalty of the santo concilio, except excommunication. In view of time and persons he reduced the $180 fine to $70 for each witness of the act, and took off $160 from the fine imposed upon the contracting parties, so that they need pay but $200 before cohabiting, which should be exacted from them by the judge if need be, the fines to go toward the cult of the parish. During the three festive days on which this edict should be published, and during mass, the two should kneel where the novios watched. The ratification and blessing should not be given until the third festive day. Gonzalez requests the judge to enforce these fines from the seven witnesses and the principals.

On the 3d of September, 1844, a threat of excommunication was addressed by the bishop, García Diego, to the diocesans of San José, which stated that the bishop had seen with great grief that Felipe Patron and María Natividad Higuera had contracted

matrimony with the impediment of the third degree of affinity, without previous dispensation.

He called this a most horrible crime, such union being illegitimate, detestable, and condemned by the church, and that such commerce should be held as criminal and incestuous. He ordered this declaration to be read from the pulpit on three feast days, and required the juez of the town to separate Felipe Patron and María Natividad without hopes of ever obtaining dispensation. If the parties refused to obey, and to separate, he ordered the padre to immediately inform him, that he might fulminate against them the terrible sentence of excommunication, to be read from the pulpits of his diocese as an example and horrible warning to perjurers, and to all those who dared deceive the church—with further pious whoops to frighten the faithful.

Among his universal powers and prerogatives the potentate of New Helvetia assumed the solemnization of marriages. But in due time the disaffected of his people began to question the genuineness of his ministrations, and to pronounce the article he vended bogus. Wives ran away, and would not return at his mandate, and men began to question the rights of heirs so born to inherit. Sutter turned this way and that, and found no relief. Meanwhile humanity were born and died, the world went round, and the waters of the Sacramento rolled to the ocean, despite the momentous question of the quality of marriages on its banks.

The men made the laws in and for California; the women were expected to obey. Hence it was ordained that the woman an officer married must have $3,000. All mothers were forbidden from leaving as heir to the estate any child who has contracted a marriage in opposition to the father's will. From the various padrones it was ascertained that a great proportion of the married women were from 15 to 20 years of

age. Yet high above nature was law in these parts: if too young to marry, the law might declare the damsel old enough. The prefect of Santa Clara in 1841 decreed that Ramona Prudenciana Buelna should be considered of age, in order that she might marry Manuel Cantúa.

By Mexican law, the wife, during the continuance of the marriage, had a revocable and feigned dominion in, and possession of, one half the property jointly acquired by her and her husband, *gananciales;* but the husband was the real and veritable owner, and had the irrevocable dominion in all the gananciales, and might sell and dispose of them at pleasure.

After the death of the wife the husband may dispose of the gananciales, without being obliged to reserve for the children of the marriage either the property in or proceeds of the gananciales. If the heirs of a deceased wife be the children of the marriage, they had the right of succession on the death of the father to the whole estate—gananciales—with the right in the father to dispose of one fifth; but by the estate in law was understood the residue after all debts had been paid. A father during his lifetime, and after the death of his wife, might, although there had been children of the marriage, dispose of the gananciales for any honest purpose, when there was no intention to defraud the children, and might by will direct the sale of them for the payment of his debts.

A royal order of December 16, 1803, declared that minors—men under 25 and women under 23—could not marry unless with the consent of parents; and the parents were not required to give their reasons for any opposition they might offer. If there were no parents, grandparents, or guardians, the jueces might object without giving their reasons, and license must be asked of the king through the governor, and by consent of officers, if they belonged to the military.

A law of the 23d of June, 1813, gave to jefes polí-

ticos authority to grant or refuse license for contracting marriage to hijos de familia, whose fathers should have refused it to them.

A wife once summoned her husband before an alcalde for having serenaded another woman.

"Bring forth the culprit," said the judge, "and let him play to us as he played before the woman he wished to captivate."

When this was done, the judge asked:

"Is that the tune you played?"

"Si, Señor."

"Is that the best you can play it?"

"Si, Señor."

"Then I fine you two dollars for disturbing the public peace."

One José María Pérez, sentenced by the viceroy to six years' service at the San Francisco presidio, desired to marry the maiden María Margarita Rodríguez. Argüello, as the man was under sentence, did not take upon himself the decision of the case, but referred it to Arrillaga, who decreed that if Pérez was 25 years of age the petition should be granted. Thereupon Argüello concedes the license.

During the last years of Mexican rule, morals declined in Santa Bárbara, as shown by the many illegitimate children there. Yet even after the coming of the Americans, it was difficult to find there a public woman native to the place.

There was at times and places a looseness in the women as to chastity. The young girls were mostly particular, and closely guarded withal; but among the married women of the common class, there was looseness—not remarkably so, but they were less strict than American women in this respect. The women occupied themselves with the care of their families, and in sewing. They were domestic, but spent much time in visiting, going to dances, picnics, and enjoying themselves. They were clean in habits, and about

their houses, however poor these might be. They washed out of doors, generally going to some spring or creek in the vicinity.

Ábrego remarks in 1874 on the alarming decline of morality since the conquest. Formerly each couple would raise ten or twelve children on the average, and sometimes twenty-four; at this time two were a fair estimate.

"I hear from the most unexceptionable authority," writes Sir James Douglas, of the Hudson's Bay Company, in his private journal, "that the ladies in California are not in general very refined or delicate in their conversation, using gross expressions, and indulging in broad remarks which would make modest women blush. It is also said that many, even of the respectable classes, prostitute their wives for hire; that is, they wink at the familiarity of a wealthy neighbor who pays handsomely for his entertainment. This infamous practice was introduced from Mexico, where it is almost general. This is done with some respect to insulted virtue. If openly asked to do so, they would feel insulted; they merely play the part of complaisant husbands. There seems indeed to be a total overthrow of public morals among this degenerate people, even from the priest downward."

While the men, says one who pictures in rather high colors, are "thriftless, proud, and extravagant, and much given to gaming, the women have but little education and a great deal of beauty, the natural consequence being that their morality is none of the purest; the instances of infidelity, however, are much less frequent than might be anticipated, for one vice is set against another, and a certain balance is obtained; thus, though the women have but little virtue, their husbands are jealous in the extreme, and their revenge is deadly and almost certain. A few inches of cold steel have been received by many an unwary man, who has perhaps been guilty of nothing more than mere indiscretion of manner. Thus, with the

married women, the difficulties that surround any attempt at indiscretion are numerous, whilst the consequences of discovery are fatal. With the unmarried, too much watchfulness is used to allow of any liaison; the main object of the parent being to marry his daughter well, the slightest slip must necessarily disarrange such a scheme. The sharp eyes of a dueña, and the poniard of a father or brother, are therefore a great protection, rendered absolutely requisite from the characters of both men and women; as the fond father or affectionate brother, who would lay down his life to avenge the honor of his daughter or sister, would be equally ready to risk that life to complete the dishonor of another. Of the poor Indians little care is taken. The priests, indeed, at the missions are said to keep them very strictly, and rules were usually made by the alcaldes to punish their misconduct; but it all amounts to little. If any of the girls should chance to be discovered following evil courses, the alcalde orders them to be whipped, and keeps them at work for a certain period sweeping the square of the presidio, or carrying mortar and bricks for building; yet at any time a few reales will buy them off. Intemperance is a common vice amongst the Indians, but the Spanish inhabitants are, on the contrary, extremely abstemious." So says this one: another says the reverse; but men and women are not everywhere exactly the same.

There are dances, says this same observer, which are "particularly liked by the females—who more than any other women in the world seek to draw forth admiration—as it enables them to show the handsome roundings of their naked arms, and their small and elegantly turned feet, as also to develop to full advantage the graceful vivacity of their motions, as they wind through the mazes of their national dance, which is of itself sufficiently attractive. The females generally are exceedingly well shaped, and have a slight tint of brown in the skin; but a pair of black and sparkling eyes, and teeth of the whitest color, give to their

countenances an appearance of the greatest animation. They wear neither caps nor bonnets, but have their hair turned upon the crown of the head, where it is held by a tortoise-shell comb, very high in the back; the tuft thus formed is pierced by a thick and long pin of gold, silver, or copper, which has at one of its extremities a ball or globe of the same metal. When they are going out they wear *basquinas*, more or less ornamented, and a *mantilla* which covers their heads; the ends of these being gathered up and crossed over the breast draws the mantel tight round the hips, and shows the graceful shape of the wearer to great advantage. In these descriptions, allusion is only made to the creoles of a pure Spanish or Mexican origin, for the greater portion of the inhabitants of California are of mixed origin, which gives to their color a tint of reddish brown, and to their countenances a rather hard and wild appearance."

Many of them were clear-skinned, dark brunette, with lustrous eyes, long black glossy hair, and carrying themselves with indescribable grace and ease, with fine manners and personal appearance characteristic of the Latin race. Jewelry and gorgeous dress shone beneath the blue wreathings of the cigarritos, enough to fill the measure of delight in indulgent father and hopeful lover.

The beauty of women is of shorter duration in Spanish countries than in the United States; but the monster Time behaves differently in the two places. In the states, the sere and yellow leaf of beauty shrivels into scragginess in the extremes of the type; but in Spanish-speaking countries it is not the withering of the gourd of beauty that those have to deplore who sit beneath its shadow with so great delight, but it is the broadening of that shadow. Without altogether indorsing sylph-like forms, it is yet safe to affirm that degrees of beauty in women are not in direct ratio to the degrees of the latitude of their circumference.

At night the dwelling-place of woman was as distinct as by day, only darker; blonde had become brunette—that was all. The orange leaves glittered in the moonlight with a glaucous sheen, and the air was moist with the subtile perfume that betrayed the hidden blossom. And women passed to and fro on the arms of their caballeros, as fair as those of any age or country, with eyes like the soul of night, and soft forms fit for light and love, and lips parted in the ruddy strife of head and heart.

Settlers north of the bay were in constant danger both from Indians and the bears. Even the women were accustomed to carry guns or pistols, when they went out to make calls. Mrs Vallejo has a small rifle which she used to carry for this purpose; and she says that in the earlier years she had fired the rifle at bears to keep them out of the court-yard of her house. Stock had to be carefully guarded, and could not be allowed to run at large at night, as in the south, where bears were nearly extinct before this time.

The field labors of a ranchero, whether they consisted in rodeos and herraderos or were agricultural, were concluded about 11 o'clock, at which time the laborers went to dinner and to rest till 2 o'clock. In a poor family, the women attended to all the menial service; in those families able to afford it, this was performed by Indian servants of both sexes. At 2 P. M. rich and poor alike returned to their field labors, which lasted till nightfall. Of course rich rancheros employed field-hands.

Mr Bryant, while on a journey from Los Angeles to San Francisco in 1846, stopped for the night at a small adobe country house, where he was comfortably provided for. The good woman of the house was delighted above measure by an incidental remark of the questioned traveller, to the effect that clothing and finery of all sorts would become immensely reduced in price under the new régime. Wittingly or unwittingly, he had struck a chord tender in the uni-

versal female heart, and her Vivan los Americanos! was so genuine that in the morning she could hardly be persuaded to accept remuneration for her trouble; and only, at last, on the condition of her guest taking with him a good supply of her cookery for future use.

"California women are an interesting race in many respects," writes Hayes in his *Emigrant Notes*—"a kind-hearted, amiable, industrious set. I like them better than the men. These have their virtues too, as well as their faults. They have all the politeness of manner of the Spanish stock whence they sprung, betraying often a spice of the Indian character with which they have been familiarized. Especially I love the children, so sprightly and quick to learn."

"Formerly," says Salvador Vallejo, "our cattle roamed by thousands, yet not one was stolen, for the unwritten law of the land granted to the weary traveller the privilege of killing cattle whenever he wanted beef. Since the transfer of California . . . . many native Californians have been hanged for stealing cattle; and I firmly believe that some of the victims did not know that under the new government it was a crime to kill a steer of which he had not a bill of sale."

Robinson says that "the men are generally indolent and addicted to many vices, caring little for the welfare of their children. Yet the women do not appear to have felt this bad influence, and in few places of the world, in proportion to inhabitants, can be found more chastity, industrious habits, and correct deportment, than among the women. It is not unusual to see the most perfect familiarity between the two classes. This often leads strangers to form incorrect opinions. They are firm to the observances of their church, and the most trifling deviation therefrom is looked upon with abhorrence."

The women were passionately fond of fine, showy dresses; they generally exhibited good taste, as far as they had the means. They were rather pleasing in their dress, with not a great deal of jewelry, though

fond of it. One almost universal article of dress was the rebozo to cover the head and shoulders. Some of the rebozos were very fine and costly, made of silk, others were of cotton, or linen, according to the purse of the wearer.

Previous to 1830, or thereabout, the men of California were of good morals. Of course there were the disreputable, drunkards, gamblers, men who abandoned their families to want; but such cases were rare. "The women of California," says Amador, "were always noteworthy for their excellent conduct as daughters, sisters, wives, and mothers. They were virtuous and industrious, and devoted to their family duties."

Subsequent to 1830 the moral tone of society was lowered. This was owing to the more extended intercourse with foreigners, who were not all of good character; to the greater facility of acquiring means, and to political disturbances—these latter in particular opening the door to evil customs which were disseminated amongst the men. Gambling, drunkenness, lewdness, and vagrancy became common, and these vices brought in their train theft, which was necessary to sustain them.

There were hundreds of little peculiarities and strange ways, most of which dropped out of use, never having been recorded. The month of May they used to call María. A boy must not take his first shave without permission from his father, who seldom gives it before the age of twenty-two, when the time has come for him to marry.

The women, at intervals, had a general wash-up, on which occasions, their own clothes being done, they would ask their neighbors for theirs, and demanded no recompense for the work. "My clothes were thus often washed without charge," says Hijar. When their washing was concluded, after six or more days, they returned home and feasted. A calf was killed, and songs and joy followed. While the women re-

mained at the creek, under the arbor, sleeping in the open air, the males of the family regarded this camp as their home.

The aguadores who brought water from the Carmelo were Indian boys; they carried a forked stick, serving to hold up one cask while the other was being filled; and also to climb up behind the casks where they rode on the ass' rump. "It was very amusing," says Alvarado, "to see them running races, and often decked in bright-colored flowers."

Formerly the veleros, or manufacturers of tallow candles, used to carry them for sale in two large baskets on the back of a burro; but after the coming of the cholos the candles were carried on the shoulder fastened round the circumference of two hoops which hung from the ends of a stick four feet long, something in the Chinese style.

A woman from Chile thought her California cousins preferred the floor to a chair to sit on, as they rest better so.

While Robinson was at San Diego, in 1829, Bandini's house was *bendecida*, or blessed. The general, his officers, and a number of friends were present. The ceremony took place about noon; the chaplain went through the different apartments and sprinkled holy-water on the walls, uttering verses in Latin. The party then sat down to an excellent dinner, after which was music and a dance, followed in the evening by a fandango. It was better than insurance, and not so expensive.

Sepúlveda, speaking of Pastoral California, says: "There was one link in the chain of society of those days which contributed to keep in a strong and affectionate unison the social relations between men. It was the relation of compadre. Whoever stood godfather or godmother to a child was the compadre or comadre of the father and mother of the infant. Always treating each other with respect and affection, and having the child as a living token of their esteem,

it was rare to see these pleasant relations disturbed. It no doubt added much to the harmony of society."

At the death of a father it was customary for the younger brothers to respect the elder, who stood in the position of father to the family. Nothing could have a better effect, that of mutual assistance and trust on the entire family, than the observance of this beautiful custom.

When two men were so intimate as to be constantly together in order to indicate a feeling deeper than that merely of a friend, they designated each other as valedor. The word was also applied by the rancheros to any one whom they especially appreciated and trusted.

The extent of kinship was incalculable; for to such an extent had the different families of California intermarried, that all were akin by usage, if not by blood.

When a man found his wife enceinte, he invited the persons whom it was agreed to make padrinos or godparents, and they at once began preparations, according to their means, although it wanted five or more months till the event. Fifteen or twenty days after delivery, the new creature was taken to the parish church to be baptized. On going to the house to take the infant to church, the padrinos marched through the streets playing instruments, to testify their joy. The family came to the door to receive them, and then all marched to church, playing on the way.

After the ceremony, the party was received outside by some who waited for them, with rockets, bell-tolling, and music, and all joined to accompany them to the house of the parents, to which the padre was invited. All comers were regaled with panecito, bread made for the occasion, and slices of watermelon, and other refreshment, called by the general name volo. To the padre and his assistants some money was given, and presents distributed by the godparents. Then began a ball, lasting one or two days. The

nearest relatives were expected to attend the baptism without invitation; others were invited. The baptism took place at night. Those who lived far from the mission had it done on Sundays after mass.

From José de Jesus Vallejo I have the language of flowers, as rendered by Governor Chico in 1836, and accepted throughout California in the interpretation of a gift of flowers: Yerba buena, I wish to be useful; white Indian cress (nasturtium), I wish to be a nun; red Indian cress (tropœolum majus), my heart is dripping blood; tuberose, I wait for thee; red rose, thou art the queen of thy sex; white rose, thou art the queen of purity; passion flower, hatred and rancor; hundred leaves, I am dying for thee; turnsol, I cannot bear the sight of thee; dahlia, I love only thee in this world; jasmine, thou art a coquette; red pink, I am justified in feeling jealous; hortensia, I want to marry thee; violet, modesty; geranium, I will always love thee; evergreen, my love will be eternal; the winter gillyflower, I sigh for thee.

Captain H. S. Burton fell in love with the charming Californian, María del Amparo Ruiz, born at Loreto, and aged sixteen. She promised to marry him. The servants reported this to a certain ranchero who had been unsuccessfully paying his addresses to her, and he informed Padre Gonzalez, saying that a catholic should not marry a protestant. The padre thanked the man in a letter, which the latter hawked about offensively, out of spite, because his suit had been rejected. But for all this, the Loreto girl married the Yankee captain. Although a heretical marriage, Rubio, guardian of the see, deemed it discreet not to declare it null, but to remove the impediments. He accordingly allowed the marriage before the padre at Santa Bárbara, before two witnesses, omitting proclamas conciliares, nuptial benediction, and other solemnities, but with the condition that the wife should not be seduced from the church, that the children should be educated

as catholics, and that the wife should pray God to convert the captain to the church.

Meanwhile the guardian of the diocese learned with great satisfaction of the pains the alcalde was at to prevent the protestant clergyman at Monterey from authorizing the marriage of Captain Burton and María del Amparo Ruiz—she being a catholic—and on the 23d of August, 1847, Governor Mason ordered all the authorities of California not to authorize any marriage where either of the parties was a catholic. Padre Gonzalez understood that this order was binding, and therefore to be observed until rescinded by competent authority. As this order was necessary in order that catholics might not contract marriages which would be null, Gonzalez wrote to the governor, requesting him to ratify his predecessor's order, and if necessary call the attention of all the authorities thereto. Padre Gonzalez again thanked the alcalde for his zeal in preventing the infringement of the laws of catholicism by any catholic attempting to marry according to the protestant rite, and hoped for his aid in seeing that no innovation be made, but that the government ratified Mason's order.

Concepcion María Argüello, daughter of José Darío Argüello, who had been governor of California in 1814–15, and sister of Luis Argüello, who was appointed governor in 1822, was a beautiful girl of good education and refined manners. She was residing in the fort of San Francisco in 1807 at the time of the arrival in California of the Russian frigate *Juno*, having on board as passenger Count Rezanof, grand chamberlain of the Russian emperor, who fell in love with the young Californian, and with her consent requested her parents to allow him to marry her. To this proposal they agreed, deeming it highly advantageous to be related by marriage to the young diplomate. Count Rezanof took his departure from California, intending to go to Russia, and there make the necessary arrangement for his intended marriage,

but unfortunately, while crossing a desert, he fell from his horse and was killed.

On receipt of the terrible news, the fair Concepcion, arrayed as a *beata*, that is to say, one who wears a religious habit, and is engaged in works of charity, left San Francisco and went to Santa Bárbara, where she spent her time in the small church of the Franciscan friars, and at night retired to the room allotted to her in the house of Captain De la Guerra. During the many years she thus lived, the young men of Santa Bárbara tried their utmost to induce her to take part in their festivities, and some went so far as to insist that she should marry, but all to no purpose. Had she not narrowly missed being a countess? So she continued her works of charity and humiliation, going into the miserable dwellings of the neophytes, where she spent hour after hour attending to the wants of some dying Indian, or teaching young children the Christian doctrine. Finally, when the good sisters of Saint Dominic, in 1850, opened in the town of Benicia the academy of Saint Catherine, she repaired to their convent, and resided there until 1860, when she died, at the advanced age of seventy-six years. This incident is given as an example to be followed by all good California girls who so narrowly miss becoming countesses!

About the year 1837, the wild Indians of Lower California fell upon the rancho of Pio Pico, killed some people, and carried off the daughters, Tomasa and Ramona, of Leyva, the majordomo.

The wife of Licentiate Cosme Peña, ex-asesor of California, eloped with a musician named Arias. On their journey, they were captured by Indians of the Colorado river; he was killed, and she kept as a wife of one of the chiefs. She was later captured from them by the Indians Castucho, Martin, and others, who held Tomasa and Ramona.

The occupations of the women were not only much superior, but more laborious and continual, than those of the men. The kitchen was, of course, in their en-

tire charge, or at least under their supervision. Many of them made bread, candles, soap, and even worked in the field. Needlework was in constant demand, and in every form. They made their own garments, as well as those of their fathers, husbands, and brothers, all calling for embellishments in the way of embroidery, fine stitching, etc. The utmost care and taste were displayed in the beds and bedding, the linen being embroidered, or otherwise adorned. Clothing being expensive, economy demanded that they should be kept well mended, and made, when possible, to look almost new. Pressing was done with the hand until the piece became perfectly smooth.

The well-to-do of both sexes used the best material they could procure, silk, wool, velvet, etc. The poorer classes, while dressing in the same style, had to be content with inferior goods.

The women daily braided the hair of their male relatives till late times, as long as queues were in fashion. The hair was usually parted in the middle, and thrown over the back and tied; one braid of three tresses was then made, a la Chinois. Most men tied a black silk kerchief round the head, with the knot behind or above the forehead. The women let the hair cover their ears, parted in the middle, and braided, as with the men. Lugo has it that men shaved all the beard, except that from the temple to the border of the jaw. The shaving was usually done every third day, and certainly on Saturday afternoon or Sunday morning.

Living in concubinage by the common people was considered, during the Spanish domination, a heinous offence, and was severely punished. The man would be condemned to hard labor in irons, and exile for a number of years. The woman had her hair clipped short, and was forced to stand with a puppet-babe at her breast at the church door every Sunday at the hour of mass, during a month or so, that she might serve as a warning.

About 1829 or 1830, during Governor Echeandía's term, it was judicially proved that a soldier of the Monterey company was holding illicit relations with a woman and her daughter at the same time, and that the latter was pregnant by him. These facts having become known to Father Ramon Abella, he reported them to the authorities. The result of the trial was that the soldier was made to marry the pregnant woman. The man and woman, from the day of the first publication of the bans, were compelled to kneel near the presbytery, in full sight of the public, bound together by the neck with a thick hempen rope, and having before them a washtub filled with green grass, representing the manger of a stable, to signify that the man and woman had been living like beasts. At each publication of the bans, Father Abella delivered remarks from the pulpit relevant to the subject, to remind his flock that the penalties of hell would certainly befall those who indulged in incestuous practices. The couple afterward lived happily together, and had a numerous family. Their descendants live in California, and flourish to this day.

CHAPTER XI.

PASTURES AND FIELDS.

There Jove accords a lengthened spring,
And winter wanting winter's sting,
And sunny Aulon's broad incline
Such mettle puts into the vine,
Its clusters need not envy those
Which fiery Falernum grows.

Horace.

For many years cattle-raising was the chief if not the sole occupation of the Hispano-Californians. It was a mode of life well suited to their temper and habits. There was little work about it, little of the drudgery of labor such as attended agriculture and manufactures; and if in the pursuit there was little of the sweet power that displays itself in the domination of men, the ranchero might at least rule cattle.

Then, too, stock-raising brought men up to a level; for in wealth and occupation there was here in those days a low level and a high level. Upon the low level rested contented those who had nothing; upon the high level were those who had something. Between something and a hundred times more, there was little difference. Land in itself was valueless, so that it made little difference whether one's possessions were counted by acres or square leagues. So with live-stock. Four thousand of any kind was as satisfying as forty thousand, or four hundred thousand, as a moderate number was more than a man could sell, and as many as he cared to attend to. Hence as the horses and cattle brought from Mexico increased, until the proper care of them involved more exertion

than the owner cared to put forth, they were allowed to relapse into barbarism, grow wild, and range at will over the San Joaquin and Sacramento plains.

Such was the state of things that for a time any one might kill cattle at pleasure for food, so long as the hide was placed within easy reach of the owner. But later, when immigration set in, values began to be set on cattle. A large amount of stock fell into the possession of the officers of Micheltorena, who, seeing that the revolution was about to come, sold these animals to Spence, Fitch, and other foreigners.

In the early days it was common for Californians to go in companies to catch wild horses on the Mariposa plains and elsewhere at certain seasons of the year, carrying brandy, tobacco, and other articles for festive enjoyment. Sutter says there were vast droves of wild horses in the San Joaquin and Tulare valleys, bred from those stolen by the Indians from the missions. They rapidly increased into immense droves. They were not claimed by the Indians, to whom it came easier to steal horses when they wanted them than to tame them. Later, Americans and Californians went there and lassoed them, catching all they wanted. There were few wild horses in the Sacramento Valley when Sutter went there.

Bidwell affirms that in 1842 there were many sheep in some places. On the rancho of Livermore were 6,000, and Sutter had 1,000. They were small and the wool rather coarse. There were a few fine hogs; one weighing 200 pounds was worth $4 or $5. The cattle were very large, and were in great numbers. There was no regular price for them, but it stood at about $4 per head. Hides were worth $2; tallow $6 per 100 pounds. Horses were very numerous, and worth from $8 to $30. Mares were never worked or ridden, and were worth from $3 to $5. The mules were large and fine, and worth $10 unbroken, and $15 broken. Jacks were worth from $100 to $200 each. Broken oxen fetched $25.

The missionaries generally had a manual on agriculture, which they followed in the cultivation of the soil. In planting wheat they would soak the seed in lye. This was the practice in Spanish times, and was continued after the country became separated from Spanish domination. Cultivation of produce in the district of Monterey was limited to the space lying between the Tucho and the Pilarcitos, in small portions, apart from the plantations at Alisal, the Sauzal, Natividad, San Cayetano, Bolsa del Pájaro, Corralitos, Salsipuedes, Las Aromas, a portion of the San Juan valley, San Felipe, San Isidro, the Carneadero, and La Brea, besides El Carmelo.

Special droves of mares were provided at the missions and on ranchos, with jackasses to raise mules. And in order to arouse the passions of the former to the point of allowing themselves to be approached by the latter, there were caballos volteados, which without being capable of procreating, brought about the desired effect.

Severe droughts were often experienced. In 1809–10 the missions and presidios suffered greatly for pasturage and crops, especially the horses for the use of the troops and mission vaqueros. In 1820–21 there was another visitation of the same kind, and the live-stock of the missions, now increased to 400,000, had much difficulty in finding grass enough to keep them in condition fit for food. It was more severely felt than that of 1809–10. Governor Sola caused a large number of mares to be sold. Past experience had taught the missionaries the necessity of laying up grain, dried meat, fat, etc., for two years. They also had trained fishermen to furnish food from the sea, not only in keeping lent, and weekly one day's abstinence from meat, but in order that mussels and fish, so abundant on the coast, should help to economize the laid up stores. In 1823 a special dispensation was issued by Señan, the father-president, to use meat, eggs, etc., on forbidden days, owing to

the scarcity of maize and beans, from want of rains, especially in the south, which was further intensified by a plague of locusts and caterpillars. In the season of 1824–25, the best known in California from 1770 to 1864, sufficient water fell to keep, together with the ordinary winter rains, the pastures and sowings in excellent condition until the great drought of 22 months between the rains of 1828 and 1830, during which the wells and springs of Monterey gave out, and water for the use of families had to be brought from the Carmelo river, three miles distant. Hardly any crops were obtained, and it was estimated that fully 40,000 head of horses and neat cattle perished throughout the province. Hundreds of mares were killed, and many were sold by the missions at 25 and 50 cents each. At Purísima several large droves, as reported, were driven over the cliff into the sea to speedily kill them, so as to save pasture for the cattle and sheep. To the north of San Juan Bautista the grass was in better condition than to the south. At this time Governor Echeandía was secularizing the missions, and the padres took a great dislike to the raising of sheep; and indeed the native Californians generally had the same feeling, sheep being by them considered beneath the attention of rancheros and vaqueros. The season of 1840–41, some years after the secularization of the missions, in which no rain worth mentioning fell for fourteen consecutive months, was severely felt, particularly south of Soledad; but not nearly so many animals perished as in the drought of 1828–30. In fact they were now scattered, and better cared for. Large quantities having died during that visitation, or been destroyed by wolves, coyotes, and bears, added to the dislike of the rancheros to herd them, their number had been reduced to less than 20,000 from about 153,000 in 1831. Subsequent droughts do not come within the scope of this book, having occurred after the period embraced in the pastoral period of California.

STATISTICS OF 1834.

Mission.	Date of Foundation.	Indians.	Horned Cattle.	Horses.	Sheep, Goats, and Pigs.	Harvest.
						Bush.
San Diego	June 16, 1769.	2,500	12,000	1,800	17,000	13,000
San Luis Rey	June 13, 1798.	3,500	80,000	10,000	100,000	14,000
San Juan Capistrano	Nov. 1, 1776.	1,700	70,000	1,900	10,000	10,000
San Gabriel	Sept. 8, 1771.	2,700	105,000	20,000	40,000	20,000
San Fernando	Sept. 8, 1797.	1,500	14,000	5,000	7,000	8,000
San Buenaventura	Mar. 31, 1782.	1,100	4,000	1,000	6,000	3,000
Santa Bárbara	Dec. 4, 1786.	1,200	5,000	1,200	5,000	3,000
Santa Inés	Sept. 17, 1804.	1,300	14,000	1,200	12,000	3,500
Purísima	Dec. 8, 1787 .	900	15,000	2,000	14,000	6,000
San Luis Obispo	Sept. 1, 1771.	1,250	9,000	4,000	7,000	4,000
San Miguel	July 25, 1797.	2,000	4,000	2,500	10,000	2,500
San Antonio	July 14, 1771.	1,400	12,000	2,000	14,000	3,000
Soledad	Oct. 9, 1791.	700	6,000	1,200	7,000	2,500
Carmelo	June 3, 1770.	500	3,000	700	7,000	1,500
San Juan Bautista	June 24, 1799.	1,450	9,000	1,200	9,000	3,500
Santa Cruz	Aug. 28, 1791.	600	8,000	800	10,000	2,500
Santa Clara	Jan. 18, 1777.	1,800	13,000	1,200	15,000	6,000
San José	June 18, 1797.	2,300	2,400	1,100	19,000	10,000
San Francisco	Oct. 9, 1776.	500	5,000	1,600	4,000	2,500
San Rafael	Dec. 18, 1817.	1,250	3,000	500	4,500	1,500
Solano	Aug. 25, 1823.	1,300	3,000	700	4,000	3,000
Total		31,450	396,400	61,600	321,500	123,000

STATISTICS OF 1842.

Mission.	Indians.	Cattle.	Horses.	Sheep, Goats, and Pigs.
San Diego	500	20	100	200
San Luis Rey	650	2,800	400	4,000
San Juan Capistrano	100	500	150	200
San Gabriel	500	700	500	3,500
San Fernando	400	1,500	400	2,000
San Buenaventura	300	200	40	400
Santa Bárbara	400	1,800	180	400
Santa Inés	250	10,000	500	4,000
Purísima	60	800	300	3,500
San Luis Obispo	80	300	200	800
San Miguel	30	40	50	400
San Antonio	150	800	500	2,000
Soledad	20	.....	....	.....
Carmelo	40	.....	....	.....
San Juan Bautista	80	.....	....	.....
Santa Cruz	50	.....	....	.....
Santa Clara	300	1,500	250	3,000
San José	400	8,000	200	7,000
San Francisco	50	60	50	200
San Rafael	20	.....	....	.....
Solano	70	.....	....	.....
Total	4,450	29,020	3,820	31,600

When an hacendado wished to nuquear or slaughter his cattle, he sent six men on horseback, who rode at full speed over the fields, armed with knives. Passing near an animal, one gave it a blow with the knife in the nerve of the nape of the neck, and it fell dead. These nuqueadores passed on, and were followed as by a flock of hungry vultures, by dozens of peladores, who took off the hides. Next came the tasajeros, who cut up the meat into tasajo and pulpa; and the funeral procession was closed by a swarm of Indian women, who gathered the tallow and lard in leather hampers. The fat was afterward tried out in large iron or copper kettles, and after cooling somewhat was put up in skin botas, containing on an average 20 arrobas, or 500 pounds. It was sold in 1840 at $2 per arroba, half in money and half in goods. A field after the nuqueo looked like Waterloo after the charge of the old guard.

Marsh says that in Mexican times one man had 500 saddle-horses for the use of his rancho. One mission had 100,000 horses and mules. Cattle were killed off on the mission lands after the secularization in 1834; it commenced in 1832, and continued until checked by the governor. They were on the decrease until 1840. "Sheep are small," remarks Clymer, "and produce a small quantity of coarse wool along the back, the belly being entirely bare. Their cattle are of good size, and handsomely built. Some farms or ranchos have from five to twenty thousand head of such stock on them, with large stocks of horses and sheep." The way the padres estimated their stock was to count those they branded. If these were 5,000, they estimated 15,000 for the year.

A great number of vaqueros, or mounted herdsmen, were necessary to look after the stock, which was half wild at best. At San José, at a rodeo, or gathering of stock for the purpose of counting it, Visitador Hartnell says that Administrator Castro was assisted by a mayordomo and fifty vaqueros.

The yearly rodeo was not only for branding and dividing stock, but for making the cattle accustomed to a certain place, and prevent their going hopelessly wild.

The missions had a weekly rodeo, and killed twenty or thirty or more cattle for provisions. The Indians killed them before a mayordomo de campo, who distributed the meat for the week. The razon people came to cut for themselves. The bones were left in the corral till the following Friday, when they were piled up outside of the rodeo. Each mission had three corrals, one for cattle, the others for sheep and horses.

On Friday morning some neophytes were sent to bring in stock for the Saturday slaughter. On Saturday morning some mounted Indians lassoed and brought out the stock from the corral, for other Indians. These lassoed the beast by péal, threw it, killed, flayed, and cut it up. Head, spine, and intestines were rejected. The fat was dragged to the mission in the hide. Thus twenty or thirty heads were killed weekly for food.

When the year was bad and pastures meagre the padres ordered a desviejar, that is, the killing of old stock. On such occasions, Indians and white men were armed with lances, and entered the corrals mounted. They were also hunted up in the fields. The hides were taken off, and the flesh left for beasts and birds, or for the Indians.

Markoff tells of a novel way of catching wild oxen in California. A trained ox was taken out with the hunter. The wild ox was then lassoed and bound, after which his horns were tied to those of the trained ox, which dragged him home to be slaughtered. This was to avoid carrying the meat a long distance. Wild horses were caught at the watering-places by lasso, or by false corrals. When several had been caught they were tied in pairs and driven home, or to the next catching-place.

The dexterity of the Californians with the lasso was surprising. As for their horsemanship they were not surpassed by the Cossacks of Tartary. "It is common," says Bidwell, "for them to take up things from the ground going upon a full run with their horses. They will pick up a dollar in this way. They frequently engage the bear on the plain with their lassoes, and two holding him in opposite directions with ropes fastened to the pommels of their saddles. I was informed that two young boys encountered a large buck elk in the plains, and having no saddles, fastened the ropes round the horses' necks, and actually dragged the huge animal into the settlements alive."

Morineau writes: "Dans la vue de ménager les pacages pour les bœufs, un arreté de gouvernement défend à chaque particulier d'avoir plus de 20 jumento poulinières. C'est aussi par le même motif que l'on fait tuer tous les ans, plusieurs milliers de chevaux sauvages, bien que l'on ne tire aucun parti de leurs depouilles." Mules were employed on hard labor, and asses were kept for their reproduction. Each mission possessed 10,000 or 12,000 sheep. The creoles raised few sheep. The wool was good, but that used in the country was made only into coarse stuffs. Pigs were not raised at the missions, as the creoles did not care for the flesh, and the Indians have always had a horror of it.

Writes the governor, July 7, 1844, to the alcalde of San Francisco: "The French fragata and other vessels may buy stock in San Francisco, but none must sell a heifer at less than six dollars, or abuse will spring up and injure the country."

In the session of assembly of July 24, 1834, the comision de gobernacion presented a dictámen on the petition of Chabolla to catch (correr) mesteño stock for urgent want. Permission was thereupon granted to any one under the same plea, on condition of giving one fifth to the nation. The síndico was to account for the one fifth, leaving it in care of the grantee. The

grantee was to destroy (tumbar) the corrals erected for the purpose. This license was valid for once only, at the judgment of the ayuntamiento, which would determine the time when each one should perform the corrida.

One Villavicencio, May 17, 1830, was given a permit to go after runaway cattle between the Pinal del Temascal and the Sierra de la Panocha. He was to report the events which might take place, names of those who accompanied him, and the marks on the ears, in order that he might be paid immediately according to custom.

Victoria, writing to the minister of relations on the 7th of June, 1831, says: "As regards caballar, the wild kind called mesteño inundate the fields. Formerly there were large slaughters; this he has restrained, thinking that this slaughter should be made useful if only in the hides."

On the 21st of June, Figueroa wrote to the alcalde of San José that the assembly had ordered that every owner of stock and horses and his paid servants should meet to give personal aid at the customary rodeos, without excepting his sons, if he should have any old enough. No persons might excuse themselves or others from helping without some good reason. Persons exempted from these services were mechanics, non-owners of stock, those physically impeded, sexagenarians, except their sons and paid servants, in case the exempt parties owned stock.

In the San Diego archives I find a decree of February 1835, in which the assembly declares that 150 head of cattle are needed to entitle the owner to a brand. The alcalde must determine who shall have a brand and who a mark.

A person desiring to make use of a particular iron for marking cattle petitioned the juez de paz to that effect; fac-similes of the fierro and venta accompanied the petition. The juez decreed in accordance with the petition, and registered the marks in the libro de regis-

tros. The municipal regulations of San José, of January 16, 1835, say that none might mark, brand, or kill stock except on days designated by the ayuntamiento, and never without permit of the juez de campo, who should inform the alcalde of such. Penalty for first offence twenty reales; whoever lassoed or saddled a beast not belonging to him should pay $9, and as much more as the owner claimed in justice.

California was infested by Mexican convicts, who, knowing that they could make no use of stolen cattle if not bearing the mark of the seller, were accustomed to forge the brands of well-known sellers, thus causing great confusion. A few were arrested; but the local authorities did not understand the magnitude of the crime, and simply exiled the prisoners to other pueblos, where they went on with the traffic.

"In 1843," says Blas Peña, "I slaughtered with my men 1,300 heads of cattle in Captain Fitch's rancho. Part of the meat I made into tasajo, that is to say, it was jerked and dried; the rest was pickled. The tallow was sent to the United States in guts, or bladders, or hides. The green hides were stretched on the ground until they became sufficiently aired, when they were folded and sewed with an awl, an opening being left near the neck, through which the tallow was poured. These hides filled with fat were called botas, and when ship-masters signed bills of lading they acknowledged having received so many botas of fat."

As far back as 1770, every owner of horses, cattle, asses, mules, and sheep was by law compelled to brand his stock. Each ranchero had two private brands, one called 'el fierro para herrar los ganados,' and the other 'fierro para ventear.' No one could adopt or change his branding-irons without permission of the governor of California. Before me is a decree of Governor Figueroa of May 17, 1834, granting to ensign M. G. Vallejo permission to use a new branding-iron for the cattle and other animals on his estate.

In order to mark cattle, sometimes their ears were

cut in a certain way. A petition to be allowed to use such marks was made to the juez de paz, a facsimile of the mark accompanying the same. The juez granted the permission, and registered the same in a book kept for the purpose.

On the 9th of April, 1844, at Los Angeles, Bandini made a long speech before the ayuntamiento, criticising the laws relating to hides, and urging better measures to protect stock-owners. He ended by proposing that no hides should be sold which had not the owner's mark. Stock-raisers, who according to the law of 1827 should have brands, should send in the notice of the registro thereof, in one month; others should register their brands. Marks were also to be sent in.

The ayuntamiento of Angeles, on the 14th of August, 1847, declared that mesteño (wild) horses might be chased on Lugo's rancho, after due notice, so as to allow the neighbors to attend. All branded orejano beasts that were mesteños, and fell, belonged to the one who formed the corrida. Fallen beasts belonging to participants in the corrida were given up to them. Those falling which belonged to non-participants, for them the owners should pay $1 per head, $2 for mules, four reales for wild mares (bronca or potra), which sums went to the former of the corrida. Beasts with unknown brands were divided, one going to the former of the corrida, and the other to the municipal fund. A juez de campo should attend the corrida, and watch over these rules, and see that beasts were given to their rightful owners. A gratuity was to be given him from the part going to the municipal fund.

The horses of California were understood to be generally of Andalusian stock, introduced from Mexico, and originally from Spain. Among the animals broke for use were fine saddle-horses, never used for harness. Horses were excellent for their work, and capable of great endurance, even on poor

treatment. They were rarely stabled or groomed. The rancheros generally had large numbers, out of which they would choose two or three or more for use, and keep them tied to posts about the house; and when the horses began to be a little thin from hard riding and want of feed, they would turn them loose in the pasture, and bring in others. Nothing was done toward improving the breed. When a very fine colt was obtained, instead of keeping it for a stallion, they would castrate it and use it as a saddle-horse.

By 1821–4 the wild horses became very numerous, so that approaching the towns they would eat up the grass and spoil the pasture for the tame horses, and when they went away take the latter along with them. The government accordingly resolved to hold a general slaughter. Corrals were formed near the pueblos, and the horses, wild and tame, were driven into them, and the entrance closed. Animals were then taken out by their owners. A small gate was then opened to allow only one beast to pass out at a time. Two or three lancers were then placed at the gate, who stabbed the wild horses as they passed out, and thousands were thus killed.

The Californian genius for lying is shown by the statement of Pio Pico that when, on the arrival of the Híjar colony, Figueroa convoked the diputacion, he, Pico, rode from his rancho to Los Angeles, a distance, by his own account, of almost sixty leagues, in one day. He also states that for the purpose of being present at bull-baits he frequently rode in one day from San Diego to Los Angeles.

The California cavalier held it a disgrace to ride a horse with the hair clipped from the tail. On one occasion a fandango was going on, and surrounding the house were the horses of the participants, with elaborately trimmed saddles, and the long hair of their tails combed out so as to look their best. One of the dancers, José Antonio Yorba, a famous practical joker, slipped out of the house unobserved, and cut off the

tails of all the horses, his own among the number, that suspicion might be averted from himself, and returned quietly to the dance. Great was the consternation and chagrin of the dancers when, after the revelry was over, they led out their fair partners to place them on their saddles before mounting behind them, as was the custom. It was as if a great calamity, attended with shame or disgrace, had come upon them.

Horses de sobrepaso, or as they were called de género ó generosos, were destined for women and friars.

Some of the rancheros lived in feudal style, each having his band of Indian retainers subject to his authority. Warner's mayordomo said he could raise for his master 300 fighting men in a few hours.

The rancheros had large bands of breeding mares. "The horses multiplied to such an extent," says Belden, "that in seasons of drought they would destroy large numbers of mares, and perhaps some of the horses, driving them over a precipice to get rid of them, and thus save feed for the cattle, which were more valuable than horses, on account of the hides and tallow. The rancheros hardly ever cut grass, had no barns, and in a dry time had nothing to rely upon. Occasionally a farmer might have a little hay, but very rarely, and so far as they fed their horses about the house, they used barley."

Few cows were kept near the house for milking; the milch cows generally were not gentle, and to milk them their hind legs were tied together, and the head tied to a post. Scarcely any cheese or butter was made.

Mission San Gabriel was the mother of agriculture in California. She early raised wheat and sold it to the Russians; she planted the vine, and by and by the orange.

Companies were sometimes formed for agricultural

pursuits. Before me is a contract, although very loosely worded, and in every way crude, in which nine individuals agree to coöperate, without dispute or distinction, in the work and labor of the Palo Colorado rancho. They agree to their compact, and whenever any one of the copartners shall withdraw, he loses all right to participation in profits. Profits are to be divided proportionately between the nine who sign, and four women who also take part in the labors.

Private estates, if devoted to stock, were called ranchos; if chiefly for plantation, haciendas. The establishments of Buriburi, San Antonio, Pinole, San Pablo, Napa, Santa Teresa, and Petaluma were not ranchos, but haciendas. In these the buildings were large and sumptuous, had a house for servants, and a room for implements, and another for milk and cheese, another for tallow and lard put up for exportation in skins. Each establishment had thousands of cattle and droves of mares. Some had over a hundred Indian retainers under white mayordomos. Each hacienda had rooms for guests, and travellers were entertained without charge. A Californian never used to speak of his farm by acres, but by leagues. One of four or five leagues was considered quite small. A thrifty farmer should have 2,000 horses, 15,000 head of cattle, and 20,000 sheep, as his productive stock, on which he should not encroach, except in an emergency.

Vallejo had really land without limit; nominally, he held thirty-three leagues, equal to 146,000 acres, with 400 or 500 acres under cultivation, the rest being used for pasturage. Of stock he had from 12,000 to 15,000 head of neat cattle, 7,000 or 8,000 head of horses, and 2,000 or 3,000 sheep. He had also 300 working men, with their usual proportion of females and children, all kept in a nearly naked state, poorly fed, and never paid. Where there was any fence, it was made of small willows, placed in the ground and woven into wicker-work, the flimsy affair requiring to be renewed every season.

The people devoted themselves to raise only the quantity needed for their wants. They did not look to making a fortune for themselves or their posterity. If they had, and had raised 1,000 bushels of wheat or corn, where would they sell it?

Victoria declared to the minister of relations on the 7th of June, 1831, that viniculture promised to develop largely, and in time to become the most valuable of exports. The progress of agriculture was due to the friars and their Indians, who were the only industrious hands in the country.

Castañares says that the olive-oil (aceite de comer) made at San Luis Obispo was as good as or better than the Spanish, and the olives of San Diego were as good as those of Seville.

Previous to 1842, according to Vallejo, the Californian rancheros were celebrated for their high sense of honor and good faith. They used to select as a site for their houses and corrals hills of small elevation, with springs near by. They generally avoided the plains, fearing floods, although the rains were never so heavy as they have on several occasions been since the American occupation.

The colonists about San José first selected a raised spot near running water, and placed four large logs in the ground; on them other smaller ones were laid, and on these a roof of tule-leaves tied together and made water-proof. Then they placed a line of large stones on the ground from post to post, and with mortar and smaller stones built the walls up to the roof. Then the house was divided into two or three rooms, and finally the tapanco or attic was built. The furniture consisted of a cot covered with skins, a few common blankets, half a dozen trays (troughs), a little common crockery, three or four small chairs of wood covered with skins, half a dozen stools, and a table. Thrifty people put in painted wooden doors and whitewashed the walls outside and in; but the lazy poor used hides for doors. Near the house they made a corral on a level spot, and in front of it they put two

or three large posts, nailing a fresh bull's hide to each, and anointing the posts with bull's blood. The cattle were at intervals of a few days forced into this corral until they were used to it, and hundreds could easily be driven in by two vaqueros. Each ranchero raised corn and vegetables enough for his own family, besides raising cattle.

Taking the fanega at $2\frac{1}{2}$ English bushels, the harvest in 1831 would be as follows:

	Quarters.
Wheat	7,857½
Maize	3,414½
Frijoles	514
Barley	2,314
Beans, garvanzas, and pease	338
Total	14,438

Reckoning the average price of grain at the same period to be, wheat and barley $2 a fanega, and maize $1.50, the following would be the value of the produce:

Wheat	$49,114.25
Maize	21,340.00
Barley	11,570.00
Pease and beans (reckoned as barley)	4,260.00
Total	$86,284.25

In 1834 the several missions harvested in wheat, maize, beans, etc.:

	Fanegas.
San Diego	13,000
San Luis Rey	14,000
San Juan Capistrano	10,000
San Gabriel	20,000
San Fernando	8,000
San Buenaventura	25,000
Santa Bárbara	3,000
Santa Ines	3,500
Purísima	6,000
San Luis Obispo	4,000
San Miguel	2,500
San Antonio	3,000
Soledad	2,500
Carmelo	1,500
San Juan Bautista	3,500
Santa Cruz	2,500
Santa Clara	6,000
San José	10,000
San Francisco	2,500
San Rafael	1,500
Solano	3,000
Total	145,000

In 1841 so little wheat had been sown in Upper California, and the harvest was so bad on account of drought, that two schooners were sent to San Blas and Guaymas for flour.

The various inventories of missions from 1834 to 1846 show a gradual abandonment of field-work—broken down fences, useless ploughs, etc., fill the record—here and there is an announcement of a small patch of grain. Orchards and vineyards are also half if not wholly ruined.

Some of the Californians have tried to raise tobacco on their farms. It grew luxuriantly, but in quality would not compare with that of the eastern coast of the continent. Cotton was planted in 1846, and grew well. The cotton of California was pronounced superior to that of Acapulco, and received the attention of the Tepic manufacturers. Flax and hemp were produced to meet all necessities for textures and ropes.

Wheat was sometimes separated by the Indians rubbing the heads of the grain in their hands, and blowing the chaff away, and was ground between two stones by hand.

On being harvested the grain was put into a stack, and a corral was made, like the thrashing floor of ancient times, an enclosure, generally of a circular form. The grain was then spread over the ground and a band of horses was turned in, and driven round over it to tramp it out. The grain, after being thrashed out was winnowed from the straw, which was done, throwing it up in the air when there was a wind, to have the chaff blown away. They generally washed it before the grinding, and made their flour in a mule mill with two stones, one upon another, a bolt being attached to the upper stone, which made one revolution only as often as the mule went round. The operation was necessarily a slow and tedious one.

On the 6th of September, 1845, Pio Pico, senior member of the most excellent junta departamental

and acting governor of the department, issued the following decree intended to protect vineyards and their owners from depredators: 1st. Every owner of a vineyard who sells grapes in any quantity exceeding 15 pounds must furnish a voucher to the purchaser, who will keep it for his protection. If such owner gives to his servants over two pounds, he must also give them a paper stating the fact. 2d. It is forbidden to purchase grapes from Indians and servants of the orchards, without they produce the voucher spoken of in the preceding article. 3d. Any person, not the owner of a vineyard, desiring to establish a place for fermenting grape juice, must obtain a permit from the first alcalde, and submit himself to the police visits that must be made to examine his premises, tubs, etc., and produce, whenever it is demanded, the vouchers mentioned in article first. 4th. The alcaldes will visit all premises reported to them where fermentation is carried on, and every citizen is bound to render every possible assistance, for the fulfilment of each one of the articles of this decree. 5th. The alcaldes personally, or through trusty persons, but still under their own responsibility, will make a daily examination in the huts of the Indian rancherías that may be in the environs of this city, to ascertain if there are in them any grapes, or fermentation thereof, which have not been lawfully acquired. 6th. Those officials in the same manner will visit and examine all taverns, at least twice every week; also the houses of persons having the license mentioned in article third.

Any owner of a vineyard infringing the proviso of article first, incurred the fine of $50, or had to undergo the penalty of forty days in the public works. In a tavern or house having permission to ferment grape-juice, if any of this fruit was found without the proper voucher, as per article first, the grape and juice were confiscated, and the tavern-keeper or owner was subjected to a fine of $50, or two months in the public works. Any person caught stealing in a vineyard,

upon being convicted, was to suffer the punishment of four months at public work, with shackles to his legs if a civilian; if of the military, he would, within the time prescribed by law, be turned over to military authority, with the proofs of guilt, to be punished according to the magnitude of the offence.

Among my original documents is one without date or signature, but which may be placed in the year 1845. It is a calculation of what a plantation in Petaluma could yield in one year. It states that 15 yokes of oxen are needed. Price of their transportation there unknown. No price given for the land to be used, such a thing being unknown in the country.

Expense:	
200 quintals barley, for sowing, at $6	$1,200
40 quintals potatoes, for sowing, at $4	160
15 men needed say 100 days for sowing, etc., cost of supporting them at $4 per day	400
15 men needed same time for gathering crops, etc	400
Interest on money at 6 per cent per month, 8 months, from Dec. to July	844
	$3,004
Expected to yield:	
Barley, 35 quintals for each one sown—7,000 quintals, sold at $3	$21,000
Potatoes, 25 quintals for each one sown—1,000 quintals, sold at $2	2,000
	$23,000
Allowing to the laborers one third for their work	7,666
For the hacienda	$15,334
Deduct the expenses above	3,004
Net proceeds	$12,330

In 1835 there were only three free towns, with charters, independent of the missions and presidios, in all Upper California. These towns were to a great extent peopled by the old Spanish or creole soldiers, who after a certain term of service at the missions had permission to return to their native land or settle in the country. Most of them were married and had families; and when the retirement to the pueblos was preferred, grants of land with some necessary articles were given them to commence their new occupation of husbandry, which, with the aid of the natives, they

generally prosecuted successfully. The most fertile spots were generally chosen for the pueblos, and the produce of these not only supported the inhabitants of the place, but supplied the neighboring mission and presidio. The principal pueblo at this time was Los Angeles, whose population was about 1,500. It had an alcalde, three regidores, and a síndico, composing the ayuntamiento, or town council. Before this, Los Angeles had been proposed for the capital of the country; and as the Spaniards in their colonies always used to have an inland site for the capital, this scheme might have been adopted if the country had remained in their hands; but at this time it was thought that Monterey would be the capital until a population should arise on the bay of San Francisco, when it would no doubt be fixed there. The second free town was San José, whose population in 1835 was 600. It was governed in the same way as Los Angeles. The inhabitants raised wheat and cattle, and traded in the skins and tallow of deer, which were abundant in this district. The third free town was Branciforte, whose population was not more than 150. This place had also its alcalde, but was dependent on the military commandant of Monterey.

The little progress made by free settlers in populating California arose not only from the inaptitude of the Spaniards for colonizing such a country, but from the jealousy of the missionaries who claimed almost all the land. By this means only a few settlers were admitted, and these had to be firm adherents of the missionaries, and blindly obey their mandates. The total of the free settlers at this time did not exceed 5,000. In this number were included all white and mixed castes who lived in the country, in the free pueblos, and at the missions and presidios. Of such, many lived at the missions and on their lands, and could scarcely be said to be independent of them.

The constant revolutions in the south caused great discontent among the working classes, and many

families who had come from Sonora and San Blas to settle about Los Angeles changed their minds and went north to the region of San José and Santa Clara.

A growl was sent down from Sonoma to the governor in 1844, setting forth the oppression felt by the laboring class because of the tithes and the tariff, and whereby the ranchero was made a vassal of the trader. Foreign hunters had destroyed otter hunting, and were destroying beaver trapping, and the supercargoes were destroying cattle-raising—the only three branches of industry in California. Agriculture did not flourish, for traders would receive only hides and tallow—and the hides and tallow of all the stock in California would not suffice to pay what was owing to trading vessels. The remedy suggested was to grant to whaling vessels full permission to come into California ports for repairs and supplies. This would foment agriculture, and take away from the trading vessels their ruinous monopoly.

It is interesting to see how irrigating ditches were managed in the olden time. Here is a proclamation made by the alcaldes of Los Angeles on the 7th of March, 1841. The time is at hand when the irrigating ditch should be repaired, and due order should be observed in the necessary work: 1st. The ditch will still be under the charge of a man of probity who shall oversee the repairs, keep a list of proprietors of vineyards and cultivated lands which are in the city, and employ the requisite number of laborers. 2d. As soon as notice is given by the ditch commissioner, each cultivator shall send an Indian with the necessary implements, and whoever has three riegos must send two Indians—who must not be missing when the day's work is needed. 3d. From among the cultivators two shall be appointed to assist the commissioner in managing the Indians; they must be mounted, and shall be exempt from furnishing Indians. 4th. The commissioner is to see that the ditch is kept clean and the

minor ditches in good order; also that fairness be observed in the use of the water, which shall not be wasted. 5th. The commissioner must see that each citizen making use of the water shall have a good stop-gate—which does not leak—at the point where he taps the main ditch. 6th. Each master, on sending his peon to labor, is to furnish him with the day's ration, in order that he may have no pretext for leaving the work, of which the commissioner shall fix the hours. 7th. Should the main ditch give way at any point, the nearest owner of a vineyard or tilled land shall with his servants hasten thither in order to prevent waste of water. 8th. As it has been noticed that many wait till the work in the ditch is done before sowing, they are forewarned that they also must aid in the necessary labors. 9th. The collector will see that those who wash clothes in the main ditch, or who throw filth into the same, or who allow swamp-land to be formed, are amenable to condign punishment.

As these measures are intended for the general good, any infraction of the first eight articles will be punished as follows: a fine of $4 for the first offence, and $8 for the second, while a third infraction will subject the culprit to be punished as disobedient. Each infraction of article ninth will be punished with a fine of $1. That every one be informed of the above, and that no one may allege ignorance, let this decree be published by bando, and posted in the public places.

The ground was ploughed once or twice. A yoke of oxen guided by an Indian dragged a plough with an iron point made by an Indian blacksmith. When iron was wanting, ploughs of oak without the iron point were used at the missions as well as by individuals. Furrows were made with the same plough, with a wooden share fastened thereto for the purpose of making the furrow wider. Seed was sown by hand; three, four, or five grains of maize or beans were planted. Barley and wheat were sown broadcast, and the ground was

afterward harrowed, for which purpose branches of trees were used.

The harvest was gathered from July to September, sometimes however beginning in May, in which case all the grain was harvested by August. Men, women, and children each carried on their back a cora, into which the grain was thrown, and which when full was emptied into a cart. The grain was thrashed by men with sticks (garrotes), and winnowed by women who tossed it in wooden bowls called bateas. The grain was stored in bulk, in immense granaries called trojes. This is Pio Pico's description.

Almost every native Californian had his rancho and herds of cattle and horses. Some had several ranches in different parts of the country. They grew a few vegetables and fruit, maize and wheat. The women ground the corn and made tortillas. From time to time the man killed a number of cattle for their hides and tallow; these, and some of the beef saved, were sold to vessels, and in this manner the people obtained their wearing apparel and other commodities. About 1846 a change of view, as regarded the soil, came on gradually, when Americans got hold of land and began to cultivate it. There were not many extensive attempts at agriculture till after 1846, when the new-comers began to scatter around the Santa Clara valley and cultivate there and on the other side of the bay.

In early times, after obtaining an allotment of land from the governor, settlers would go to the missionaries, and obtain the loan of a few hundred head of stock, which they would return at the expiration of a certain time—say five years. The cost of obtaining possession of the land was about $12; so that in those days it required no great amount of capital or ability to lay the foundation of a large and lucrative business. In order to obtain judicial possession of a tract of land, application was made to the alcalde of the district, who, with two witnesses and a riata fifty feet in

length, would go out on horseback, and measure off the tract. The ceremony was commenced by throwing up a pile of stones or earth as an initial point, and planting a cross thereon. This initial point was called a mojonera. They cultivated only little grain, but had small milpitas where they raised vegetables in the summer. At that season families would go to the milpitas, put up a brush house, and plant a few things—corn, beans, melons, and peppers; and there were some small fields of corn, wheat and barley, where they raised in favorable seasons enough for their use—corn and wheat for breadstuff, and the barley for feeding their horses.

Vehicles consisted of carts with a hide on the bottom, one on top, and hides on the sides. The wheels were made of one piece of wood, not very round, and some with iron tires. They were drawn by one or more yokes of oxen. A cushion was at times placed on the hide in the cart for the accommodation of the family. The mission of San Luis Obispo had 50 wagons of two wheels, which were, together with the harness, and other appurtenances, including the iron work, made in it. The wagons were drawn by four mules each, and were used for carrying tallow, etc. Francisco Rico in 1844 started from the presidio of San Francisco with three loaded carts drawn by lean oxen, bound on a revolutionary expedition, the creaking of the wheels was such that it could be heard for nearly a mile away. It took them the whole day to reach Yerba Buena—the distance is now gone over by cable and steam cars in about three quarters of an hour. "I know of only two carriages," says Arnaz, "an old calesa owned by the padres of Santa Bárbara, and another by José de la Guerra. They were old-fashioned, very like hand chairs with low wheels, known as literas. Martinez, the missionary of San Luis Obispo had a fine coach of leather, varnished black. He used harness with bells. In 1842–3, they began to introduce calesas and carts,

with spoked wheels from the United States. On the isthmus of Nicaragua a species of conveyance obtained which was not found on the rugged mule trails of the isthmus of Panamá. This was a cart, the wheels of which were two cross-cuts from a log with holes bored through the heart, and a pole run through, and linch-pinned at either end, on which rests a cane or reed frame covered with rawhides. The vehicle was drawn by one or two yoke of oxen, yoked by lashing the foreheads of two abreast to strong sticks about four feet in length. This was the orthodox vehicle throughout all Central, and indeed all Spanish America, including the Californias.

The California plough was a crooked limb of a tree, with a piece of flat iron for a point, and a small tree for the pole. Each plough was drawn by a yoke of oxen and tended by a *ganan*. The field once broken and corn ploughed, was well moistened and harrowed. Furrows were made wherein maize and beans were thrown. The Russian plough, though difficult to manage, and complicated, was not much better. Sutter's blacksmith improvised a few better ploughs. At nearly every mission two or three date palms were grown. They were planted in most of the southern missions in honor of St Francis, and as symbols of the holy land. They had some connection in the priests' mind with Christ and the trinity, and were planted by the padres, among other purposes, to supply leaves and branches for Palm Sunday.

CHAPTER XII.

FOOD, DRESS, DWELLINGS, AND DOMESTIC ROUTINE.

Non bene olet, qui bene semper olet.—*Martial.*

Few people of any age or clime did more living per diem than the pastoral Californians. Not that they ate and drank excessively, or spent large sums in festivities, or on the whole were extravagant in their dress, or built for themselves palatial residences; in all these things they were quite temperate, for one very good reason, if no other—lack of opportunity. As for eating, their appetite was healthy, but there were few French cooks in the country, and condiments and groceries were not present in great variety or refined quality. They could make strong drink in unlimited quantity, and they could get drunk upon occasion. Dress they certainly would have gone much further in, if they had had the money, and if there had been anything at hand to buy. As for houses, the climate was kind and men were lazy.

And so they lived. Opening their eyes in the morning they saw the sun; they breathed the fresh air, and listened to the song of birds; mounting their steeds they rode forth in the enjoyment of healthful exercise; they tended their flocks, held intercourse with each other, and ran up a fair credit with heaven. How many among the statesmen, among the professional and business men and artisans of our present high civilizations, can say as much? It was their business to live, to do nothing but exist; and they did it well.

It was with difficulty, during their first years in California, that the good padres—for the early priests were really good men—were able to secure food for themselves and their dusky lambs. They lacked the pozole and atole which had proved so efficacious in drawing the natives of Lower California into the Christian fold. Indeed, down to the middle of March 1773, Father Junípero and his associates could offer their converts nothing but a little milk. On the other hand, the natives had furnished much in the form of seed and fish. Missionaries and soldiers had to depend on the chase for meat. This was owing in a great measure to the bad quality and careless packing of provisions sent from San Blas.

In the beginning all were poor; the rich as a rule did not penetrate the wilds of America; so that in matters of dress, food, and habitation there was little difference. When settlement began, the head of a family was his own architect and builder. Country houses were mostly of one style, in the form of a parallelogram; four adobe walls were put up, though sometimes a frame-work of timbers was erected, the spaces and interstices being filled with adobes. Some church walls were made in this way. But generally there was no wood about the structure, except the door, widow-frames, and roof-timbers. The simplest style of an adobe house is a tenement of one room. The next more pretentious had a cross partition separating the one room into two. Then a still larger house would contain several rooms, or additional rooms were added to the original structure, or outhouses were built. Better class houses had a portico on one or both sides. Tiles were the orthodox roof covering, but frequently tules or rods were placed on the rafters, over them a coating of mud, and then straw or asphaltum. Roofs of thatch were sometimes used. The old manners and usages of the Californians began to undergo material changes with the coming, in 1834, of quite a numerous colony, most of

whose members were from the city of Mexico. Many ladies at once adopted wide dresses, combs, dressing their hair high, silk shawls, shoes of silk or other fine material. Some of the most prominent among the men adopted the pantaloons and other garments. A majority of the rancheros left off the short breeches for the calzonera and the heeled boot for the bota de ala. After the Americans became possessed of the country another change was experienced, which still subsists. But more of this hereafter. Domestic routine from the first was based on that of Spain with some modifications. The kitchens in some houses had *hornillas* made of adobes, on which the pans or pots were placed to stew or boil. In other parts they had only stones for ovens.

The Spanish missionaries, as a rule, after the mass broke their fast with chocolate and toast or some sort of biscuit. At about 11 A. M. they would take a glass of brandy, with a piece of cake and cheese, "para hacer boca." Dinner at noon consisted of vermicelli, rice, or bread soup; next the olla, made with beef or mutton and ham, together with legumes, as beans, lentils, Spanish peas, and greens. The dinner ended with fresh or dried fruit, sweetmeats, and cheese. Wine was taken ad libitum. Supper was served between 7 and 8, and consisted of a roast pigeon or other light meat and chocolate. This was about the daily fare. When the fathers had guests at table, as commissioned officers, occasionally sergeants, merchants, or other respectable persons, extra dishes were provided. No charge was made for lodging or refreshments, and the guests were, moreover, furnished with provisions and fresh horses to continue their journey. This practice afterward became general at private ranchos, hospitality being only limited by the means of the host.

The usual fare in well-to-do families was as follows: first, the *desayuno*, at daybreak, milk mixed with a little pinole of maize, finely sifted, and a small quantity

of sugar; some had, instead of milk, chocolate, or coffee with or without milk, and bread or biscuit with butter; next, between 8 and 9 A. M., was served the *almuerzo*, or regular breakfast, consisting of good fresh beef or veal, roasted, or otherwise prepared, well fried beans, and a cup of tea or coffee, with milk. Some used bread made of wheaten flour, others a kind of bread made of maize, of a circular shape, flattened out very thin, baked over a slow fire on a flat, earthen pan, and which was known as tortilla de maíz, to distinguish it from the one made of wheaten flour with a little fat, which was called tortilla de harina. Dinner took place at noon, and consisted of good broth, á la española, made usually of beef or mutton, and to thicken the broth rice, garbanzos, good cabbage, etc., were boiled with it. After the broth came soups á la española, made with rice, vermicelli, tallarines, maccaroni, punteta, or small dumplings of wheaten flour, bread, or tortilla de maíz. The next course was the puchero, which usually was the meat and vegetables from which the broth had been made, with sauce to stimulate the appetite. This sauce was generally confectioned in summer with green peppers and red tomatoes, minced onions, parsley, or garlic. In winter the sauce was made with dried peppers. Lastly, there were fried beans. With this meal the tortilla de maíz was generally eaten, and sometimes some dulce or sweetmeat, which made a drink of water after it quite palatable. In the afternoon, chiefly in summer, a cup of chá, as tea was called in California, or coffee, was taken, by the women with milk, and by the men with a small glass of liquor. At night there was a light supper of meat ragout, or roast, finishing with beans. These were the usual meals among the principal classes. It is hardly necessary to say that fish of every kind, where it could be had, was frequently used, especially on Fridays, and other days when the church inhibited the use of flesh.

On this fare the inhabitants, for the most part, suf-

fered from few diseases, kept robust, strong, agile, and of good color, had a numerous progeny, and lived to a good old age. For the food was simple and wholesome. Then, too, the Californians were no gourmands; a sensitive palate was too troublesome. The Mexican tortilla remained the substitute for bread. Stewed beans were a favorite dish of rich and poor. Meat, particularly beef, was largely consumed, fresh, jerked, and in soups. Nearly all dishes were highly seasoned with peppers and garlic. Chicken and hard green cheese were common enough, but milk, though in a country occupied by hundreds of thousands of cattle, was not plentiful. Chocolate, being high-priced, was reserved for the few. Drunkenness, in the early times, had little opportunity for indulgence, owing to salutary regulations, which limited the sale of liquors and rendered them costly. Later, there was more of it. According to Pio Pico, brandy was not abundant at the northern missions in 1821, and when any was sent thither from the south, it was as the smile of providence, particularly the brandy of San Fernando, then preferred to any native article. In 1841, there was quite a stir against the sale of spirituous liquors, particularly on holidays and Sundays.

The people at large lived almost entirely on beef, reddish beans, and tortillas. They used but little flour. Corn they ate in the form of tortillas. Beef was frequently cut in slices or strips, and roasted before an open fire on an iron spit. Peppers and beans, as well as the corn, were raised, and the peppers were used to season almost everything.

Pozole was a stew composed of maize, pigs' feet, pumpkin, and peppers. Pinole was flour of roasted maize. It was generally taken in water, with sugar or panocha added. Atole was a thick gruel of maize flour; an atole de pinole, a gruel of pinole. Panocha, so called in different parts of Spanish America, chincate in Mexico, chancaca in Peru, panela in Colombia, was the coarsest of brown sugar in small cakes, moulded

in wooden moulds, without any pretence of clarification.

An early breakfast among the better class might be of good chocolate of Spain, made with milk or water, and taken with bread, tortilla of wheat or maize, with butter (mantequilla). The poorer class breakfasted still earlier, taking milk with pinole, esquite, or roasted maize (tostado). Others ate frijoles, or fried meat, often cooked with chile, onions, tomatoes, and frijoles—a solid meal taken by those who would not eat again until four or five in the afternoon. In lent, the first meal was not taken till 12 o'clock, and the second at 8 P. M. These two meals of noon and night generally consisted of fish, abalone, good colache, made of minced (picado) squash cooked, quelites (field plant) cooked, and mixed with some frijoles. There was no coffee or tea. Coffee was not generally known in California for many years after the settlement of the country.

Lechatoli was a dish of wheat with milk and panocha, or squash with milk and panocha or sugar. Then there was roasted asadera, or curded milk formed like round tortillas, but thicker, cheese, butter-cakes, and cuajadas, or curd. In lent, the supper was of colache, quelite, and beans, with maize tortillas. The women also made a thick tortilla of maize called niscoyote, in which fat was an ingredient in a small quantity, together with sugar, panocha, or honey to sweeten it. There was a way of making the common tortilla last many months by mixing in yucca, and drying in ovens. Thus prepared, they were called totopo, and furnished to campaigning soldiers. Buñuelos were round cakes made of white corn-meal generally, and fried in lard after the manner of doughnuts. Women sent them to their friends at Christmastide, and often, for a joke, would fill them with cotton wool. Buñuelos were much appreciated at that season.

Except in some of the best families, they never set a table, but would go into the kitchen, have the food

taken from the kettles, and passed round in plates. Some had no plates; most people used clay dishes (cajetes) of the same form as common plates. Knives, forks, and spoons of our day were seldom seen, but there were horn spoons and forks; or they would take up the meat and beans with a piece of tortilla, and eat it all together. The knives used were those employed for any purpose. Town and country life were alike.

Green corn, helotes, was a favorite dish with the white men, according to Alvarado. The Indians did not like it, or thought it sat heavy on the stomach. It was eaten roasted, baked, or boiled. It was often an ingredient of the sancocho, a dish of meats, potatoes, and other vegetables, boiled together, and seasoned. The result, besides sancocho, was the olla podrida; in fact, the latter was probably the earlier name in California, but the other was introduced from South America by Bandini, Malarin, Hartnell, and Fitch. Potatoes were unknown until introduced from Oregon.

The board furnished a farm hand at the missions included neither liquor, coffee, nor tea, even after these drinks became common among the better class. Rations were given him weekly, and consisted of as much as he could consume of beef, lard, maize, beans, and lentils. Other things, such as pumpkins, onions, and chiles, the laborer raised on land which he was allowed to make use of.

At the proper season the neophytes were permitted to go out to the forest and gather nuts, seeds, and fruits, to which they were accustomed, and of which they were very fond. This store, with the regular food of the mission crops, made a great abundance. After cattle became plenty, they were killed every Saturday, and enough meat was given to each Indian for eight days.

In Spanish America, the miking of a cow—wherever it happened there was a cow to be milked—generally required the united efforts of three persons. One held the cow by the head; a second held the

reata confining her hind legs, and battled with the hungry calf, while the third milked with one hand, holding the receptacle for it in the other. Milk pails were unknown, and the rancho's assortment of crockery was small, so that, if several cows were milked, all the tumblers, tea-cups, and bowls were brought into requisition. Meanwhile the ranchero, his wife and children, the unoccupied servants, and the stranger within the gates, assisted as spectators. Milk was sold by the bottle. One of the missionaries of San Francisco offered, in 1815, to supply Kotzebue's ship with fresh stores daily, including two bottles of milk, boasting that he was the only man about all San Francisco bay who, after many difficulties, had succeeded in obtaining milk from cows.

Markoff speaks of a supper he partook of at Santa Clara in 1835. "The tea-kettle was brought in, and with it the supper. The Spaniards had been sitting with their hats on during the conversation, and when they seated themselves at the table they did not doff them. Don José's family sat at one table, which was set with various dishes. The first course consisted of hashed meat; and following his example, we also fell to with our spoons over the dish in the centre of the table. In this mess there was so much pepper that my mouth was burning after eating two small pieces, while the Spaniards were attacking it with the greatest gusto...The banquet was concluded with baked apples and plenty of tea. After supper all hands smoked." Duhaut-Cilly, in 1827, said that Californians did not consider venison fit to eat. Híjar assures us that the cow was killed to obtain the calf, which was held to be a succulent morsel, and that only a small portion of the cow was eaten, the rest being left to Indians or beasts. I have it on good authority that among the Hispano-Californians were beings in the form of men who did not scruple, when on a journey, to lasso a vaquilla, cut out the frazada, and let her loose again. This frazada, or fresada as

the illiterate called it, was the meat covering the ribs. Hispano-Californians never took kindly to bear's meat, pork, or even mutton. They liked beef, and were particutarly found of veal, to obtain which they killed the female calf of six months to a year. But their favorite morsel was the frazada, which they would, when in the field, throw upon the hot coals, and turning it once or twice, would eat it half raw with a little salt, of which article they always had some with them. Arnaz says that he tasted the frazadas several times, and his palate never appreciated their vaunted merits, as it always found them tasteless, and tough as sole leather.

Some of them were good cooks. Arnaz even assured us that they could have compared with those served at the celebrated bodas de Camacho so eloquently described by Cervantes in his Don Quixote.

But the aboriginal Californian always liked beef, horse-flesh better, and donkey's meat still more. Poor jack, so despised elsewhere, except when needed for hard, unrequited work, or to breed a hybrid, was here highly appreciated by the native American for his meat. Inocente García relates the following incident. About 1836 he was appointed by Governor Alvarado administrator of San Miguel mission. Before taking possession of his trust he ascertained that the neophytes were in the habit of going out, waylaying travellers to rob them, and stealing horses to eat them, not even those of the mission escaping their depredations. He saw the necessity of checking these abuses, and afterward corrected them. One day, sitting on a bench in the portico of the minister's house, two gentiles from the Tulare region came to see him; they spoke in a dialect which he pretended not to understand, and he called for an interpreter, through whom they asked for food. He gave them some bread. The interpreter went away, but the gentiles stayed. At this moment a vaquero passed by mounted on a fine horse. One of the gentiles

then remarked, "see how fine and fleshy that horse is, so good to eat;" to which the other fellow answered, "Yes, very good indeed; but it could not possibly be so good and so sweet as the young donkey which was sold us last night by the alcalde, Juan, and we ate up at the temascal." García understood them well, and had the temascal searched for the bones of young jack. The Indian's words proved true. This was but one instance, among many, of Indian predilection for asses' meat.

Señora Paz Espínola used to do washing, and besides kept a wooden bench in front of her house where she sold fried fish. For half a real, an Indian or a laborer could buy two or three tortillas and fried fish enough to appease hunger for twelve hours. On feast days, said señora used to move her establishment to the church door, and sell meat pies, well seasoned with chile. For a real she gave two of the empanadas and a glass of apple cider.

There was a somewhat puerile attempt at bread laws by the Monterey ayuntamiento in 1835. The síndico asked for instructions as to the weight and quality of bread. It was agreed that no rules could be made as to the weight, except that persons should be obliged to sell the weight they declared to deliver; and when the quality was bad, they should lose the amount of their baking. If not of bad quality, but fell short in weight, the bread should be disposed of among the prisoners.

"The Californians," says one, "are celebrated for the manufacture of sugared pastry; amongst these are azucarillos, a kind of white biscuit formed from crystallized sugar. It is melted in iced water, and forms a delightful drink, being sweet, with a delicate, aromatic flavor."

They were a great people to make visits to their friends and relatives, the whole family going, and staying a week or a month. Of these visitors, sometimes fifty of them would light upon a place together, when

the tortilla-makers would get no rest day or night. Of a bullock butchered one morning, there would not be enough left for breakfast next morning.

For a long time there was a prejudice against pork, the people refusing even to use lard in their cooking, confining themselves to beef fat. Pigs were only fit to make soap of, they thought. Neither did they care to eat bear, or sheep flesh; beef alone suited them, especially vaquillas six or twelve months old; and they relished roasted meat the best. When a beef was slaughtered, the ribs were quickly bared of the hide, and the *frazada*—the meat on the ribs—cut out. This was thrown on the coals with a sprinkling of salt, and when half cooked was eaten with relish. "I never cared for it," says Arnaz; "it had no taste, and seemed like leather." Roast meat and milk was the usual food of rancheros, with cheese, asaderas, frijoles, and tortillas. But at feasts they could prepare many rich dishes. Women did not eat with the men. Poor people had no tables; they sat on the ground and ate with their fingers.

All mankind will have their alcohol and opium in some form. The California aboriginals had a drink, the *pispibata*, which the padres would not allow them to use, so strong was it, and so deleterious. It was made of powdered calcined shells, wild tobacco juice, and *islais*, or wild cherries, powdered, shaken, and ground, water being added, until it assumed a consistency almost solid. Sometimes maize, or fruit of easy fermentation, was used. The pispibata was a powerful decoction, equal to a mixture of rum, tobacco juice, and opium—if one can imagine what that would be. The horrible mixture prepared, the savages would seat themselves round it, in the hot sun, and dipping the forefinger into the mass they would touch it to their tongue and give a smack of satisfaction. This done two or three times, the participant fell back dead drunk, or dead indeed if a little too much should be

taken. It is said that during the lethargy, the moderate participant seemed to realize his most ardent hopes indulged in while awake, and that though the body was paralyzed, the soul entered the realms of superlative happiness.

In 1834 Gallardo and Arzaga of Sonora petitioned the jefe for permission to erect a brandy distillery near San Felipe, and to have the ten dollars municipal tax removed. This was in June. Before the year had expired, Gamboa y Caballero was granted permission by Figueroa to make mescal brandy for one year between Monterey and San Luis Obispo, but he must pay the municipal dues.

Most of the missions manufactured aguardiente from grapes, apples, and pears. The brandy of San Fernando acquired great reputation in California. Graham had a still on the Vergeles rancho, and used wheat and maize. A bottle of Catalan brandy used to cost twelve reales, or an ox-hide. Gamboa used to fill an empty brandy-keg with water, expose it to the sun for half a day, then put in burnt sugar and ground chile. This he would sell to the savages as brandy; and when they complained that there was no happiness in it, he would say that he had kept it so long it had lost its strength. An alcoholic liquor was obtained from the baked torogüi root, which was crushed, left in earthen pots to ferment, and then heated for distillation.

At San José good wine and brandy were made long before the days of the amorous Naglee. Padre Durán was skilled in this pious industry. His aguardiente was as clear as crystal, or when treated with burnt sugar became of a clear yellow. It was doubly distilled, and as strong as the reverend father's faith.

The wine of pastoral days was made after this manner: Suitable ground was selected, and a desvan or platform placed thereon. This was covered with clean hides, and the grapes piled upon it. Some well-washed Indians, having on only a zapeta, the hair

carefully tied up and hand covered with cloth wherewith to wipe away the perspiration, each having a stick to steady himself withal, were put to treading out the grape juice, which was caught in *coras*, or in leathern bags. These were emptied into a large wooden tub, where the liquid was kept two or three months, under cover of the grape-skins, to ferment. Such as did not flow off was put into wooden presses, and the juice into copper jars, and covered with a kind of hat. Through two or three inserted tubes heat was conveyed to the mass to aid evaporation and condensation These jars served as a still for brandy. For white wine the first juice only was taken and stored.

On the 28th of April, 1840, the assembly passed to the committee the proposition of Gonzalez to prohibit brandy distilling from wheat, maize, and barley, as prejudicial to health; and the introduction thereof from abroad, for this was prejudicial to the agriculturists. The prohibition of wheat, maize, and barley brandy was approved.

In 1843 there were at Santa Bárbara two good stills, and two that were valueless; San Buenaventura had four, two being useless, with eleven barrels of brandy in store; San Antonio had a still worth $100 in 1845, and two wine-presses with some jars, barrels, and tools, worth in all $200.

On the 10th of October, 1845, the prefect writes from Monterey to the secretary of government of the harm done by making aguardiente from grain, as well as the abuses and public scandal caused by its cheapness, and the evil effects to the public health by its use; he thinks the prefecture should not grant licenses for its manufacture. Two years before this, the Monterey prefect had ordered the sub-prefect at San José not to allow the making of liquor from molasses and grains, with an 'órden superior.'

Drunkenness was not common, says Arnaz; the men usually took a mouthful or so of brandy, but few drunken men were seen, although liquor was common

and cheap. Most took wine for dinner at Angeles, where it was made; elsewhere water was used. Drinking was more prevalent in the north, though not excessive there.

On this outskirt of civilization, not to say creation, we find humanity just as insane over the subject of dress and ornamentation of person as in Paris or St Petersburgh, and the men were as silly as the women. There was a great variety of attire present, more among the men than among the women; and to give what everybody says upon the subject may have the appearance of repetition; but in this way only can this variety be intelligently placed before the reader. I arrange my notes on this subject chronologically, to give the sketch the greater historical value. If there are apparent contradictions herein, they must be charged to my authorities, who wrote at different times, and under various circumstances. It is only in listening to them all, however, that we can learn all.

This much may be said by way of preface, that the ordinary orthodox dress of the Californian was a broad-brimmed hat of dark color, gilt or figured band round the crown, lined under the rim with silk; short silk or figured calico jacket; open-necked shirt; rich waiscoat, if any; pantaloons open at sides below the knee, gilt laced, usually of velveteen or broadcloth; or short breeches and white stockings; deer-skin shoes, dark brown, and much ornamented; a red sash round the waist, and poncho or serape. The latter was always a mark of the rank or wealth of the owner, and was of black or dark blue broadcloth, with velvet trimmings down to the coarse blanket poncho of various colors.

Women wore gowns of silks, crape, calicoes, etc., with short sleeves, and loose waist without corset; shoes of kid or satin, sashes or belts of bright colors; and almost always necklace and ear-rings. They had no bonnets, the hair hanging loose or in long braids.

Married women did it up on a high comb. Over the head a large mantle was thrown, drawn close round the face while out of doors. In the house they carried a small scarf or neckerchief, and on top of the head a band with star or ornament in front. This according to Dana in 1835.

The men of 1780, says Amador, soldiers and civilians alike, used knee-breeches of cloth or velveteen—*pana;* it had a flap, called a *tapabalazo,* sometimes narrow, sometimes wide, and the band at the knee was fastened by a buckle of silver or other metal. The stocking was of wool or silk. The jacket was short. The military jacket was also short; the little standing collar—*collarin*—facings—*vueltas*—and braidings or other adornments—*franjas*—were red, as was the waistcoat of cloth. The stock, or *corbatin,* was black and well adjusted, so that the chin remained up.

When the soldier went on service he put on his *cuera.* This was made of seven thicknesses of antelope hide, called *gamuza.* It was a sort of waistcoat, made in three pieces, and was fastened under the arms with thongs of the same material. It fell to the knee, and served as a protection against arrows. He carried also an oval *adarga,* or shield, of ox-hide doubled; on the inside it had a loop for the arm.

The *bota,* or legging, was shaped like a stocking-leg, reached from the ankle to just below the knee, where it was confined by a garter of silk or thread, according to the taste or means of the wearer. The shoe of *berruchi*—a term probably applied to the shape or make of the shoe—came to above the ankle, and outside of the bota, being fastened on the outside. The hat was of wool, low in the crown, broad in the brim, and fastened by means of a cord passing under the chin and called a *barbiquejo.* The dress of the officer was the same as that of the enlisted man, except that the materials were finer. It bore devices indicative of the wearer's rank. The officer in full dress, in 1780, wore a three-cornered hat; and for ordinary service one like

that of the soldier. The officer wore a sword four or five Flemish spans, cuartas flamencas, in length, and having a steel scabbard, which he used as a cane. On a campaign he carried also a lance, a poignard, pistols, and a carbine. The soldiers carried the same offensive arms as the officer on a campaign.

In my collection of state papers relative to early California is a list of two and a half pages, giving the goods and various supplies required for the annual consumption of San José and Los Angeles in 1796. It comprises varieties of silk, woollen, and cotton goods, thread, needles, and scissors. Among the articles of dress are six dozen scarlet silk stockings for women; the prevailing colors of other goods are scarlet and blue. Various implements of agriculture are named; also a considerable supply of carpenters' tools.

A woman of quality, of this period, when she paid or received visits, or on festive occasions, would appear in a white skirt with an embroidered hem of four fingers in width; over this another of a silky stuff called *sarga*, and blue, green, or black in color; a low shoe with a buckle of silver or other metal, the heel being of moderate height; silken stockings, black or red; a *rebozo* of silk or thread; a necklace of pearls—or rather an imitation of them. In the house, occupied in domestic duties, she wore a white skirt of a coarse linen fabric called *crea*, and over it a colored skirt of an inferior kind of sarga of color. The poor woman dressed in the same way as the rich, except that her skirt was of a very coarse bayeta, or flannel, a coarse woollen stuff, generally red or blue.

In the San José archives is written that in 1804, at Monterey, Comandante de la Guerra, with great pain, had noticed that the uniform, by which the grace of so many monarchs had desired to distinguish that portion of their loyal vassals who serve under their banners, had in this jurisdiction become not only despicable, but even ridiculous, on account of the number of paisanaje, or civilians, who had shamelessly adopted the same,

without any privilege other than their own fancy. To correct this abuse, he prohibited thenceforth to civilians of any class the wearing of any insignia or adornment of those used by the troops—especially the cuffs, collarin, or edging of the collar, and the solapa or lapels of a red color, which said civilians have heretofore notably affected. Any one who hereafter might be seen with any of these appendages should have them taken away, and should suffer eight days' arrest in the calabozo. A repetition of the offence would be punished according to the condition and circumstances of the offender. All which was published by bando, and corporals of escoltas were charged with carrying out the order.

In 1816 Amador says: "I came to wear trousers made of deer-skin, which, well made and having a silver braid down the side, were worth $12." This was during the scarcity.

The dress of the women at Governor Sola's inauguration ball in 1816 was the same style as had been used by the first families nearly half a century before—an enagua of fine white muslin, almost transparent, coming down half-way from knee to foot, ornamented with spangles of gold and floreado, all round, presenting a very striking appearance in the light of lamps, torches, and candles.

Hair in front was cut short and came down to the middle of the forehead; this front, or as a modern girl would say, bang, was then called the tupé. A lock on each side, called balcarras, hung down to the cheek; the rest of the hair was gathered up behind in black or colored silk net. A close-fitting jacket of silk joined the enagua at the waist, and was buttoned or hooked up to the neck. Flesh-colored silk stockings, low shoes of white satin, pendants and dormilonas, very long ear-drops, and strings of Lower California pearls round the neck, were worn; also a wide scarlet ribbon round the waist, whose ends fell to the bottom of the skirt, with a gold plate five or six inches wide

terminating each end. There was also a rebozo of silk of different colors. Street shoes, or zapatos de patillo, had high heels made of light wood. This dress seems to have been different from that worn in Mexico; for Governor Sola is said to have regarded it as a novelty; and he was much gratified to find here revived the costume of ancient Castilian women, which recalled the scenes of his youth. What a reflection on damsels and dames all the time imagining they were conquering in the latest cut and fit of their clothes!

In 1816–18, when no goods came from Mexico on account of the war for independence, the women, rich and poor alike, made use of the *jerga*, a very coarse woollen stuff woven at the missions, and were glad to get it, holding it as the finest muslin. Those who were able bought wool and sent it to be knitted into stockings by the Mexicans or Indians; the poor wore the stockings which nature gave them. The jerga was currently known as muselina de las misiones, or mission muslin.

The officers, who of all others were best able to obtain clothes, had only a collar and shirt front fastened to the inside of the waistcoat by means of a buttonhole to the flap. The back of the waistcoat was next the skin, for the wearer had no shirt. Some of the soldiers wore a shirt made of the jerga at the missions; others wore their old shirts patched until frayed into mere threads. In fact, the troops were almost naked. Almost all were shoeless. Many even mounted guard with bare feet and the body wrapped in a blanket. Nevertheless, they served contentedly, so great was their affection for their officers!

The same condition of things existed throughout California. The women dressed in garments of jerga; occasionally one had a chemise of manta, or cotton goods, but the nagua or skirt was always of jerga. The wives of officers made out to do with indiana, as the printed cotton stuff was called, and sarga. For

slippers they used coletilla, a coarse unbleached hempen stuff, or paño—cloth—when obtainable.

Before Echeandia's arrival, observes Machado, the dress was a shirt of cotton or other fabric, vest without facings (chaleco sin voltear) reaching to the waist of different color, the troops using blue. Over the chaleco went the chupin, which was a levita with lappets, and bright red braiding, also round the neck. This was the soldiers' fashion; but the rest wore nearly the same, the color varying according to taste.

Short pants of cloth, coleta, drill, or other stuff, the troops using paño. They reached to the knee, where they opened to the outside, with lapels to both sides, and with six buttons on each side. The fine hats from Spain were kept with care. The common palm hats were made by Indians.

Speaking of 1824, Torre says that the women dressed nearly all alike, whatever their position, except that those who were better off used finer textures. The customary dress was blue indianas or coleta for work-days; on festival days muslins and other finer material. Petticoats were trimmed with blue silk and black bodice, the sleeves coming to half-way between the elbow and forearm. They had a purple or scarlet belt around the waist, and a black or other colored kerchief around the neck fastened with pins across the breast. The hair was neatly combed into a single plait which hung down the back, the plait set off with various colored ribbons according to taste. Women of superior pretensions dressed the hair like ordinary women until the fashions came, and aristocratic distinctions became more marked. Their shoes were of calf-skin, blue coleta, or satin, with silk or cotton stockings. A silk or cotton rebozo covered the head and part of the face when they went out into the street. When mounted on horseback it was carried tied to the left side.

Lugo places upon women of this period short skirts fastened about the waist. Their upper garment was

a short-sleeved chemise, which came to a little below the waist. Beneath this skirt they wore another of bayeta—a coarse, heavy flannel—and under this another of material coarse or fine, according to their means. This latter skirt very poor women did not wear. On feast days the well-to-do women wore jackets of velvet, cloth, or satin. About 1830 women began to use combs of tortoise-shell, or other less costly material. They wore low shoes, with or without heels, the latter called de resbalon, and were used at balls. Women wore hats only when they rode to some distant place.

Soldiers dressed like civilians, except that on their jackets were their insignia, and when they went on an expedition they wore the cuera, which was a kind of waistcoat of many thicknesses of antelope-skin, and in the exterior seams had a welt of green cloth. This cuera was used by the cavalry de cuera only.

He who could buy them wore stockings, but many had neither shoes nor socks, because unable to purchase them. Men's neckerchiefs were frequently embroidered at the ends like lace.

When mounted, the men often wore two pieces of well-tanned deer-skin, very soft, stitched to a narrow belt of the same skin, which was tied round the waist; each of these fell over the thigh below the knee, and was fastened underneath with small thongs. These were called armitas, and were used when they entered the corrals to lasso cattle, the armitas protecting the breeches from the chafing of the rope. Others somewhat similar were worn, called armas, made of goat-skin, tanned with the hair on. At the narrowest part they were fastened to a belt of skin to tie round the waist, and hung down to the tapadera of the stirrups. The armas afforded shelter from the rain, and from the brambles and chamise; they were also useful for sleeping in when obliged to camp out.

At Los Angeles, Duhaut-Cilly remarks that the

men alone wear a dress that can be termed national, and adapted to their life on horseback. Short breeches of dark cloth or velvet, terminating at the knee with gold or silver galloon, but not buttoned. The open breeches permit a view of the edge of the wide white drawers descending half-way down the leg, covering partly white stockings, which are loose, for tight and drawn-up stockings would be ridiculed. The doublet worn as a sobretodo, or surtout, is usually of the same material as the breeches, without collar, but adorned with a red flounce and facing. Its many metal buttons are not for use, nor are the laps big enough to cover the chest.

As they use no braces, the white shirt peeps out between trousers and vest. To avoid this, a red faja or sash is wound round the waist. Their shoes or short boots are laced over the foot. The upper-leather is divided lengthwise in two parts, one yellow, the other brown—rather tasteful. At the heel of the shoes a fringed piece of leather projects, serving to support the big spurs.

When on horseback they wear the leg enveloped in leggings called gamuzas; of this they are most proud, and the manner of enveloping the calf is an esteemed art. Woe to him who allows the form of the leg to be seen! The shoe is besides tightly fixed around the leg by a cord of silk and gold worked by his lady-love. Hats are usually of felt, flat and broad-brimmed. A mantle is worn in cold weather, and consists of a piece of cloth with an opening for the head, called a poncho, or mangas, in different parts of Spanish America. This dress wants neither grace nor dignity, but the chief advantage is the freedom of limbs it allows.

The dress of the women is more ridiculous, being a strange mixture of California and foreign styles. When seeking to imitate the Mexican fashion they go to the extreme of extravagance, so as to make gravity difficult to observe. Few are content with

simple home fashions. A certain set who had introduced about 1826 an extreme in Parisian bonnets, like small baskets or melons, were dubbed cabezas melones. The women of good families, remarks Serrano, speaking of the next decade, dressed with much plainness and modesty, the chief characteristics being the exceeding cleanliness of their linen at all great gatherings, whether at church or at the frequent picnics. At the dances so frequently given at private houses, and to which indiscriminate entrance was not allowed, the females appeared not only well dressed, but with good display. Some days before a large party, the women used to put their heads together and agree upon what dress they would wear, what kind of stuff, its color, and trimmings, and color of the shoes; this was that they might appear very charming from the harmony of their dress and ornaments. The material on these occasions was sometimes silk, or very fine lawn or linen, the stockings being usually silk, and shoes of the very finest satin. It was a low shoe of a single sole; some were white, others dark blue or coffee-color; and there were the very whitest and finest lace kerchiefs over the shoulders, covering the upper part of the breast. Necklaces, ear-rings, and rings of gold were abundant; the hair was dressed according to the fashion of the period, with fine tortoise-shell openwork combs and a golden band.

They wore other adornments, such as flowers, belt, and ribbons in great variety.

The daily female foot-wear consisted of thread stockings, and strong, black leather shoes, or of morocco leather. Their dresses were usually of calico or merino, with long sleeves down to the hand, and neck close to the throat; the skirt being extremely wide, and reaching to the instep without touching the ground. The breast was covered with a fine and pretty silk kerchief, flowered, in different colors; the hair-dressing consisted in separating their beautiful tresses in two equal parts, and forming a plait of

each interlaced with ribbons of some dark shade; these plaits were crossed in opposite directions, and wound round the upper part of the head, terminating on the top, at the back part, and thereon was placed a black or coffee-colored velvet bow. While occupied in household duties, to protect this from dust the head was covered with a good-sized silk kerchief of different colors, arranged in graceful folds, so as to give it the appearance of a coquettish little cap. The general mode of dress of all classes was modest and simple.

The women's hat when on horseback—for only then they wore one—was of felt, very high, less than two inches of brim, wider above than below—looked like a sugar loaf. Before putting on the hat, a handkerchief bordered with different colored silk was laid on the head, which covered the back, front, and part of the cheeks, and was fastened by a pin under the chin.

This was the dress usually worn in former times; later came in the fashion of the tunic, which was a narrow sack without sleeves, with only loops for the arms. This tunic was called the medio paso, for it was so narrow the woman could scarcely walk. Small sleeves were worn to cover the arms, with a strap behind and in front to keep them up; the one in front was buttoned. Such an arrangement was very inconvenient. This tunic was the only change that took place in a long time. Afterward came wide tunics, buttoned behind with wide sleeves—mangas de monjas. So successive changes were introduced, varying until the arrival of the Mexican colony in 1834; and as intercourse with the outside world became more frequent, there was little difference between the dress of California females and those of other countries

The cavalry soldier's carbine was carried in the leather cover of the saddle; the lock was enveloped in a piece of chamois, and was moreover enveloped in a fox-skin bag, the whole fixed in the saddle cover, leaving

the tail and part of the fox's legs outside. A shield hung at one side of the saddle bow. The soldier also carried a lance and sword, a cartridge-box on the belt, at one side of which was a little pocket for spare flints. The shield was of several hides, slightly convex in front, with armlet inside so as to cover nearly the whole front of the rider without preventing the use of his fire-arm. The infantry arms were musket and bayonet, with cross-belts, one to carry the bayonet, the other the cartridge-pouch. The artillery carried a carbine and short sword.

The presidio companies wore the following: The hat was the usual wide-brimmed one with the crown de la panocha; instead of the parti-colored ribbons, it had a silk cord with tassels hanging on the brim. The hair in a plait with a piece of ribbon at the end, green or red; a kerchief loose around the neck, falling over the breast, adorned with spangles; cotton or linen shirt and black cloth jacket with scarlet facings. The vest was of stuff called coleta, yellow and bordered in front with black silk. One or two sashes of different colors passed around the stomach; some put a woman's cotton scarf or a sash of blue coleta of a third of a vara wide. Short breeches of cloth with bragueta, a fall or flap in front, fastened with a large silver or copper button. These were open on the outside of the leg for about a third of a vara above the knee. In this opening were a row of buttons on one side and holes on the other; the breeches reached a little below the knee, having at the extremity about an inch breadth of gold lace; pockets on each side called bolsicos; below the breeches were wide linen or cotton drawers. White cotton or woollen stockings; chamois riding-leggings reaching down to the instep, sewed a little at the heel, and otherwise open behind; they were in several folds tied with silken garters, hand-wrought and adorned with spangles, scales, and tassels, which hung upon the leg below the knee; the shoe, which was called del berruchi, opened

on the outside, where it was fastened with a thong; the shoe came up to the instep, and the leggings went inside, and over the shoe fell a flap of the same chamois.

On service a soldier had a thick cuera de gamuza stitched; this was a kind of short sack which reached to the knees with a button to fasten it at the neck a little below the throat; on the left shoulder was a button whereon to hang the hat when the soldier went to mass without arms. The officers appeared in black pantaloons with low waistband, rather wide, de tapabalazo ancho, a broad flap across the front, and a pocket on each side, a short jacket or frock of black cloth with lace appointments and epaulets according to rank. When in full dress they wore a three-cornered hat, and also a cuera when on field duty. Citizens wore a similar dress to that of the soldiers, excepting the cuera and military distinctions.

The full dress of the artillery was white, a short buttoned-up coat called huácaro, with blue facing; a mameluke of cotton or linen stuff; a wide scarlet sash; half-boots open in front, tied with a thong; on the head a kind of cap with tricolor pompon the shape of the Mexican flag; a waistcoat of white cotton buttoned to the throat. Officers wore a red coat with green facing, white pantaloons with wide flap; sometimes light blue pantaloons with broad gold lace on the outer seam; a purple velvet waistcoat or of scarlet cloth. When dressed in white the waistcoat was scarlet; when the coat was scarlet they wore blue pantaloons and purple waistcoat. Infantry, full-dress coat, dark blue cloth, scarlet facings; pantaloons, blue cloth with red piping down the seam; waistcoat of same cloth, tall chaco with pompon. Officers wore the same uniform, with only the difference of the lace on the pantaloons, shoulder-straps and facings, and coat and vest.

The affairs of the nation were insignificant as compared with the importance of the caballero's trappings.

The bit was very rude and heavy, and suspended by narrow leather bands dyed black. The reins were woven of very narrow strips of calf-skin, the same as the lazo; they were very long, and to the end was attached a long whip (látigo) plaited in a similar manner, and which terminated in two pointed ends; the bridle (head-stall) that supported the bit was called the cabezadas, and this as well as the reins was adorned by the poorer classes with buttons and silver buckles, and by the rich with ornaments of the same metal engraved or in relief (ya grabados, ó ya calados), the same kind of adornment was on the monturas (saddles) and spurs. The montura, or saddle, should consist of an immense wooden saddle-tree, whose colossal rounded head served to hold the lasso when a horse or bull was caught. This saddle-tree was secured to the back of the horse by a broad band made fast to the lower part by strong strips of hide passing under the belly to the other side of the saddle, which had an iron ring and buckle. There was a leather band made fast to the tree to save the horse from being chafed. Under the tree were placed one or two blankets, called sudaderos, doubled several times; the tree was covered with a broad sheet of leather having two openings, one for the head of the tree, the other for the cantle, the ends hanging down over both sides of the horse; this cover was called a mochilla, and upon it was set another somewhat larger, the coraza. This was handsomely set off with embroidery-work called talabartería, such as birds, flowers, or other tasty patterns; also through little holes pierced in it could be seen pieces of silk or cloth of various colors. This second cover was rather costly, as it was also bordered with silk or gold and silver thread, and it was not used on work-days. When travelling, over these two covers was placed a third, also finely adorned, and at the sides in front were two pockets, cubos, of leather with covers, like holsters, the covers secured by a strap and buckle, broche, of the same material. These holsters served

to carry food, or anything else too large to be carried in the coat pocket. At the back of the saddle-tree to cover the croup of the horse, and tie with thongs a maleta with clothes or the serape doubled, was placed a large piece of leather in semicircular shape, or like the tail of a bird. This was fastened to the saddle-tree with thongs, and was called an anquera. The stirrups were made of coarsely wrought oak, hung from the saddle-tree by leather straps called arzones; the front of the stirrups were each covered with two rounds of leather, over which was another piece of triangular shape. These three pieces were called the tapaderas, and were so large as almost to touch under the horse's belly. The enormous spurs had four or six long sharp rowels, under the infliction of which the poor beast suffered the tortures of the inquisition.

Blas Peña, born at Monterey in 1823, says that in his day men wore corduroy or cloth breeches, jackets, broad-brimmed, low-crowned hats, placing around the crown a girdle of silver or gold thread, or simply of beads, commonly called *chaquiras*, but to which the missionaries gave the name of paternosters. In rainy weather the hat was covered with a thin yellow oil-cloth. Top-boots were common, botas de ala ó de talon, of chamois-skin or leather, most of them being made in the country, the upper part secured with silk ribbons of various colors. They also wore berruchi shoes, and another kind called *zapatones*, a large clumsy affair. The berruchi were tied on the outer side, the zapatones on the middle of the foot, with thin straps or with strings.

Some of the men wore short breeches, reaching down to the knee only, open about six inches on the outer side, where were buttons of silver, or of some base metal, according to the wearer's means. They had falls which were closed with a fine silver button, or with one of copper if the wearer could not afford the former. The buttons used by the wealthy had the

Mexican eagle stamped on them. The breeches were secured round the waist with a handsome silk or crape sash, which was further ornamented with tassels of gold or silver thread, the ends hanging on either side, or both on one side, but never in the middle. Men were likewise accustomed to wear cloth sleeves of blue, coffee-color, or black, with silk or velvet cuffs, round which was silver or gold thread wound. The hair was braided like that of the Chinese, but never increased by any false hair. In 1840 they began to leave off these cues, and cut the hair short behind, leaving it long in front. This way of dressing the hair went by the name of *peinado de furia*, the fury fashion of carrying the hair.

Women in former times braided the hair in one piece, and twisted it round the top of the head, which fashion was called *peinado del molote*, the molote being held by a comb made of horn, or of tortoise shell, according to the pecuniary means of the wearer. The American captain, Fitch, in one of his voyages from Peru, brought four tortoise-shell combs, which he sold at $600 each, one of them being purchased by José de la Guerra y Noriega for his wife, one by Mariano Estrada, another by Joaquin Maitorena, who shortly afterward was elected a deputy to the national congress, and Vallejo the last one.

Until six or eight years of age, children wore short shirts. From an early day, boys whose parents could afford it indulged in trousers of cloth. After that age they wore pantaloons of jerga, or bayeton, or coleta—chiefly the last. Children of wealthy parents wore shoes, but generally a boy put on shoes only after he could earn them. More pains were taken with regard to girls' shoes. It was rare to see a boy of less than 12 or 14 years with a hat.

The following was the way in which a rich young man of Los Angeles was dressed on his wedding day, in 1842. Yellow hat of vicuña wool, with abundance of glass-seed beads; the under-part of the brim nearly

covered with silver lace. The jacket easy set, of green satin, with large flaps of the same material, its buttons being of Mexican pesetas with the eagle stamp on the exterior. The waist-coat of yellow satin with the pocket flaps buttoned up with gold dollars. Broad breeches of red velvet to the knees, held with silver buckles. The buttons of the breeches flap, plainly visible being also pesetas. On these buttons, the one known as the atrancador exhibited a motto in these words, "No me saques sin razon, ni me metas sin honor." A buckskin boot of the natural color, bound to the knee where the breeches ended, with green silk ribbons forming a flower, and with tassels from which depended little figures of cats, dogs, puppets, etc., made of seed-glass beads, interpolated with embellishments of gold and silver thread. Where the boot-leg ended began the shoe, which was sharp-pointed and turned upwards, with tinsel ornaments, most of them in the form of roses. The manga was of sky-blue cloth of the finest quality, with red lining; the opening for the head was lined with black velvet, and was oval-shaped, with silver galloon all round it, and fringed. The hair in three braids fell upon the jacket; at the end was a large flower of green ribbon. To light his cigarette he used a mechero, or cotton twist burnt at one end, with a steel piece and a flint-stone weighing about an ounce; from the mechero hung an ornament of beads, beautifully made. This mecha or tinder was perfumed with Peruvian balsam.

The bride of about eighteen, a brunette, was brisk in her movements. She wore a dress of yellow satin, adorned in the lower part with green ribbons; white satin shoes with the points turning upward, flesh colored stockings, black handkerchief round the head, a triangular shawl, and artificial flowers.

Lugo, who in his *Vida de un Ranchero*, writes of 1824, says that most of the men bound around the head a black silken handkerchief, some tying it behind, others over the forehead. Over this was placed a

hat of the fashion we now use. It was always secured by a barbiquejo, or throat-strap, of antelope-skin, or of silken ribbon, which latter mode was in vogue among such as were in comfortable circumstances. He who affected a dashing style wore his hat cocked on one side, or tilted far back on the head. The hats in general use were called poblanos, because they came from Puebla in Mexico, and were low in the crown and rather broad of brim. Some of fine vicuña wool were bought only by the officers, or men of means. Some hats were of leather, and others, which were made by the Indians, of palm-leaves. The botas, which may be translated leggings, were of antelope-skin—a whole skin, less the legs, forming one bota—from the neck of the animal downward. The skin reached to just below the ankle, and was sewn for a short distance at the lower end. Most men used the whole width of the skin, but some doubled it into two, others into three folds. The bota was secured by a strap, a ribbon or a garter woven of silk intermingled gold and silver thread spangles and escarchi (gold and silver twist, such as is used in epaulettes). The bota was well and elaborately stamped or worked (dibujada), and bound on the edges. The shoes were of calf-skin, embroidered with white thread of the maguey; came up to the ankle only; were open on the outside that the foot might be introduced, the opening being closed by a flap bound with some colored material, and fastened with black leathern straps or silken cords. Men of means wore about the neck a whole silken handkerchief—black generally. A man's hair was seldom cut —never, were he a soldier. His hair was combed back and parted in the middle. It was then tied as high on his head as possible, and in three strands, braided into a sort of cue which hung down the back like those of the Chinese. At last the soldiers were forced to cut their hair. The women wore the hair in the same fashion—except that their ears

were concealed. The face was clean-shaven, except the part covered by a whisker from the temple to the edge of the lower jaw. Generally men shaved every four or five days; but some did so only on Saturday night or Sunday morning—in order to present themselves clean of face at mass.

The full dress uniform of the frontier soldier was that in use from the earliest days of the conquest. All the horses were large and of one color. The soldiers wore their *cueras*, or leather jackets, being a sleeveless sack, or surtout, sewed and quilted, with four or five dressed sheep-skins, finely tanned, of a yellowish color, and so thick that the Indian arrows could not easily penetrate them. They had also an *adarga*, or shield, made of the thickness of two ox-hides, untanned; they were oval-shaped, and of about 100 inches in circumference. Inside of it was a strap, through which the soldier put his left arm. The face of the shield was well varnished, and the king's arms painted on it. The flint-lock gun was carried in a sack of well-tanned cow-hide, embroidered on the outside, laid across the pommel of the saddle, and was well covered to protect it from the rain. They used also a long lance, or spear, with a flexible filbert-wood pole. A cartridge-box attached to the waist contained the powder and ball; five days' provisions were carried in bags at the saddle bow; a cow-hide covering extended from the waist to below the knee, to protect the legs from rain and from shrubs; the trousers were quite short, reaching only to the knee, and from there was visible a boot of chamois leather that covered the legs. The hat was low-crowned; the soldier wore his hair long, and flowing on the back on gala-days.

A California dragoon's dress, as Beechey saw it, was a round, blue cloth jacket, with red cuffs and collar, blue velvet breeches unbuttoned at the knees, showing white cotton stockings, cased over half-way in deer-skin boots; a black hat, with very wide

brim and low crown, kept in order by its own weight; a profusion of dark hair, which met behind and dangled half-way down the back in a thick cue. A long musket, with fox-skin round the lock, was balanced on the pommel of the saddle; the bull's-hide shield still had the Spanish arms; a double-fold deer-skin cuirass covered the body. The feet were armed with a tremendous pair of iron spurs, secured by metal chains, and were thrust into enormous wooden, box-shaped stirrups.

The dress of the middle class of females in 1829, says Robinson, "is a chemise with short embroidered sleeves, richly trimmed with lace, a muslin petticoat flounced with scarlet, and secured at the waist by a silk band of the same color, shoes of velvet or blue satin, a cotton rebozo or scarf, pearl necklace and ear-rings, with the hair falling in broad plaits down the back. Others of the higher class dress in the English style, and instead of the rebozo, substitute a rich and costly shawl of silk or satin. . . . Short clothes and jacket trimmed with scarlet, a silk sash about the waist, botas of ornamented and embroidered deer-skin, secured by colored garters, embroidered shoes, the hair long, braided, and fastened behind with ribbons, a black silk handkerchief around the head, surmounted by an oval and broad-brimmed hat, is the dress universally worn by the men of California."

Tomás Yorba, proprietor of the rancho de Santa Ana, between San Gabriel and San Juan Capistrano, wore upon his head a black silk handkerchief, the four corners hanging down behind. "An embroidered shirt, cravat of white jaconet tastefully tied, a blue damask vest, short clothes of crimson velvet, a bright green cloth jacket, with large silver buttons, and shoes of embroidered deer-skin." On some occasions, such as a feast day or festival, his display exceeded in value a thousand dollars.

After 1832–3 the dress of the men was modified. Calzoneras came into fashion. The calzoneras are

pantaloons with the exterior seam open throughout its length. On the upper edge was a strip of cloth—red, blue, or black—in which were the button-holes. On the other edge were eyelet-holes for the buttons. In some cases the calzonera was sewn from the hip to the middle of the thigh, in others buttoned. From the middle of the thigh downward the leg was covered by the bota, used by every one, whatever his dress.

Gomez states that up to 1834, when the colony came, the dress was a big green silk kerchief tied round the head, the knot in front; another kerchief wrapped the neck; a blue wide chaleco, partly open below to exhibit a belt of crimson silk—often two or three belts—a blue jacket adorned with big metal buttons; short, wide breeches secured at the knees; boots of deerskin like polainas—spatterdashers or leggings—secured with colored silk bands, adorned with mottoes in silk and beads; shoes clasped in front—abrochados—a wide-brimmed hat, low crowned, and small opening secured by a string—barbiquejo. In the wide pockets of the jacket a silk handkerchief was carried. The braided hair fell over the shoulder.

And thus Peña: The men wore braids like Chinese, but without adding false hair. In 1840 this form was abandoned for short hair, very short behind, leaving it very long—largo—in front. This was termed de furia. The women formerly used one braid, later two. The single braid was coiled on the crown, and this was termed del molote. A comb of horn or tortoise kept it in place.

Coronel, in 1834, describes the underskirts of the women as elaborately and tastefully embroidered. The clothing of the men who could afford it was made by the women of the family. The jacket, of cloth, with many button-holes worked round the edges, was bound with ribbon or cloth and elaborately stitched. The waistcoat, of cloth or silk, was also elaborately stitched with silks of divers colors, the button-holes also being

elaborately worked with the same. The *manga,* or riding-jacket, adorned at the wrist with cloth, velvet, or fringe, was also made by the women, as were the *ataderas,* or garters, used by the men to keep up the legs of their boots, and which were woven of silk with beads in the figures of animals, fruit, etc. The skirts of the men were also embroidered.

The dress of a señora of some means was a *túnico,* or gown, the skirt very narrow and *de medio paso,* before mentioned, that is, so small in circumference at the bottom that the wearer could take but half a step at a time, made of gauze or of silk, with the waist very high in the neck and close fitting. This was adorned with ribbons and the like according to the taste of the wearer. Underneath the skirt was worn another of red flannel. On the shoulders was a rebozo of the shape of the Spanish mantilla, and on the feet low shoes of divers materials. The hair was drawn smoothly and tightly to the back of the head, and plaited in a single braid, which was tied above by a ribbon, and below ended in a rosette or bow, also of ribbon. A kerchief of silk was worn about the neck, the ends being knotted in front. Some women used the *camorra,* a black silken shawl coquettishly disposed about the head and shoulders.

The men wore breeches which reached almost to the knee. The exterior seam was open for about six inches from the bottom, the edges being bound with ribbon, cloth, or braid, and ornamented with four or six buttons of silver or some other metal. The opening in front of the breeches was secured by a single button of silver about the size of a silver dollar. The waistcoat was of cloth, velvet, silk, or cotton stuff, came well down over the belly, and was capriciously adorned. The jacket was of like materials, but larger, and was similarly adorned. The botas, a sort of legging which had heels, were made each of the entire skin of a deer tanned and dyed black or red, and was tooled or embroidered with silk capriciously. A strap passed under the bottom of the foot. From the top

the bota was doubled over until it came to just below the knee, where it was confined by the *atadera*, or garter. The shoe was made of tanned calf or buckskin in four or six pieces, each being of two colors, red and black, the piece going over the instep being embroidered with silk or thread of maguey. The sole of the shoe was of tanned ox-hide, single, so that it might be flexible, allowing the foot to cling to the stirrup, and ending in a point which turned up over the toe and protected the leather of the shoe from the stirrup. The shoe so made was called del berruchi. The hat, broad in the brim and round as to the crown, was of wool, and kept on the head by means of a ribbon two inches wide passing under the chin, and ornamented below the chin by a great rosette. Almost all the men bound a large black handkerchief about the head after the manner of the lower classes in Andalusia.

On the arrival, in the Híjar colony, of women from the city of Mexico, fashionable females exchanged their narrow skirts for more flowing garments, and abandoned the braided hair for the coil, and the large combs till then in use for smaller combs. The poorer women, and in general old women, from the waist down dressed in an underskirt only, dispensing with the gown—the material being according to the means of the wearer—and a chemise with sleeves coming below the elbow. The neck and breast were covered by a black handkerchief, of silk or cotton, doubled corner-wise, the corner being secured at the back and the two points passing over the shoulders and covering the neck and breast, and fastened at the waist by pins. The poorer women retained and continually wore the rebozo of linen or cotton. Their shoes, made by a member of the family or other relative, were called del berruchi, for the sole ended in a turned-up point, and another point at the heel. All women of means wore stockings, for it was deemed immodest to allow more than the face and hands to be uncovered. Sheets and pillow-cases were embroidered, more or

less elaborately, and as stuffs were costly, they were mended and remended as long as possible.

At the missions were kept a great store of woollen cloths, blankets, serapes, jergas, etc., and at length some of them manufactured sayal and paño good enough for clothes for the missionaries. Formerly no gente de razon went without shoes; but the cholos of Micheltorena introduced the custom of wearing sandals of rawhide, protecting the feet from stones, but not against the hot sun.

In the Vallejo documents are some satirical verses of Buelna entitled, Paquete que se andan dando—Dandies arriving—in bad rhyme and worse grammar, addressed to the first native rancheros who wore levitas, frock-coats, and tirantes, or suspenders.

"On arriving from Mexico in 1834," says Híjar, "I was surprised to see the men with hair as long as that of the women, worn in a braid over the back, or gathered in the crown of the hat."

When he went on an Indian expedition, or when in the military service, the Californian added to his usual riding-dress the cuera, a long overcoat made of seven thicknesses of antelope-hide stitched together, which covered the body from the neck to the knees, and protected the wearer against arrows. He also carried on his left arm a concavo-convex oval shield—adarga—the convex side outward. His arms consisted of an old flint-lock escopeta, occasionally a lance, sometimes pistols, these latter rarely, and only for officers. Generally all carried the Spanish Toledan rapier. The same arms and equipment were used by military men, who were however distinguished by their insignia and devices. The knife was an article of prime necessity, and was carried in a sheath stuck in the garter on the outside of the right leg. The sword, although not of much use to civilians, was carried by all mounted men, and was fastened on the left-hand side of the saddle, under the leg.

Markoff, at San Francisco about 1835, thus de-

scribes the rig of Señor Castro, the alcalde, on his visit to that place: "He rode in a long blue velvet cloak, with a small cape of the same color, resembling a woman's pelerine, embroidered and trimmed with yellow velvet. Beneath the cloak a petticoat or short skirt was visible, held together by a wide silk scarf, from which a beautiful dagger protruded. A black felt hat and long black mustaches gave his face a martial and severe expression." At this time the women wore slipper-shaped shoes of satin or buck-skin, with heels; they were fond of jewelry; had each as many silk dresses as she could afford. Bernardo Yorba, of Santa Ana, had 150 dress patterns of silk and satin of the finest sort, and whenever a son or daughter married, to the bride was given a trunk full of dresses worth $80 or $100 each.

A custom which called my attention in Santa Bárbara in 1840, says Arnaz, was the camorra of the women—a black silk kerchief, folded into a band of about two inches in width, tied round the forehead, into a knot under the nape. This gave the Santa Bárbara women a different appearance from others in southern California, and all there used it.

Wealthy women wore pearl or gold bead necklaces; aretes or coquetas of gold, diamond rings, and the like.

The shoes of the men were often of gamuza, embroidered with gold and silver thread. The women had silken shoes for balls, but cotton shoes for ordinary wear. People sometimes bought ready-made clothing, but generally purchased the cloth, made it up themselves into the style of dress desired.

Sir Simpson, of the honorable Hudson's Bay Company, found the women of California in 1844 wearing a short gown, displaying a neat foot and ankle with white stockings and black shoes; a handkerchief on the head concealed all the hair, except a single loop on either cheek; the shoulders were swathed in a shawl, and over all when they walked out was the "beautiful and mysterious mantilla."

The dress of the men was more showy and elaborate: a broad-brimmed hat tied round with parti-colored cord or handkerchief; a shirt usually of the finest linen, with a profusion of lace and embroidery on the breast; a cotton or silk jacket of the gayest hues, with frogs on the back and numerous buttons on breast and cuffs; the pantaloons split on the outside from the hip to the foot with a row of buttons on either edge of the opening, which is laced nearly down to the knee; and a silken belt round the waist serving the purpose of braces. Under the pantaloons peer out full linen drawers, with boots of untanned deer-skin, the one on the right leg invariably forming a scabbard for a knife.

Heeled boots, de ala ó de talon, were used of deer or calf skin, and chiefly made in California. The upper part of the boot was secured with silk bands of various colors. The shoes were called berruchi and zapatones. The berruchis were laced on the side, the zapatones in the centre of the foot with cords or thongs. When women went out to ride, Serrano says, they put on the head a broad sun cloth, white or colored, and ornamented at the four corners with embroidery of silk, gold, silver, or beads. This was intended to keep the face cool by its flapping; over it was placed a wide straw hat as a protection from the sun; at the right side she carried her silk shawl or rebozo, a part of the dress that is highly esteemed and great care taken of.

It was regarded as ill-bred to expose the ears, and so the long hair was allowed to cover them. Says the *Californian*, in April 1847: "For a month past the question has been agitated among the women, Shall they, or shall they not, adopt the use of bonnets? From present indications the ayes have it. Who will supply them?"

At Angeles twenty-six years later we find a bride-groom at a fashionable wedding dressed in a yellow hat of vicuña-skin, adorned with heavy bands of cha-

quira beads of different colors, with tufts of the same material, the falda or skirt almost covered below with heavy silver galloons. A wide chaqueta, or jacket, of green satin, with large flaps, was ornamented with buttons of Mexican pesetas, the eagle on the face. Vest of yellow satin, with pockets de cartera, buttoned with gold escuditos, worth $1 each, eagle facing outward. Wide breeches of red velvet were sometimes seen, reaching to the knees, where they were fastened by silver hebillas on the side. The bragueta, which revealed itself at every movement, was set with pesetas, one of which, of copper and very large, called atrancador, bore an inscription which decency forbids a mention of here. Some of the people displayed botas of deer-skin, of natural color, reaching to the knee, where they were secured with green silk bands, tied in a rose, with pendants holding figures of cats, dogs, dolls, etc., of chaquira beads and gold and silver thread, called aliños. Where the botas ended began the shoe, which was pointed upwards, with colgaduras covered with tinsel figures, generally roses, which were introduced between the coverings and fixed with cement; the rest was covered with embroidered green silk manga, tastefully braided—terciada—of blue fine cloth, with red lining. The opening for the head, called muceta, was bordered with black velvet of oval form, with silver galloon around and pendones of the same stuff. The hair, according to the prevailing fashion, fell in a braid over the jacket, ending in a rose of green ribbons. He used a mechero to hold the cigarrito of native tobacco and maize leaf, with flint and steel weighing an ounce. From the end of the mecha, or wick, hung a bead doll, well worked, one cuarta in size, and perfumed with Peruvian balsam.

The bride wore a tunic of yellow satin, adorned below with green stripes; white satin shoes called berruchi, pointed upwards; stockings of flesh-colored silk; pañoleta with green points, triangular, with a green silk flower in the end falling over the back and secured

over the breast with a similar flower; black mascada gathered like a turban on the head, surmounted by a crown of white artificial flowers, closed by costly Chinese silk of different colors, with figures of birds, fruit, etc.; ear-rings of false pearls and necklace of the same.

A writer on Santa Bárbara speaks of the prevailing costume of the country as consisting of "a broad-brimmed hat, usually black, with a gilt or figured band round the crown, and lined with silk; a short jacket of silk or figured calico, the European skirted body-coat being never worn; the shirt usually open at the neck; a waist-coat, when worn, always of a rich quality; the trousers, wide, straight, and long, usually of velvet, velveteen, or broadcloth, occasionally knee-breeches are worn with white stockings; shoes of deer-skin are used; they are of a dark brown color, and being made by the Indians, are commonly much ornamented; braces are never worn, the indispensable sash twisted round the waist serving all their purposes; the sash is usually red, and varies in quality according to the means of the wearer; if to this is added the never-failing cloak, the dress of the Californian is complete. The latter article of dress, however, is a never-failing criterion of the rank or wealth of its owner. The caballero, or gentleman aristocrat, wears a cloak of black or dark blue broadcloth, with as much velvet and trimming on it as it is possible to put there; from this, the cloaks gradually descend through all grades until the primitive blanket of the Indian is reached. The middle class wear a species of cloak very much resembling a table-cloth, with a large hole in the centre for the head to go through; this is often as coarse as a blanket, but it is generally beautifully woven with various colors, and has a showy appearance at a distance. There is no working-class amongst the Spaniards, the Indians doing all the hard work; thus a rich man looks and dresses like a grandee, whilst even a miserably poor individual has the appearance of a

broken-down gentleman; it is not, therefore, by any means uncommon to see a man with a fine figure and courteous manner dressed in broadcloth or velvet, and mounted on a noble horse, completely covered with trappings, who perhaps has not a real in his pocket, and may even be suffering from absolute hunger."

Many Californians wore silver spurs, and plated work on their saddles and reins; and on arriving at the house of a friend, they would give the servant a dollar to take off their spurs. General Vallejo says that after the discovery of gold he used to fling the boy who held his horse an ounce, equivalent to sixteen dollars. Later the general would have been glad to have had some of those ounces back in his pocket.

"Leading Californians," Torres remarks, "as Guerra, Alvarado, Vallejo, Álvarez, always wore short hair since I knew them, while the middle-blood people wore it long." A popular hat was the sombrero de vicuña, yellow, with wide rim, and a crown four or five inches high. They were not flexible, but were light. On the rim round the crown lay a coil of gold or silver braid, while some persons placed an emerald where the coil united. A hat without a coil cost $40; but after the conquest an imitation very similar to the vicuña was introduced, which at first brought the same price as the real article, and then fell to half an ounce. Americans liked them for their comfort.

Thus we see that although the appetite was moderate, vanity ruled high, as displayed in elaborate and costly trappings and attire, and that here, as in the animal kingdom, the male donned the gayer plumage. To this love of finery, the trading vessels pandered by bidding freely for hides and tallow with articles of fancy and utility. While supplying cloth and ribbons, however, they could not dictate the fashions, which followed those of Mexico, although there they were greatly modified by Europe.

The true import of home, that great promoter of

culture, was little understood. The Californian lived in the open air and in the invigorating sunshine. The low, one-story dwelling of adobe, or mud and sticks, was reserved for sleep and storage. Notwithstanding the gleaming whitewashed walls and bright tile roof, it lacked allurements, and was devoid of the romantic aspect so widely attributed to Anglo-Saxon country houses. No pretty creepers, no infolding grove, no shady trees in close proximity, no ornamental garden fringe, to relieve the desolate bareness, which was increased by the absence of architectural decorations, and by the smallness and depth of the window opening, seldom glazed, and often barred. This combined dearth of taste and carelessness was a Spanish inheritance.

The door opened frequently into an only room, with clay floor, for lumber was costly from the lack of mills. The simple furniture consisted of a bench or two along the walls, perhaps some chairs plaited with rawhide thongs, a table; in one corner a stretcher with a hide cover for a bed, perhaps curtained off in the absence of walled partitions. The low walls were relieved with a looking-glass, some gaudy prints of martyrs, and a madonna image, or crucifix, with its dim light which shed a gleam of solemnity through the half-gloom of the corner, a guiding-star to loftier thoughts. The Anglo-Saxon hearth was not to be seen. The only fireplace was in a shed or separate hut, partly because of the mild climate, partly from a superstitious aversion to fires in dwellings. In this hut could be seen a few pieces of pottery and ironware, and a hand-mill for grinding the daily supply of flour. Near by hung the hammock wherein the lord and master swung himself into reverie while awaiting preparation for the meal by the mistress and her handmaidens.

The guest was placed in possession of the premises —theoretically; the key to the gate perhaps was given him; the house was his own, and all its inmates

were his servants. On retiring to rest, the family united in pronouncing a benediction, and calling on all the saints to guard him.

There was also a better class of houses, built after the Spanish fashion, in squares, with small inner court filled with luxuriant plants, watered by a fountain in the centre. All around the court ran a corridor, upon which opened the large, half-lighted rooms, with low ceiling, and furnished with something of barbaric luxuriousness. The red-tiled roof with fervid stolidity returned the sun's stare. Several of the richer families possessed, after 1824, handsome bureaus, large mirrors, tables inlaid with shells—all brought from China or Peru.

The rancho house was of wood (palo parado), with tule roof, and had at the most two divisions, one for a sitting-room (sala y alcoba), the other for sleeping in. If the family was large, they spread into both rooms. Many houses had a door of sticks covered with an ox or horse hide, but none had locks; nor was it necessary to lock the door on the outside, for none wished to rob, and besides there was nothing to steal. If the family were absent for some days, the things of value were taken along, such as the trunk of clothes and bed.

Some had beds of poplar (álamo or alamillo) lined with leather, and with it sheets, blankets, and cushions, according to means. Others slept in big *cacáistes*, made of *latitas* with a hide on top. Others slept on a hide. The furniture consisted of a table, a bench, stools, whalebone seats, small cacáistes of reed, latita.

Outside the house were adobe benches (poyetes) at least a vara high, often whitewashed like the wall. Sometimes the whitewash was too difficult to obtain.

In some parts the kitchen was an adobe oven (hornillas), upon which the pots were placed to cook. Others had only stones to support the pots over the fire.

"The houses," remarks a traveller, "in all the

towns, are of one story, and are built of bricks. These bricks are about four and a half inches square and from three to four inches thick, hardened in the sun. They are cemented by mortar made of clay, and the whole is of a common dirt color. The floors are generally of earth, the windows grated, mostly without glass, and the doors, which are seldom shut, open into the common room, there being no passage or entrance halls. Some of the wealthier inhabitants, however, have glass to their windows, and have their floors boarded. The common houses have two or three rooms which open into each other, the furniture consisting of a bed or two, a few chairs and tables, a looking-glass, a crucifix of some material or other, and a few small daubs of paintings enclosed in glass, representing some miracle or martyrdom. They have no chimneys nor fireplaces to the houses, the climate being such as to make fires unnecessary; all the kitchens are detached from the houses. The Indians do all the hard work, two or three being attached to every house; and even the poorest amongst the inhabitants are able to keep one at least. All that has to be given to these poor creatures is their food, and occasionally a small piece of coarse cloth and a belt to the men, and a coarse gown, without either shoes or stockings, to the females."

The mission children, Wilkes affirms, were for the most part left to take care of themselves and run about naked and dirty. A large number died from accidental falls from horses, which they rode from earliest childhood. Amador says: "When I was a young man every one retired for the night at eight or nine o'clock, immediately after supper. Each young person of either sex slept in an apartment under lock and key. The parents always arose very early in the morning in order to open the doors, the father those of the boys' apartments, the mother those of the girls'."

Although hospitable, the Californians seldom al-

lowed strangers in their private family rooms. In the houses of the wealthy there were rooms for strangers, but they were not allowed to enter into familiar conversation with the young women. It was common for the Californian to sleep out of doors, when the saddle-tree served as a pillow, while lying on the saddle-cover with his serape over him.

Small children of both sexes had various games. On moonlit nights they played gallina ciega, or blind-man's buff; they rode wooden horses about the hills; they played vaquela, which consisted of throwing bits of stone, or the like, at a mark drawn on the ground at a certain distance. There was also a game called caña, or tángano, the American ducks and drakes, a game which Roman children played, meta in ludo, and to-day almost universal. On the result of the game they bet buttons, encouraged so to do by their elders, who staked money. Often urchins might be seen without a button on their clothes, all having been cut off by them and laid upon the altar of fortune.

A fondness for some particular name was frequent. Thus, Juan Antonio Hernandez had three sons named José Basilio, José Fernando, and José Antonio, while two of his daughters were named María.

Parents, or rather fathers—for the punishment usually hurt the mother as much as the child—were very strict with their children. A common way of inflicting punishment was to oblige the youthful wrong-doer, while his parents and playmates were eating their noon meal at the table, to kneel before a hide-covered stool, bearing an earthen plate, a tin cup, and a wooden spoon, in one corner of the dining-room. "It was a thousand times worse than flogging," says Alvarado, "as I know by frequent experience; but we never used to increase the shame of it by laughing at the culprit. And as soon as the father went out, mother and brothers and sisters always hastened to the one en penitencia, and gave him all the choice food he could eat, besides their sympathy."

And Vallejo laments: "In our day a boy would have been buried in the bowels of the earth sooner than appear before his father with a cigar in his mouth; but now it is common. Before the Americans came, our sons, meeting us on the street, came up respectfully, and with hat in hand, said, 'Señor padre, he salido de su casa con ánimo de ir con Fulano á dar un paseo. ¿Me permite Vd. que continúe divirtiendome?' If we consented, he saluted again, and went away; but if we refused, he obeyed without a word. Now, children say, 'como te va, papá, á donde vas?' Then, 'como está Vd., señor padre, que se le ofrece?'"

Writing from Monterey, on the 1st of July, 1785, to Diego Gonzalez, Governor Fages communicated the following order by the comandante general. It being notorious that the officers and troops of the presidios conduct themselves among the missions with great laxity and immorality, very prejudicial from the scandalous deeds committed with the Indian females, the governor is ordered to prevent a continuance of such evils, and to issue an order condemning such practices, and imposing severe punishment to those who commit them, overlooking none in this matter.

The padre presidente, speaking to his flock the 6th of May, 1829, regrets the many promises given by men to incautious women, often merely for the purpose of enjoying the privileges of marriage. When the men thereupon wish to marry others, the women interposed objections. He finds the remedy in a cédula of April 10, 1803, which orders that no tribunal shall admit petitions regarding marriages unless celebrated by authorized persons, or promised by public writing. Hence the women must know that no heed will be given to their complaints, unless the promise is proved by escritura pública.

CHAPTER XIII.

AMUSEMENTS.

Verum pone moras, et studium lucri;
Nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium,
Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
Dulce est desipere in loco.

—*Horace.*

The Californians were much given to diverting themselves. Indeed, to pass the time pleasantly, joyously, was one of the serious considerations among this world's affairs, and was on a par with eating, drinking, and religion, which latter was but the securing of a happy existence in the heavenly kingdom, while business, learning, and all that were but secondary affairs. And why should they not devote themselves to whatever they most enjoyed? Is not this the privilege—nay, the chief end—of man, of all animate things, the butterfly and the bee, apes and women, and no less the merchant, the politician, the preacher, and pedler, and pig?

It is said by Señor Arnaz that the San Diego people were very merry and fond of fandangos, while those of Los Angeles were more reserved, and at Santa Bárbara they were still more so, their superior gravity in that quarter having a religious tint, due to the padres and to the great De la Guerra, the latter being not only the defender of Santa Bárbara, but the consoler of the poor. During the later years of Mexican rule morals declined, as shown by the many bastard children, sober Santa Bárbara having her full quota of these. Entertainments were more common at Mon-

terey, where the contact with strangers, the presence of the governor and officials, had stamped the customs and manners in accordance. Picnics (paseos al campo) and balls were frequent. Society was organized and classes separated; order and fun reigned at entertainments. Cooper, Amesti, and Ábrego's houses were the centres where balls were given on festival nights, without ostentation or cost. At public balls rich wines and delicacies were plentiful.

Picnics to the country were common, in which several families joined, each contributing something, such as chickens, stuffed turkeys, tamales, enchiladas, etc.; usually a fat calf was killed on the spot and roasted in the open air.

One or more carretas went in advance with provisions. Elderly and married females went on horseback, on their own saddles; the young women rode with the young men, having a straw stirrup to rest the foot, the man seated behind with an arm around the damsel to support her, his hat on her head, while his head was bare, or a handkerchief bound around it.

Arrived at the picnic-ground, all alighted, and the fun began under the trees, eating, drinking, singing, dancing, and games. For the picnic, mats covered with shawls were spread on the ground, and on these were placed the eatables, wines, etc. On returning to town, a ball was given in the house of some one of the party, which lasted until the following morning. The young men supplied the wines. It was usual to have a supper at midnight.

Sometimes on a picnic they would ride in wagons drawn by oxen, and in returning various popular songs would be sung. If a violin or guitar player was present, a friend would mount behind him to guide the horse while he played. In the fruit season, people de razon were always allowed to enter the mission orchards and gather fruit.

Doña Refugio de Bandini speaks enthusiastically of the time when she was a girl. "How often did we

spend half the night at a tertulia till 2 o'clock in the morning, in the most agreeable and distinguished society. Our house would be full of company—thirty or forty persons at the table; it would have to be set twice. A single fiesta might cost $1,000, but in those days the receipts at my husband's store were $18,000 a month. The prettiest women were to be found at San Diego."

The permission of the authorities had to be obtained to hold a ball and illumination; as for instance, the one at Carrillo's house, in honor of Fitch's return with his bride in 1830.

Dancing was a passion with the Californians. It affected all, from infancy to old age; grandmothers and grandchildren were seen dancing together; their houses were constructed with reference to this amusement, and most of the interior space was appropriated to the sala, a large, barn-like room. A few chairs and a wooden settee were all its furniture. If a few people got together at any hour of the day, the first thought was to send for a violin and guitar, and should the violin and guitar be found together, in appropriate hands, that of itself was sufficient reason to send for the dancers.

In early times balls broke up at 10 or 11 o'clock at night. Subsequent to 1817, or thereabout, the keeping of such early hours began to be disregarded. Finally the balls lasted the night through. In 1840, on the occasion of the marriage of one of his sons, Amador remembers that there was a ball at the house of Sálvio Pacheco, at San José, which lasted all night, and until 9 o'clock in the morning, continuing again at 8 in the evening of this second day, and kept up all night. In 1843, at the marriage of another son, dancing continued for three days and nights. The supply of wine, aguardiente, and comestibles of all kinds was unlimited.

Probably the best analysis of California dances and dancing is by Coronel, and dates from 1834. For a

ball, he says, a large space in front of the house selected was roofed with boughs, three of its sides being covered with white cotton stuff adorned with ribbons and artificial flowers. The fourth side was left open, and there horsemen collected in a group, a strong fence preventing the intrusion of the horses. Around the three enclosed sides were seats for the women. The musicians, consisting of a violinist, a guitarist, and two or three singers, stationed themselves in a corner, where they were out of the way.

The master of ceremonies, or *bastonero*, was called *el tecolero;* from the first he was present organizing everything connected with the ball. He led out the women when they danced singly; beginning at one end of the salon. Clapping his hands, he took steps to the music in front of her whom he desired to call out. She rising went to the centre of the salon, and with both hands taking hold and extending her skirts, began to dance to the sound of the music. After taking a turn or two in the centre of the salon, she retired and another took her place. In this way all the women present were in turn called out, except such as could not dance or did not desire to do so, and these, for compliment's sake, rose, and giving a hand to the tecolero, were by him turned and reseated. While the women were dancing, the men on horseback kept up a continual movement, and sky-larking, coming and going, and disputing places, each endeavoring to force his horse to the front.

If the piece were to be danced by a couple, the horsemen who wished to take part dismounted, removed their spurs, and hung them at the saddle-bow; then, hat in hand, they entered the salon, and took out each the female selected. The piece concluded, the women retired to their seats and the men remounted.

Their balls the Californians called *sones*, and though all were much alike, they varied in the song and in the ceremonies. The jota was the favorite, and was danced thus: Each cavalier took out a lady, and the

couples faced one the other. The music commenced, and the singers began their verses, or *estribillos*—a kind of refrain of lyric couplets of not a very high order of poetry—and immediately each set of couples commenced to move the hands and arms capriciously, taking care that this should last as long as the verse lasted. Then the singers began an estribillo, and all the couples taking hold of hands formed in a circle a chain, whereupon the men went in one direction and the women in the other until partners met again, when each couple took its proper place. The singers then began another verse, and the couples began to make different figures, but during the estribillo the movements were as during the first. Of this dance, the step consisted in alternately raising the feet and hopping gracefully in time with the music. When the dancers understood this dance it was very harmonious and graceful; hence it was generally executed by the older people who fully understood it, and because this dance required in its execution a certain majestic grace. The words of the verses were according to the caprice of the singers, and perhaps came down from ancient times. The estribillo was long or short, according to the number of couples taking part in the dance.

The bamba was danced only by those women who knew it, for it consisted of many intricate steps which changed frequently. The most dexterous placed on the head a tumbler of water; on the floor was placed a handkerchief with two of the corners tied together. This handkerchief, the dancer while dancing took up with her feet and concealed about her person—sometimes doing so with two or three handkerchiefs. These she would afterward again place on the floor. All this she did without a single drop of water being spilled. The feat concluded, the tecolero took from her the glass of water, and amid frantic applause she returned to her seat.

The zorrita was danced by couples, as was the sota, from which it differed in that during the singing of verse the men made to their partners signs or demon-

strations in keeping with the sentiment of the verse. During the estribillo each two couples, joining hands, made a turn or chain. A second estribillo indicated the time when the men gave a leap while clapping their hands. Los camotes was a dance somewhat similar to the foregoing, though the time of the music as well as the verses and movements were distinct. This dance was characterized by very measured movements, and at the end of the estribillo the man saluted his partner, another taking his place. Moreover, the dancers also sang. El borrego was danced by a man and a woman. When the music struck up they began to take steps, and on the singing commencing, each took out a handkerchief and made motions with the hands appropriate to the sense of the words—for if the verse said borrego, the man feigned an attack on his partner, who made motions with the handkerchief as if baiting a bull, capear; if the verse said borrega, the rôles were reversed. El burro was generally danced at reunions of persons who were intimate, and toward the close of the diversion. As many men as women took hold of hands and formed a circle. Another person, either man or woman, took place within the circle as burro. When the music commenced, those forming the circle began to dance about the central figure. Two or three verses were sung, and at a certain word each man embraced a woman, and the person who was left alone became burro. In all these dances, there was a great variety in the words of the versos and estribillos.

The fandango was danced by a man and a woman. It was necessary that he should understand the dance, for after a jaleo with castanets, or if he did not know how to use them, snapping his fingers, with changes and motions of arms, several walks were taken, while the music played and the singer finished the verso and estribillo. The music ceasing, the singer said bomba! and the man had to recite a verse, generally of an amorous character, to his partner—which poetry was good or bad according to the intelligence of him re-

citing the same. On a repetition of the performance, the lady was the one who recited the verse. If she did not or could not do so, the man recited another verse. Another man would then step forward, and the tecolero would lead out another woman.

El jarabe is the national dance of the Mexican people, and is of a capricious character, for many words and airs being mingled, each change requires new steps and movements. The tecolero selected a man and woman who he knew could dance it well. They began to dance, and in the pauses between the different airs the singers sang verses according to the music which had just been played.

La contradanza was a dance of the better class of society. The partners stood in two rows—the men facing the women. The music was that of a slow waltz—during the first four bars the figure was formed, and during the next four waltzing took place. The figures referred to were capricious, but generally the same routine was followed. Young persons rarely took part in this dance. The old women of the lower class also had their popular dances. El caballo was danced by a man and woman, who, when the music commenced, began to balance to each other. While the verso was sung, there were movements of handkerchiefs. At a certain designated time the woman seized her skirts before and behind as if about to mount a horse, the man got astride of his handkerchief, and to the sound of the music they made movements as if on horseback.

Torre says that the balls given at a celebration of nuptials lasted regularly three days. The people ate, drank, and danced day and night; while some rested or slept, others continued the festivities. These balls were given in arbors, the ground being well watered and beaten level some days previous. The arbor was lined inside with sheets, bed-covers, or other articles, to exclude the wind; around the sides were benches. The women occupied one end, entirely separated from the men. If the women were numerous and filled

the seats, the men would stand at the entrance, which was very wide, some on foot, others on horseback. The musicians occupied a place assigned to them in the middle of one of the sides. The tecolero went around beating time with his feet and leading out the females to dance. His method was to make pirouettes, or changes of place, accompanied by clapping the hands. Very soon the female came forward dancing, while he made a turn around her like a cock around a hen. The music consisted usually of two violins and a guitar, which latter the player thrummed as hard as he could. Soon came out two or three singers, who squatted in front of the musicians to sing the air for dancing, for the greater part of the dance was carried on to song accompaniment.

The female who came out to dance retired to her place when she so desired, and the tecolero continued beating time with his feet and bringing out the women one by one until he had exhausted the number. The woman who did not know how to dance well, or could not for some other reason, came out, gave one turn, and returned to her place.

It often happened that while a woman was dancing one or more men on horseback would enter the arbor with glasses or bottles of aguardiente, wherewith they sprinkled the ground where she danced, at the same time making their horses dance. and shouting, "Échelas todas, mi alma; sabe que soy suyo, yo la amparo!" Throw it all in, my darling; know that I am thine, and will guard thee! Presently rows began, and scrimmages, and these brave ones went forth to fight outside.

In the early days there was a dance called the contradanza, very measured. The jota was the favorite dance among Californians. It was accompanied by verses and refrain. In the verse occurred certain figures, and in the refrain a chain of hands. On occasions there were sixteen couples in the jota, and never less than four. The refrain was long when the

couples were numerous. The verses were unlimited in number. For example, when commencing the jota a verse such as the following was sung:

Palomita, vete al Campo,
Y díle á los tiradores
Que no te tiren, porq'eres
La dueña de mis amores.

Then followed the refrain:

El cuervo en el aire
Vuela vigilante
Vuela para atrás
Vuela pá delante.
Sí la piedra es dura;
Tu eres un diamante,
Porque no ha podido
Mi amor ablandarte:
Si te hago un cariño
Me haces un desprecio,
Y luego me dices
Que yo soy el necio;
Como si el quererte
Fuera necedad.
Pero anda, ingratota,
Que algun dia entre sueño
Tú te acordarás
Que yo fuí tu dueño.

There were various styles of refrain and verses sung:

Entre las flores de lirio
No te pude conocer,
Que no parecias muger,
Sino Ángel del Cielo empíreo.

Refrain:

Yo vide una rata
Con treinta ratones,
Unos sin orejas,
Otros orejones:
Unos sin narices,
Otros narizones.
Unos sin hocico
Otros hocicones.
Mañana me voy
Para los Sauzales,
A ver á mi china,
La Rosa Morales.
Mañana me voy
Para Vera Cruz
A ver á mi chata
María de la Luz.
En fin el burreon
Siempre canta mal.
Pájaro lucido
Solo el Cardenal;
Palomita blanca,
Pico de coral,
Llévale á mi dueña
Este memorial.

The jarabe was also danced, in which two or four persons took part, who endeavored to excel in the shuffling of feet and singing of verses.

Then there were dances among the very low classes; these were the same, but with more license and latitude. These generally ended with a fight, broken heads, filthy language, and insults.

The dances changed somewhat with time; under Echeandía it was customary to place a guard at the entrance, those among respectable persons being generally held in the parlor of the government house. For these there were invitation tickets issued, which had to be shown to the sentry. All respectable families, however poor, received invitations. Later, these dances became demoralized, and respectable families withdrew from them, holding balls only at their homes, when some modern dances were introduced.

Amador, born in 1781, says: "When I was a young man, the dances in vogue were the jarabe, the pontorico, the navamba, the cuando, the queso, and other airs (sones) which I do not remember." From Amador's use of the word son, it is evident that these were names of different airs and dances, in faster or slower time, a single couple, or several, occupying the floor, each individual introducing the steps he chose while keeping time to the music. In fact, these dances resembled minuets and the like, rather than modern dances.

A ball always concluded with las cuadrillas or the jota. The latter came from Spain, differing slightly in the various provinces, that of Aragon being the better known, and was a very quick, lively dance. It resembled an English country-dance, or an American Virginia reel—the men and women standing in long lines facing each other—with which twenty years since a country ball in the United States concluded, and in some parts so continues to do.

In 1800 few houses had any other floor than the bare earth. The owners would bring two boards,

which were nailed upon three wooden horses, thus forming a platform on which women might dance; also those of the men who danced well. The jarabe was danced by couples, two, three, or four, who endeavored each to execute the most difficult and varied steps.

Robinson describes a fandango at Bandini's house in San Diego in 1829. Any one might attend without an invitation. The room was some 50 feet long by 20 wide, crowded along its sides. A mass of people around the door shouted their approbation of the performances. Two persons danced the jarabe, keeping time to the music by drumming with their feet, on the heel-and-toe system. The female dancer stood erect, with head a little inclined to the right shoulder, her hands holding her dress so as to show the execution of her feet. Her partner, sombrero undoffed, rattled with his feet with wonderful dexterity. His arms behind his back secured the points of his serape.

Dye, who came to California in 1832, gives the following about ball-room customs, which, he says, were common among the highest and lowest. Indeed, in earlier days there was very little class distinction; the poor and rich associated on equal terms, and attended the same parties, "excluding only such persons —especially women—as were known to be lewd, or of notoriously bad conduct in other respects." This state of things changed in later years, however, and class distinction grew clearly defined—say from 1840 to 1850. Formerly private soldiers and their wives were allowed at the best balls, but afterward such a thing was never seen.

When a woman was a skilful dancer, she had a good opportunity to display her graces. The men would become enthusiastic and applaud her, and as a mark of particular appreciation would place their hats on her head, one on top of the other; and when her head could bear no more, she would take the hats in her hands, dancing all the time; still more hats,

and even coin, were thrown at her feet, and when she returned to her seat these were gathered up by the tecolero and brought to her. All the hats in her possession had to be redeemed by the owners with coin—each one paying what he pleased, from two reales to five dollars.

When the ball broke up, the men accompanied the women to their homes, playing music. When the female element had been disposed of, the men went into the street on horseback, and sang to music more or less vulgar songs. Tired of this, they would ride to the fields and lasso or colear (seize by the tail) the stock; or they would watch in the streets for some animal to give it gambia with the lasso from opposite sides. The men would frequently leave the ball at intervals to buy brandy at the tienda.

"At a party in Santa Bárbara," says García, writing in 1836, "the band was brought by the ship *Quijote*, consisting of six negroes, with a bombo, two tambores, a timbal, and two clarinets, all of fearful discord. Thompson's house was lighted up by 8 P. M., with six tallow candles placed along the wall in candlesticks. Soon the most prominent families began to arrive, and the music started, a violin, a guitar, and two singers. The negroes could play only for certain dances. There was a motley of colors, which from the mingling presented a fine appearance. There was also a figure in mask, generally black, which was termed camorra, if with turban. If the mask was narrow, of small surface, like a mere band with a knot in front, it was called melindre. When the director shouted yataa! yataa! each person rushed for his partner. At 11 or 11:30, supper was announced, consisting of tongue, olives, bread, cheese, and wine. After this dancing was resumed. At last the ball concluded with the canastita de flores, consisting of a ring formed by all the dancers, who circled around, singing. At the last word, each man rushed forward to embrace the girl he loved. As a

rule, some female was left in the cold, and became the dueña de las burlas. This was repeated several times, so that the dueña was changed."

Doctor Maxwell, long a prominent physician in San Francisco, writing in 1843, says: "We, the officers of the squadron, gave a ball at the government house. At that time the female population of Monterey had never tasted cake, mince-pie, or anything of that sort, and the stewards of our messes were set to work making all kinds of delicacies of the kind for the supper. Our Madeira wine was all expended, so we were obliged to depend on whiskey-toddy, which the ladies thought very fine, and some of them indulged in it rather too freely. At the ball were a number of American hunters, who had come to town because of our presence there. Captain Armstrong's dancing was very vigorous, and the perspiration rolled down his cheeks. The natives called him Brazos Fuertes.

"These people had the most extraordinary customs. They would come on board ship and dance all day, and we would go ashore and dance all night. They would sit down to table, and every woman would spread her handkerchief in her lap; whatever we had on the table they would eat a part of, and carry off the rest in their handkerchiefs—nuts, figs, everything. Their manners were exceedingly primitive." The doctor went still further with some plain relations. Indeed, these people, in their unsophisticated ways, would do things sometimes that would be considered improper by our more prudish people.

Every Saturday at the missions the neophytes had a ball. Some missions had a separate place for this; at others the dance went on in the field. Where a place was set aside, it consisted of a rotunda, ten yards or more in diameter, formed of poles, separated from one another, which supported a tule roof.

The ball began about sunset. The music consisted of drum, horn trumpets, and small sticks, like castanets, which set up a terrific hum-drum. A fire was lighted in the centre of the dancing-place, and several outside for the audience.

The dancers were usually men, covered with a loincloth, and lines of black, blue, and red colors over the body and face. On the head they wore a hat with various feathers. Each held a stick taller than himself. They placed themselves in file, and began to circle round the fire to the music, making contortions and grimaces, and shouting somewhat like sailors heaving the anchor. After a while the leader of the file would throw a live sparrow-hawk (gavilan) into the fire, which all turned with their poles while dancing, so as to roast it well. When done it was raked out to be distributed.

During the dance an Indian arrived as from a great distance, covered with feathers, and on his head plumes bigger than those of the rest. On seeing him all shrieked in afright, and ran to hide. Amid the shrieks the name of cucusuy (devil) was distinctly heard. Cucusuy retired after a few moments to hide behind the trees, whence he uttered cries at intervals, in imitation of some animal. When he departed the dancers resumed, the ball continuing until the mayordomo ordered all to bed.

Duhaut-Cilly in 1824 saw twelve mission Indians dressed in a long shirt, and feathers on the head, dance in wonderful accord, striking the ground with sticks, gesticulating with arms and eyes, making signs of love, hate, terror. The body was kept curved, the knees somewhat bent. The scene was lighted up by torches. The orchestra formed a half-circle of women surrounded by a row or two of dilettanti. The harmony was plaintive and wild, moving the nerves rather than the soul. While the actors rested, a horn was blown to drive away evil spirits; the padres winked at these scattered pagan superstitions.

Three days of dancing at Sonora celebrated the treaty between Vallejo and Succara. "Oh," exclaims the autocrat, "with what joy I pass in review the scenes at which I was present in those happy days! Although thirty-eight years have passed, I remember with pleasure the graceful movements of the pretty daughters of the Suisun warriors, and the wives of the fierce chiefs of the Sotoyomes in the dance. The dances were much more charming than those invented by the boasted modern civilization; and their manner of dress was so simple as to leave exposed to the view of the curious the larger part of the dancer's body, and they presented a tout ensemble to cause a thrill, and give one an idea of the terrestrial paradise."

In 1837, at San José, a fandango required the previous permission of the alcalde. Owners or occupants of the house where held were responsible, jointly with the authors of the ball, for disorders. In a non-licensed dance, the first offence was a fine of $20 and the stoppage of the festivity. After the first offence there should be an increase of fine and punishment discretionary with the alcalde.

In 1839 there was a municipal decree in force at Santa Bárbara, to the effect that whoever gave a ball in his house should pay $1, or be fined $2. Day diversions were exempted; likewise parties at night when the number did not exceed three families, and the hour not beyond 10 P. M.

In 1846 the citizens of Los Angeles seemed dissatisfied with the fine of $2 upon Indians for every fandango.

In 1821 the waltz was prohibited by the church, under penalty of excomunion mayor. Nevertheless, Juan Bandini introduced it in California in 1830, and it was danced that same year at a ball given by the governor to the diputacion at Monterey.

In the mission of San Cárlos de Monterey, gener-

ally known as the Carmelo, situated about three miles from the capital, resided the great theologian, Fray Vicente Francisco de Sarría, and his able secretary, Fray Estévan Tapis, the former at that time president of the missions. On the day appointed for the festivities on the inauguration of the last Spanish governor of the Californias, Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, in 1816, the astute father gave orders to all the missionaries to attend, and each to bring with him whatsoever he thought might add to the entertainment. Thereupon one of the two missionaries then attached to each mission attended. The late acting governor, Argüello, had also issued orders to the commanding officers of the military posts, and to the military commissioners of the towns, to be present at the ceremony. The comandante of Monterey made ready for the great occasion the plaza of the presidio, 200 varas square, with houses of adobe, tile-roofed, and surrounded by a wall twelve feet in height. The place was entered by a large gate, which was locked and the keys deposited with the commanding officer of the principal guard every evening at sunset. In the centre of the plaza were constructed broad covered corridors or galleries supported by strong pillars. All the habitation buildings were classified as quarters for the commanders, officers, and soldiers, who were mostly men of family. On this occasion they ornamented the place with pine and other boughs, placed along the front of the galleries, and so arranged that the place presented a very attractive appearance. The church standing on one side, as well as all the other edifices and trees, shone brilliant from lights placed within clay vessels. In the centre of the plaza stood the flag-staff, at the top of which waved the Spanish ensign with its lion of Castile.

On the following day, about twenty priests, with their president, were in attendance at the church to chant a te deum, assisted by thirty Indian musicians collected from the different missions, together with an

equal number of singers. Governor Sola, escorted by the late governor and all the officers of the staff and garrison, walked to the temple, and amidst the salutes of the artillery of the fort, and of the cavalry here stationed, partook in the solemn services, which ended with an eloquent and appropriate sermon by Fray Vicente. Afterward the governor and his suite repaired to the centre of the plaza, and the cavalry force, consisting of about 100 men, were posted forming a half-circle, under the command of Captain José María Estudillo, Sub-lieutenant José Estrada, and the adjutants, 1st sergeants Don Ignacio Vallejo and Don José Dolores Pico. Governor Sola harangued the force with a majestic voice, his words ringing bombast through the plaza; and on to the woods, "Soldiers of Cortés!" he cried, "brave sons of Mars! You have conquered a vast territory." This was indeed true; for on cuffing the chieftain of the Monterey ranchería, they might claim the subjugation of all the nations, tribes, and peoples from the sea of Cortés to Fuca Strait. "Soldiers of Cortés! all this was owing to your subordination, discipline, and courage, and to the apostolic zeal of these venerable ministers of God, who have contributed an equal share with you in civilizing and christianizing so many thousands of neophytes, who now find themselves dwelling peacefully in the missions of this grand colony. I congratulate myself, together with you, in the name of our monarch, at the state of progress they are in, assuring you that our king will know how to extend to you and to his children that love with which his Majesty rewards his most faithful vassals." Mark the occult and subtle significance of these and like eloquent words, which were received by his auditors with enthusiastic vivas to the king and to his Señoría.

All the high and festive officials thereupon repaired to the reception-room of the governor's house, when the comandante announced the arrival of twenty young damsels, who came "á dar el besamano á Su Seño-

ría"—to kiss the hand of his señoría in the name of their parents, according to custom. Among those prominent for their beauty and manner were Magdalena Estudillo, Magdalena Vallejo, and Josefita Estrada. Upon the word, the first named stepped forward and informed his señoría that she and her companions had come on behalf of their parents and friends, to tender to his señoría their felicitations on his accession to the government of the peninsula. All these girls were dressed in the height of elegance, according to the usages and fashions of the times; they kissed the governor's horny hand, and the fat, flabby hands of the missionaries. The good governor liked it, and would not have objected to more. The priests were accustomed to it. The governor, of course, was overwhelmed at the sight of so much gathered loveliness. He invited them to take seats, addressed them in appropriate terms, and filled with gratitude, he caused his orderly to bring into the reception-room several beautiful boxes that he had brought from Mexico, containing sweetmeats, one of which he gave to each of the lovely damsels, who thereupon retired, well satisfied at having thus fulfilled so pleasing and important a duty.

The governor and suite then repaired to the dining-room, where was ready an *ambigú*, or luncheon, consisting of domestic and game birds, cordials and wines, fresh and preserved fruits, the production of the southern part of the peninsula, prominent amongst the nice things being the olives of San Diego, the oranges and pomegranates of San Gabriel, the figs, pitahayas, and preserved dates of Lower California, and the wines of the San Fernando mission, whose padres so well understood the business that the like of them has never been repeated to this day. The table was further set off with roses and other flowers from Don Felipe García's garden, about half a mile east of the presidio. Don Felipe was quite aged, having been one of the first settlers of the capital. Present were

three of his charming white daughters, white as snow and with rosy cheeks, and black hair reaching down to their feet. And such was its profusion that their necks had grown thick in carrying it. His worship was quite struck with the magnificence of this banquet, which displayed such liberality and good taste. The bread and cakes were of wheat flour from the mission of San Antonio, famous over all others in the country for its good quality. After the ambigu, which was about 1 P. M., and the toasts and usual compliments being over, as the quantity of viands left was so great, orders were given to put up tables, and call in the populace to eat and be filled. About five hundred were thus fed, and there was still food enough left to keep the officers in good humor for a fortnight.

The commandant now informed the governor that the soldiers, dressed in their vaquero's garb, were ready to exhibit before his worship their customary entertainment. The governor expressing his assent, forthwith four riders mounted on fiery steeds entered the plaza through the great gate of the presidio. They were covered with an embroidered cuirass, and an anquera with bells. They were not alone, but with them were two large black bears; four other horsemen drove in two fierce bulls, which were to be made to fight. The crowd shouted and made their bets. The native musicians loudly sounded their violins, flutes, and drums. After the fight was over, the governor was told by the comandante that these beasts were continually coming down from the high mountains and destroying cattle, and that the inhabitants had no means of exterminating them. A ball was announced for the evening, and the padres took their departure.

Two days later, the governor, with his escort of officers, soldiers, and private persons, repaired to the San Cárlos mission, proceeding by the Calvario road. This road went through a dense forest of pine, about a thousand varas from the mission buildings. In the

forest were placed many great crosses, significant of Christ's sufferings. They had not proceeded far, when, behold! a band of holy men appeared, to the number of twenty, all wearing newly washed robes, and attended by a multitude of young Indians, who also had on their dress of acolytes. The vanguard of the acolotists was closely followed by the padres marching in two wings, and in the centre, upon a grand platform, was set a crucifix; next came a horde of whitewashed savages, to the number of two thousand, each carrying a branch in his hand. The governor was escorted by twenty-five cavalrymen in full uniform. Behind the escort came a goodly number of females of all ages, and all mounted on fine horses. The governor and his officers stopped, alighted, and walked to the centre, where the crucifix was presented by the president of the missions. His worship, and the officers one by one, kissed the feet of that effigy, and then repaired to the temple. The acolytes kept burning incense in a large number of silver thuribles. The church ceremony consisted of a sermon preached in Spanish and in Indian by the virtuous Fray Juan Amorós.

When Costromitinoff came to San Francisco with the Russian governor in 1842, he gave a ball on board, to which all the families around were invited, the ship being fitted for the occasion, and with burning perfumes to deaden the smell of the Kodiaks. Real sherry wine was offered in honor of the Californians at the banquet preceding the ball. Arnaz says that Padre Quijas came and changed dress with him, he taking the priest's robe and dancing the quadrille with him, to the enjoyment of the girls.

So great was the respect for parents in California that a young man would never dance in their presence until permitted. They were not allowed to join a ball before twenty, although they may have learned to dance in the absence of their parents. After 1831 the custom became less strict. Balls were begun by the

older people, no young person taking part unless married. When the old men retired, then the more advanced youth entered.

Larkin gives the following as the cost of a ball: 2 dozen wine, $19; 1½ dozen beer, $13.50; 30 pies, $13; cake, $12; box raisins, $4; cheese, $1.50; 9 bottles aguardiente, $13.50; music, $25; 9 pounds sperm candles, $9; comida, $5; 5 pounds coffee, $2.50; 6 pounds sugar, $3; servants, $4. Total, $125.

After this was a sham fight of the Indians, terminating with their loosening the strings of their bows, and laying their arms at the feet of the governor as a mark of submission. The Indians were dismissed after presents of beads had been distributed among them.

On the arrival at San Diego of the Híjar colony, a ball was given in their honor by José Antonio Aguirre, and another by Juan Rocha. After the Californians had danced their sones, and other antiquated ambles, the new-comers performed the more modern movements in vogue at the capital. For the first time the waltz, the quadrille, and the contradanza were made known to the people of California.

The following is a literal translation of a printed invitation to a ball: "José Figueroa, José Antonio Carrillo, Pio Pico, Joaquin Ortega, and the licentiate Rafael Gómez, request your attendance at 8 o'clock this evening, at a ball that will be given at the house of the first named, to congratulate the directors of colonization and their estimable fellow-travellers, the election of deputies for the territory, and the country upon its enjoyment of union and peace. Monterey, Nov. 1, 1834. Citizen Mariano Bonilla."

All Californians could make shoes and play the vihuela or guitar. Every night they passed through the streets giving serenades and singing what occurred to them. One song ran:

Ya parió la rata—30 ratones,
Unos sin cabeza—y otros cabezones.

The airs played at balls were el malcriado, el aforrado, el grullo, el tuza, el maracumbe, la vaquilla, etc. Most men could play instruments and sing, so that musicians were easily relieved at a party. At San Cárlos in the inventory of church property of 1843 appear three violines, one violon, one tatubora, and one triángulo.

All through these pastoral days there was present the material for a hundred pastoral poems, only there was not present any discovered Theocritus or Virgil to write them.

Arnaz states—in some of which points he is mistaken—that the usual instruments were violins, guitars, and some clarinets and harps. The pioneer piano was played by Manuel Jimeno. Santa Bárbara was foremost in having the guitar, Guillermo Carrillo being the player. Opera music was not known, but the women could play and sing pretty Spanish songs. The Soberanes girls had no musical knowledge, yet they sang well. The best violin and harp players were at Angeles; the harp players were from Mexico, one Lopez being prominent. The violinists were Californians, the best being the first husband of Stephen Forster's wife. The missions had orchestras of Indians taught by the padres, consisting usually of one bombo, one drum, one triangle, one violin, several base viols, and one flute. The players sang also in the choir, assisted by others. Although at times in good compass, yet it was often dissonant, both in playing and singing. The Indians could not grasp music. They were never called to play at a ball; there the guitar and violin were commonly used, and at rare times the band was brought from a man-of-war.

Notwithstanding what Arnaz says, San Gabriel had an orchestra of Indians who played flutes, guitars, violins, drums, triangles, and cymbals. All other missions had more or less good orchestras and singers. Everything played in the temple was called a minuet.

Joaquin Carrillo, father-in-law of Vallejo, was an

accomplished violinist. When a soldier he was one night playing at a ball at the house of Comandante Ruiz at San Diego. Ruiz was fond of a certain air, which he ordered Carrillo to play; and because he thought the latter too long in tuning his instrument, Ruiz ordered him put in the stocks, and sent the guests home, it being then about midnight.

While Commodore Jones was at Monterey, many balls were given in his honor by Larkin and others. On one occasion Larkin borrowed of Ábrego one of the three first pianos brought to California. They were brought from Baltimore by Captain Smith, one sold to José Ábrego, another in San Pedro to Eulogio Celis, and the third to M. G. Vallejo at San Francisco. Ábrego granted the request, but suggested that a piano would not be of much use, since no one knew how to play on it. But to the surprise of all, it was solemnly affirmed, the boy Pedro Estrada succeeded in playing the instrument, although he had never touched one before! It was proposed to send the boy to Mexico to be educated in music, but the advice of David Spence prevailed, who thought a carpenter more useful than a musician.

Most of the instruments used in the mission choirs were made at the missions, and were consequently rude and inferior. The ancient popular songs of the Californians were introduced from Sonora.

Their passion for music is aptly illustrated by an incident of the war. California once conquered, the United States authorities adopted the judicious policy of conciliating the Mexican element in every way possible. Rights of property were respected, and the people were invited by proclamations of amnesty and protection to return to their homes, and no violence should be offered to any. The commodore, when at Los Angeles, even went so far as to request Captain Phelps, long a trader on the coast and a man familiar with the ways of the people and possessing their confidence, to visit them in their hiding-places,

assure them of safety, and induce them to come forth. Captain Phelps replied: "You have a fine band of music; such a thing was never before in this country. Let it play one hour in the plaza each day at sunset, and I assure you it will do more toward reconciling the people than all your written proclamations, which, indeed, but few of them could read." "My suggestion was adopted," continued the captain, "and the results were soon evident. At first the children on the hill ventured down and peeped round the corners of the houses. A few lively tunes brought out the vivas of the elder ones, and before closing for the day quite a circle of delighted natives surrounded the musicians. The following afternoon, the people from the ranchos at a distance, hearing of the wonderful performance, began to come in. I saw the old priest of the mission of San Gabriel sitting by the church door, opposite the plaza, and introduced him to some of the officers. The old man said he had not heard a band since he left Spain, over fifty years ago. 'Ah!' said he, 'that music will do more service in the conquest of California than a thousand bayonets.'"

The Californians were not without their dramatic performances. The *Pastorela*, composed by Padre Florencio of the Soledad mission, and a copy of which is among the Vallejo documents, was often performed. It was a great favorite, and was usually brought out on Christmas eve. Pio Pico used to play the part of Bato, the chief shepherd; the Vallejos frequently took part. But the best player, and the one who used to get most applause, was Jacinto Rodriguez, who used to go to the seashore to practise his part, uttering fearful shouts, and making all kinds of crazy gestures, to the great amusement of the boys who hid near by and watched him. Under Chico's rule, in 1836, a company of Mexican maromeros (acrobats) came to Monterey to perform.

There were some fine race-horses here in pastoral times. Covarrubias saw a horse from San Diego at Mexico in 1830 which was famous for short distances.

It was common to race to church on Sundays with oxen-drawn wagons, containing the family. The stakes were money, stock, or balls. Many oxen galloped like horses, and did so from practice without being urged with the goad.

As in all other affairs, the law, with its superior wisdom and strength, was not far away. In 1834 Governor Figueroa writes to Alcalde Jimeno prohibiting the running of stray horses at Monterey, San José, and San Francisco.

In 1839 at Los Angeles Ávila and Duarte agreed on a horse-race, betting a barrel of brandy, two broken horses, and five dollars. Duarte broke the rules of the race by giving a blow on the head of Ávila's horse and blocking the way, and Ávila appeared before the alcalde with witnesses to demand the stakes, although Duarte's horse had come in ahead. Ávila failed to clearly prove the infringements. After hearing the testimony pro and con, the alcalde decided that as the course was not properly fenced, the parties should pay a fine of $10 each, and that the race be repeated in twenty days, in presence of a regidor.

Suit was brought at Los Angeles, in 1840, against Fernando Sepúlveda to pay A. Pico 100 calves and one horse lost at a race—conditions having been legally arranged. Sepúlveda had promised to pay, but afterward refused, although the judge had decided against him with costs, in accord with article 91 of law of congress, 1837. Sepúlveda, on being threatened with execution, pleaded that his property belonged to his father; he was merely an hijo de familia. The bondsman was now called upon, but he showed that young Sepúlveda had won bets before, and received the stakes with the father's knowledge. The judge seized the stock representing stake and costs, but was ordered by government to return it, Sepúlveda's assertions regard-

ing the minority of the son being recognized. The Angeles judge delayed obeying this order, and the documents and a copy of Sepúlveda's statement was sent to the supreme tribunal of Mexico.

On the 7th of June, 1841, the governor writes the prefect of Angeles, desiring that some persons of the city shall propose regulations for horse-races, so that the municipal funds may receive some benefit from a tax thereon. The cause of this order was a dispute between two men arising from a horse-race. July 27, 1841, the prefect and five vecinos met to propose rules for horse-racing, which were submitted to government approval. Every race should be arranged by legal obligation (obligacion jurídica), wherein amount of bets, conditions, and rules were to be specified, and from which no appeal was allowed. Those who bet without subjecting themselves to this law were nevertheless bound by it. The winner paid a tax of twenty reales for every $25 bet, $5 for $50, $6 for $100, and 6 per cent beyond this, payable to the municipal fund at the racing-place. If effects were staked, they were to be valued in the presence of the judge of the place, in order that the tax be collected. Persons must advise the judge of amount staked in order that the tax be collected.

In August 1842, Prefect Argüello decided that a horse-race between Nicolas A. Den and Pio Pico must be run over para cortar cuestiones. On the 14th of April, 1846, the governor abolished the law passed by the prefect of Angeles imposing a tax on horse-races (corredores de caballos).

The carrera del gallo, next to horse-racing, was one of the most popular sports among the native Californians. A live cock was buried with the head above ground. At a signal a horseman would start at full speed from a distance of about sixty yards, and if by a dexterous swoop he could take the bird by the head, he was loudly applauded. Should he fail, he was

greeted with derisive laughter, and was sometimes unhorsed with violence, or dragged in the dust at the risk of breaking his limbs or neck. Another amusement was to place on the ground a rawhide, and riding at full speed suddenly rein in the horse the moment his fore-feet struck the hide.

There was also the running or coursing of bulls—*corrida de toros.* For this sport a large space of ground was enclosed by a stout fence, outside of which were erected stands for the spectators. The bull lassoed by the horns was brought and loosed in the arena, within which were 100 or more mounted men, and outside an equal number. Those within the enclosure, who were the best horsemen and generally the most prominent of the rancheros, with their mangas or serapes baited the bull. This was termed capotear el toro. The animal was occasionally pricked with the *rejon*—which was an iron-pointed lance of about 4 feet in length. When the bull had become tired, and consequently less mettlesome, the gate was opened, and he was driven forth at full speed. Behind him came those within the enclosure, those without joining them, and following after, endeavored to *colear* or *rabear* the animal—i. e., seize him by the tail and throw him. In disputing this honor there was much jostling and coming together of horses; and it was frightful to behold such a group of men and horses sallying out of the enclosure at the risk of life and limb. There were always, on these occasions, men and horses more or less injured. Several bulls in succession were thus coursed.

Another diversion, also on horseback, was known as the *juego de la vara*, the game of rods. The players formed in a ring, the horses facing inwards. One of the number then rode around the circle, having in his hand a stout rod of quince or other similar wood, which from behind he gave to one of the players. He who received the rod pursued the giver, directing blows at his shoulders, which the latter by the exer-

cise of skilful horsemanship endeavored to elude, until gaining a vacant place in the circle he was exempt from further persecution. This sport was continued for hours, and he who was not a skilled horseman received a good drubbing.

A bull and bear fight after the sabbath services in church was indeed a happy occasion. It was a soul-refreshing sight to see the growling beasts of blood tied with a long reata by one of its hind feet, so as to leave it free to use its claws and teeth, to one of the bull's feet, leaving it otherwise free for attack or defence. The fight usually took place inside of a strong wooden fence, behind which, and at a short distance, was erected a high platform for women and children, most of the men being on horseback outside the ring, with reatas ready, and loaded guns, in case the bear should leap the barrier, or other accident occur. The diversion was kept up for hours, or until one or other of the animals succumbed, and it often happened that both were killed.

There were also bull-fights by skilled and practised toreadores, which consisted in baiting the beasts on foot or horseback, each human brute trying to excel the other, sticking little darts with colored paper flags into the animal's hide. To succeed cleverly required some skill, as the part where they should be placed was just between the shoulders; and if the toreador struck any other place he was jeered by the spectators. The bulls were seldom killed, except when some toreador wished to show his skill and courage with a two-edged sword and give it the golpe de gracia.

"We used to make bears and bulls fight," remarked Blas Peña, "for which purpose we tied the bull and bear together, the bull having one of his fore-legs strapped, and the bear one of his hind-legs. Sometimes the bull came off victorious, and at other times the bear, the result depending somewhat upon the ages of the beasts. The bears were caught on Mount

Diablo with reatas made by the native Californians, of four strings of ox-hide, the skin being first dried in the sun and then soaked in water. When they began to exhale a bad odor, they were cut up in strips of about half an inch in width, and braided." Arnaz thinks that in bear and bull fights the bear generally obtained the victory. "I was present," he says, "when a bear killed three bulls. The animals were tied by one foot; sometimes they were tied to one another, with plenty of loose rope. The bull was generally left free, and was the first to attack. The bear stood on the defensive, and either put his paw in the face of the bull or seized him by the knee, which made the bull lower its head and bellow, whereupon the bear seized its tongue. They were at this juncture usually separated to save the bull."

Bear stories are not hard to tell. Manuel Larios was very expert with the lasso, or reata. One day he left his rancho of Santa Ana, for the rancho Quien Sabe, on some business. Upon the summit of a small hill he saw a bear digging at a squirrel-hole. Throwing the reata he lassoed the bear, which thereupon furiously rushed toward him. Larios ran with the bear quite close to his horse's heels, until on reaching a small tree he threw the end of the reata over a branch, and catching it again without stopping, he had the bear dangling almost before either of them knew it. The beast could scarcely touch the ground with the hind-feet. Larios took two turns round the tree with the reata pretty tightly drawn. He then alighted and secured the end of the reata to a strong shoot. With one end of a rope he tied one of the bear's hind-legs, and with the other lassoed one of the fore-legs, leaving the tree between, tightened it to the tree, and with a silk belt tied well the two hind-legs, and then with the rope did the same with the fore-legs. He now loosened the reata, and brought the fore-legs quite close together, always keeping the tree between himself and the ferocious monster. This done, with a

stick he worked off his reata, and went his way to Quien Sabe.

Arrived at the rancho he related his adventure, which told more like a Sindbad-the-sailor story than a true tale. It was the duty of the men of Quien Sabe to go that same day to the rodeo; but their blood was up for bears, and business must wait. They went off in various directions, Larios and two others toward the little hill where he had left bruin tied. Passing along a slope where was a large rye-field, suddenly there leaped before them a she-bear with three cubs. Instantly all were in hot pursuit. They lassoed her two or three times, and as often she threw off the reatas. At last the men let her go and pursued the cubs, each following one. One of the cubs escaped. Another pursued by Solórzano was overtaken, but the cub was so small it was impossible to use the reata on it in the rye-field. Leaping from his horse Solórzano seized the cub, which could scarcely run in the rye. Throwing his serape over him, he tied the young beast without difficulty. Larios followed the third cub, and running as hard as the ground would permit going down hill, overtook it, let himself partly down from his horse, seized one of the cub's legs, and thus running he lassoed it by the neck, and then let the leg go, and pulled the cub along. When Solórzano and Larios reached clear ground, they tied the cub.

The big bear and the two cubs were carried to Santa Ana. Some days later the big one was made to fight bulls. It killed one bull, and was gored to death by another. Of the cubs, one hanged itself accidentally, and the other became a pet of the boys. Thus ends the bear story of Larios.

The tekersie was a favorite game with the Indians. This was to send rolling a ring of three thumbs (pollici) in diameter, and to throw upon it two sticks, four feet long, so as to stop its course. If one or both traversed the ring, or the ring fell upon one or two, they counted so many points. When one couple had taken its turn

playing, others followed, until it had gone the rounds of the party.

Another favorite game of the Indians, played by both men and women, was to divide into two bands, each with a curved stick seeking to push a wooden ball to a mark, while the other band endeavored to thrust it back. It was deemed fun at a festival to place clothing on top of a mast smeared with tallow and sprinkled with dust and ashes, and let the Indians climb for it.

One of the few amusements of the padre at San José was to throw rolled-up pancakes into the gaping mouths of the boys, which would be caught by the teeth and swallowed like lightning, amid laughter and jokes.

The game of billiards was introduced at Monterey in 1828. No bets were allowed, and the price of the game was one real.

CHAPTER XIV.

OCCUPATIONS AND INDUSTRIES.

Strangers to ill, they nature's banquets proved,
Rich in earth's fruits, and of the blest beloved,
They sank in death, as opiate slumber stole
Soft o'er the sense, and whelmed the willing soul.
Theirs was each good, the grain-exuberant soil
Poured its full harvest uncompelled by toil:
The virtuous many dwelt in common blest,
And all unenvying shared what all in peace possessed.
—*Hesiod.*

Here, as elsewhere throughout America, it was as masters and not as laborers that men of the Latin race delighted to pose. Clymer says he never saw a Spanish Californian who was a mechanic, or who cultivated land. The aboriginal was the laboring man, and though not so badly treated here as in some other parts, his condition was practically that of a slave. Indeed, notwithstanding a law of July 13, 1824, to the contrary, there are instances approaching traffic in slaves.

Antonio José Rocha says that a man from New Mexico offered to sell him a boy that he had bought from one of the gentile tribes on the way to California, and to save the child from slavery, he determined to give him the $70 demanded, with the intent of adopting him as a son, and teaching him christianity, thus keeping him until he reached his majority, and then giving him his liberty. This may have been benevolence, or a pretext, or both.

Wages were sometimes paid, farm laborers from $3

to $10 a month, the mayordomo or overseer $16, a clerk $15; a neophyte carpenter at San Luis Rey was paid $8, who could have got $12 at Sutter's. Nevertheless, the native laborers could not move about from one place to another without a permit; they were paid whatever their masters chose, which were the chief conditions of slavery. Sutter says it was common for both Indians and Hispano-Californians to seize Indian women and children and sell them, and John Chamberlain asserts that while he was living at the Sacramento in 1844–6, it was the custom of Sutter himself to buy and sell Indian girls and boys.

Here, as elsewhere, an Indian laborer in debt to his master could not leave his service until the debt was paid. On quitting service the laborer must get from his late employer a paper showing that he is properly discharged. For refusing to give such a paper, or receiving a servant without it, except in the case of day laborers, the penalty was five dollars. In 1840 Argüello, the prefect of Angeles, directed that owners of ranchos having gentile Indians in their service should send them to the mission to be baptized by the minister. Says Bandini: "The neglect of the supreme government, the indifference of local governors, and the contempt and sinister views of the padres have prevented the advance of the Indians, and reduced them to vice and servility." I find among the archives of San Diego, in 1836, F. M. Alvarado petitioning the authorities in reference to a fine of $75 for whipping an Indian servant, asserting that although forbidden by law it was the custom.

Markoff, speaking of affairs in 1835, says that the Indian laborers were well satisfied with a fathom of black, red, and white glass beads for a season's work. Beads were in great demand among them, and commanded high prices. In addition to the payment of beads, the Indians must be furnished with parched corn unground; not because they would not eat anything else, but because the Spaniards would not allow

them to get used to better food, saying that they do not even earn that. The Indians, however, were satisfied with this, and if they wanted a delicacy they caught a field-mouse and roasted it on a stick.

There were, however, many among these Indians who had already become accustomed to living in houses, and acquired a considerable knowledge of domestic labor. To these the Californians either paid a salary, or clothed and fed them at their own table. Whenever an Indian became tired of this most primitive civilization, he was at liberty to return to his native hills.

After the Russians of Ross and Bodega, little was accomplished in ship-building until the coming of the Americans. There were Prior, Wolfskill, Yount, Laughlin, and Prentice at San Pedro, at work on a schooner for hunting sea-otter; and two or three years later the famous *Peor es Nada* was built at Monterey by Joaquin Gomez. Under Alvarado's rule, some small vessels were built at Santa Cruz for the coast trade between Monterey and San Luis Obispo. The captain of the port of Santa Bárbara was somewhat chagrined when on the 18th of April, 1839, the ship *Monsoon* arrived from Boston, and he had no boat in which to visit her officially; whereupon he petitioned the government and a boat was provided for him.

Comandante Vallejo, on June 1, 1840, at Sonoma, grants to John Davis and Mark West permission to cut timber on government lands in the vicinity of Drake and Bodega bays, for building boats to ply in the bay of San Francisco. They were to report every month the state of their work, and the persons employed, and the license to be duly recorded.

In 1841 John Davis of Yerba Buena asked the comandante general for permission to use the Mexican flag on a schooner, which he intended to build at the embarcadero where now stands Napa city; the boat to be called *Susana*, to be of thirty tons burden, and

employed in the coasting trade, he being a Mexican citizen. She took a cargo of potatoes to Mazatlan in 1843, where ship and cargo were both sold.

If Sir George Simpson tells the truth, there was not in 1842, on the inland waters of San Francisco, or anywhere upon the coast from this point to San Diego, any boat, barge, canoe, or other floating thing, except the native balsa made of bulrushes, in which priests and publicans used to cross the bay, or even sometimes venture out to sea. But Sir George Simpson did not tell the truth.

Micheltorena saw the great advantage a steam vessel would give for transport, and formed a company in 1842 to buy one; but there were no lucky stock-gamblers or money kings here then. The Englishman Bocle asked permission the year following to build a 35 tons vessel for the coast trade, which request the governor readily granted.

Gregson says he worked with Henry Marshall at Sutter's fort in 1845, sawing lumber for a schooner to be built on the headwaters of the Cosumnes, fifty miles away. They received for the lumber $30 a thousand feet. In July 1846, upon the testimony of Boggs, there were at Yount's rancho Chiles, Baldridge, Davis, Rose, Chino, and Reynolds, the three last named ship-carpenters. They were building for the Napa River a launch, which was christened at the embarcadero, with the imposing ceremonies used on such occasions.

A forest law obtained; permission was required to fell trees; the exportation of timber was forbidden, and the transport from port to port required a permit from the alcalde, who should keep an account of the quantity. Penalty to be equivalent to the value of timber estimated by two experts, and to be paid to the municipal fund of the defrauded place. Captains of vessels were the responsible parties. All vessels might take needful supplies of timber for repairs, after consulting the captain of the port and the alcalde.

On the 13th of May, 1834, a despatch from San Francisco was read in the assembly at Monterey, stating that a number of foreigners were occupied within that jurisdiction destroying the forests. The jefe recommended measures to preserve the woods, and a change of the reglamento of August 17, 1830, imposing a tax on timber.

Figueroa in his report in 1834 to the secretary of fomento says that many public works are needed. At the capital and elsewhere casas consistoriales are of absolute necessity, and the plans and estimates he has ordered made are in an advanced state. On account of the swampy condition of the road to the landing at Monterey, it is necessary to construct a paved street. As Monterey is the principal port for the daily increasing foreign commerce, a wharf is needed. The cost would not be great. He has confided to his secretary, Captain Zamorano, the making of a topographical plan of Monterey which approaches completion. The government ordered a strong fortification above San Francisco Bay, commanding the Russian establishment of Ross.

Echeandía formed a plan, but went no further. The governor was now resolved to carry it into effect, and made a few preliminary preparations. The chronic lack of funds, however, prevented the happy consummation of this projected benefit.

About the middle of 1845 a pier was constructed at Monterey, contracted for by the authorities with Larkin. Estévan de la Torre furnished 1,500 cart-loads of stone at $1 a load; the stone was quarried by some military deserters and Indians, who were given their food and $1 each daily. The piles were furnished by Garner at $4 each, laid down near the pier. The cost of the pier was $8,000, more or less, and was made a preference charge on the custom-house.

Markoff declares that "the Californians have neither windmills nor water-mills with large stones. Some of them, but only a few, possess hand-mills; while for

the most part they obtain flour by crushing the grain between two large stones. You can imagine how much flour one man can make in this manner in a day. . . . This is the reason why in California, where wheat may be said to grow wild, flour is dear. A loaf about half the size of our French 'bulkas' costs one real; that is, they sell eight for a piastre, and even at that price they are not always to be had."

On the 22d of July, 1847, the Angeles ayuntamiento being in session, the committee on streets reported on their arrangement of the thoroughfares: the proposal of 15-varas-wide streets was opposed to comfort and to law. Libro 4, título 7, ley 1, says that streets shall be wide in cool places and narrow in warm places; and where horses are used, they shall be broad.

In February 1848, the agricultural land-owners of Angeles were called upon to send the peones with tools, to aid in repairing the irrigation-works, under penalty of four reales a day until the work was done.

If there was one thing the Californians could do better than another, it was carrying the mails; though when it came to carrying them or not carrying them, that was a different matter.

They began to ride almost as soon as they could walk, and such children as were not killed in the beginning became expert riders. A boy as soon as he had the strength would go out upon the hills, lasso a wild colt, halter and mount it, and then let it go flying over the open country until exhausted. If the colt fell in jumping a ditch, or rolled over in order to get rid of its burden, the boy looked out to keep on top. Corrals were formed by driving poles (estantes) into the ground; these were secured by ledges (latas) tied with thongs. The corral was about 200 varas in diameter.

Twice a week a courier was despatched in either direction between the missions, starting from San Diego at one end and San Francisco at the other; letters and messages were thus conveyed from one

point to another along the entire line—each mission contributing its quota, and furnishing its share of horses and messengers. The courier was always a Spanish soldier, never an Indian.

Referring to the delays of couriers, Gutierrez, writing to the padres and officials in February 1836, orders that mails leave Monterey on the 7th of the month, at 8 P. M. The soldier carrying it is to be relieved by another at Santa Bárbara, who is to be relieved at San Gabriel by the soldier who takes the mail to San Diego. Mails to leave San Diego the 22d of every month, at 5 A. M., for San Gabriel, Santa Bárbara, and Monterey. A horse and vaquero, to attend the soldier in case of accident, was to be kept ready; and the courier kept to time, according to an enclosed table of arrivals and departures at each halting-place. The people were to be notified twenty-four hours before arrival, so as to have letters posted.

Above Monterey the service was particularly poor. Says Vallejo, writing to the minister of war in 1841: "The administration of the post-office in this department is an unknown thing; there is no regularly established mail service. The mails are exposed to all who choose to tamper with them, and offenders have no fear of punishment." W. A. Bartlett thus writes to *The Californian* in 1846: "There is a regular express mail from the headquarters of the northern military district at Yerba Buena to Sonoma and New Helvetia, leaving every Wednesday morning, and returning from Sonoma as soon as the river mail arrives. Also constant communication from headquarters at Yerba Buena to Sauzalito, San Rafael, San Pablo, Pinole, Cerrito, and other points on the opposite coast."

Half a year afterward, the editor of *The Californian* thus laments: "It is a melancholy sight for a poor editor to look over the packages of eight weeks of his little paper, and see no possible means of sending them to his subscribers, and little encouragement to

subscribers to be two months at a time without their papers." In the spring of 1847 a new mail arrangement went into effect. The first arrival brought many letters and papers. Quartermasters at military posts were the postmasters. Where there was no military post, the alcalde received, delivered, and forwarded the mails. The arrangement was for military purposes; and as there was no other mail in the country, the governor ordered that the citizens "be accommodated by having their letters and papers sent free of expense."

This service was performed on horseback by a party consisting of two soldiers, which started every other Monday from San Diego and San Francisco, the parties meeting at Dana's rancho the next Sunday to exchange mails; starting back on their respective routes the next morning, and arriving at San Diego and San Francisco on the Sunday following. The mail was thus carried once a fortnight from San Diego to San Francisco, and from San Francisco to San Diego.

From San Diego, the mail arrived at San Luis Rey Monday evening; at the pueblo de los Angeles, Wednesday noon; at Santa Bárbara, Friday evening; at Monterey, Thursday evening; and at San Francisco, Sunday evening. From San Francisco, the mail arrived at Monterey Wednesday evening; at Dana's rancho, Sunday evening; at Santa Bárbara, Tuesday evening; at the pueblo de los Angeles, Friday noon; at San Luis Rey, Saturday evening; and at San Diego, Sunday evening. This was exceedingly quick work as compared with that in some other localities. For example, Castañares found in 1843 at Mazatlan a mail-bag with many important communications, which had been lying there since 1837!

Lugo states that public rodeos were generally held in April, to allow each man to pick out his own from the mission stock. When the time came, the alcalde beat the drum, and announced the day when the rodeo would begin. A juez de campo presided.

The owners singled out their stock, and took it to one of the four *apartaderos*. Thereupon the juez de campo revised the various herds, before the owner could take them away. No document was given; indeed, few could write one. Arrived at his rancho, the owner branded the calves, and cut the ears with his peculiar mark.

Stock was let into the fields to finish the remnants of the harvest. The stubble was pulled out, heaped up, and burned. Maize, frijoles, lentils, chick-pease, calabash, and melons were sown from March to May and June, and harvested in August and September. Wheat and barley were sown generally in December and January, sometimes in November. Barley was reaped in May and June, and wheat in July and August. Special lands were generally kept for each of these grains. Pease could be sown at any time.

Reaping wheat was done by knives and sickles, and stacks formed to be carted to the thrashing-floor. Here they were spread, and mares sent in to trample out the grain, while the straw was turned. Such straw as was not thoroughly thrashed was thrown in again, or beaten with sticks. For maize, pease, and frijoles, heavy sticks were used; and for other things, smaller sticks. The grain was next freed from chaff (paja) by blowing (ventear), first with the aid of wooden forks, then with shovels.

Those who had no granary put the grain in leather bags, holding from three to six fanegas. Horse-hides were generally used, since cattle-hides were reserved for sale. The maize was kept in the ear, and was shelled by hand when needed for food. Such as was sold had to be shelled by thrashing (á fuerza de garrotazos). Frijoles, pease, lentils, and chick-pease were kept in bags, or in dry places. Their enemy was the grub (gorgojo), which attacked them while stored. Grubs were not so numerous as now. Rats and mice also did damage, but worst of all were squirrels, moles, crows, and *sanates* (a bird). Bird-catchers

had to be kept busy against them, traps set, and small arrows used. Grain culture was a small industry before 1825–30, rancheros raising sufficient only for their own use, and to supply the presidios. The missions had to produce largely to feed their people.

The poor people who had no stock of their own were generally employed as vaqueros to handle the stock, work in matanzas, and to some small extent in cultivating the soil. The gente de razon did the principal work, that is, handling stock, marking, branding, and killing. The poorest labor was done by the somewhat christianized Indians.

Coronel says that the men occupied themselves exclusively in caring for the cattle and horses, but this only during the season of the rodeos, that they might protect their own interests, and when the slaughter of cattle took place, in order to collect the hides and tallow wherewith to make purchases and the payment of their debts—for these articles served in lieu of money. They were not devoted to agriculture; for at the missions they obtained what grain they wanted. Some, however, cultivated land for their own use, and later, as the missions decayed, all were compelled to pay some attention to cultivating their land. At this time the men of a certain age still preserved the character of their Spanish progenitors. Formal and upright, imperious yet honorable, in their business transactions—however great the value involved—no aid of men learned in the law, or even that of witnesses, was sought or needed. But these characteristics rapidly disappeared as what was then deemed knowledge increased.

Speaking of the splendid riding, Sepúlveda says that the few who were not good riders were looked upon with a sort of contempt. Their attachment to their steeds was as great as the Arab's, and the greatest token of friendship between man and man was the present of their best horse.

The Californians always galloped, says Gomez, never

reining in to smoke. When the horse tired, the traveller would catch the first other one he saw, and so continue changing his steed, always sure of recovering it on returning. The hat was small in the opening and a string was put on to secure it. The rider usually had his mouth open as if to keep the hat-string tight, and the hat secure; often as he rode along he filled the air with popular ditties. If rain overtook the horseman, he would ride into the first house he came to, if there were no outhouses or sheds.

The story goes that a horseman of San José won a wager that he could start at full gallop with a salver of a dozen wine-glasses filled to the brim, and after fifty rods to stop suddenly and hand down the salver without having spilled a drop.

In horsemanship, the Californians compared favorably with the sturdy Chilians and the flimsily attired and almost effeminate Peruvian. Both the Californian man and horse were superior to the Mexican in strength and weight, and by the different arrangement of the saddle-gear—the girth exactly in the centre, and stirrup forward, almost an appendage from the pommel—his figure erect and well poised. The Gaucho of the pampas perhaps might excel him in some of the light exercises; but for hard work, strength, and agility, the Californian stood unrivalled. Serrano remarks that when Californian women ride on horseback they use the same trappings and saddles as men, though without ornaments; some are exceedingly skilful in managing a horse, mounting alone and with agility. As the saddles on which they ride have the saddle-bow and stirrups taken off, they use as a stirrup for one foot a silk band, one end being made fast at the pommel, the other at the cantle. When the lady is not a skilful rider and is afraid, the caballero seats her on the saddle, and taking off his spurs mounts on the crupper, and taking the reins guides the horse.

Breaking horses was a science. A wild horse was lassoed; a headstall and saddle put on; and a man

mounted to run him tame, using the more spurs and whip the more he bucked.

According to Amador, though the Californians have always been good horsemen and vaqueros, they were not equal to the Mexicans. Nevertheless, they have distinguished themselves at rodeos and in lassoing cattle, horses, and even bears. They were never notable toreros, or bull-fighters. Amador's testimony is not sustained.

Californians objected to mounting horses whose mane and tail had been cut; nor would they ride a mare. "We were at Monterey for about three months," says Maxwell, writing of 1842; "we became intimate with many of the families in town, and used to spend our time pleasantly. But the Californians were very bitter, Castro especially. I had bought a fine mare for nine dollars; it was considered very ultra for a man to ride a mare in those days, and the girls used to call out after me, Yegua! yegua!"

Young fellows would often remove the reins of their horses and guide them merely with blows of their hat upon the head. At times they would lasso some animal, cast away the lazo, follow it, and pick it up at full run. Bonifacio Lopez, weighing three hundred pounds, used to ride his horse at full speed up and down a perilous trail at Soledad near San Diego, to the great wonder even of his countrymen.

At San Gabriel were woven serapes and blankets, as well as a coarse woollen stuff called jerga. There were also manufactured saddles, bits, botas, and shoes. There was a soap-boiling establishment, a larger carpenter's shop, and a lesser one—in which latter boys were taught the use of tools. Wine and olive oil were made, likewise bricks and adobes. Chocolate was made of cacao brought from abroad. Dulces and limonada were made, and sent by Padre Sanchez to Spain. In each department was a maestro, that is, an Indian, who being well instructed, had become de

razon. Of course there was at first a white man at the head of the weaving department, but when the Indians were sufficiently instructed, he withdrew.

Salvador Vallejo had a large soap factory at his Napa rancho, which brought him in several thousand dollars a year. Larkin and Fitch also made a good profit on soap. It is a fact that savages and filthy nations take kindly to soap.

"All agree in pronouncing the country good for fruit," says Bidwell. "I saw in Ross, toward the end of January, a small but thrifty orchard of apple, peach, pear, cherry, and quince trees, most of them as green as in summer. Flowers were abundant. The wine grape is cultivated, and grows to great perfection."

It is a singular fact that the padres discouraged the growth of oranges and lemons outside of the mission grounds, being apparently as jealous of monopolizing these, as that the whole kingdom of Christ should be subject to their sole administration.

From the earliest years the government provided master carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, weavers, etc., for instructing the Indians. The man in charge of the soap factory was however an hombre de razon, paid by the mission.

All the woollen goods made were coarse and suited to the necessities of the time, for in the early days of the country the government tolerated no display of luxury. Father Duran well understood how to make wine and aguardiente; clear brandy of San José, which came out with the appearance of clear water, was colored with a sirup made with burnt sugar. The color was then light yellow. The brandy was double-distilled, and therefore very strong.

At San Luis Obispo cotton clothes were made of good quality, as well as rebozos, quilts, and other things of the same material. So says Mrs Ord.

According to José María Amador the mission San José had 5 looms making 150 woollen blankets weekly,

and one which made 9 serapes during the same time.

Janssens assures us there were 400 barrels of wine and 135 of brandy made in San Gabriel in 1840.

José de J. Pico informs us that during Father Luis A. Martinez' management of mission San Luis Obispo, down to 1830, its Indians were better clothed than the soldiers and other gente de razon. "At the mission," he says, "good blue cloth was made for cloaks and pantaloons, and manta, because there were plantations of cotton which yielded considerably."

The theory of religious colonization had it that it was right and proper for the missionaries to get as much land, labor, or other benefits out of savagism as possible, the inestimable benefits of christianity being more than an offset for anything savagedom could offer, had each convert a world to give. Hence it was that if the natives could be made to work for nothing, the padres did not scruple to let them do so. But after a time it was demonstrated that to pay them four or six dollars a month, and let them spend the money at the mission store, was cheaper than to give them nothing. In 1842 the wages of a white man, not a mechanic, were about $25 a month, skilled labor receiving three dollars a day—not far from prices to-day.

The relations between the missionaries and the military officers were not always friendly. There was a corpulent minister at La Soledad, Florencio Ibañez, who was sent to California for having knocked an officer down with his fist in Pitic, Sonora. He never extended privileges to the officers, and when any one of them came to the mission, he made him eat of the same food out of the pozolera that the neophytes got, saying that it was what he himself had. Once Captain de la Guerra visited the mission and attempted to embrace the padre, but the latter only permitted him to touch his habit. However, this priest was an intimate friend of Governor Arrillaga, and repeatedly made presents to the common soldiers, all of whom

loved him for his charity. He would say that the officers had their pay, and must live on it, and that the neophytes needed for themselves all that the mission produced. He at all times manifested a great interest for his flock, treating them kindly, and teaching them not only the best way of doing their work, but also vocal and instrumental music. At their death, he paid their remains the same honors as to those of the wealthy. Most of the Fernandino friars were exemplary men, and Padre Ibañez was one of the best beloved by the Indians.

Two missionaries of considerable prominence—José Altimira, who planted the symbol of christianity in the valley of Sonoma, and Antonio Ripoll, a very enthusiastic priest, who served in La Purísima and Santa Bárbara—effected their escape, in 1828, on an American vessel, from the port of Santa Bárbara. They went on board with the pretext of purchasing goods, and never returned. A letter left on the beach, and addressed to Captain de la Guerra, informed him of their intention to save themselves from the harsh treatment which the authorities of Mexico were inflicting on Spaniards. They acted on the idea that Mexican priests would soon come out to relieve them, and then they, the old Spanish missionaries, would be expelled without mercy. Previous to jumping into the boat that conveyed them to the ship, they tenderly bid the Indians good-bye, but did not signify their intention not to come back. Father Ripoll was weeping, and Altimira uttered not a word. The fathers did not carry any money with them. All the money the mission Santa Bárbara had was left behind.

Altimira had been for several months at Santa Bárbara in ill health. Ripoll's colleague, Francisco Suñer, was blind. These fathers, like all the other Spanish missionaries, had refused to swear allegiance to the constitution of Mexico. It was for this reason that the father-prefect, Vicente Francisco de Sarría, was imprisoned.

The Californians had a great lack of enterprise. As an example: Chiles and Baldridge found an admirable site for a mill on the Napa river, on Salvador Vallejo's rancho. They offered to buy it, but nothing would induce Salvador to sell. Then they offered to erect a fine flour-mill there, and give him an interest in it for the site, but he refused, saying that the mill would frighten his cattle. Sage Salvador! He had all he wanted; how could the mill add to his happiness?

Sir George Simpson expresses the opinion that in industry the Californians were perhaps the least promising colonists in the world, being inferior to what the savages had become under the training of the priests, so that the spoliation of the missions tended directly to stop civilization. There were once large flocks of sheep, but now in 1842 there were scarcely any left. Wool used to be manufactured into coarse cloth; and because the Californians were too lazy to weave or spin, or even to clip and wash the raw material, sheep were destroyed, to make room for horned cattle. Soap and leather used to be made in the missions, and also dairy products, but now, he says, neither butter, cheese, nor other preparation of milk is to be found in the province. The missions produced annually 80,000 bushels of wheat and maize, which they converted into flour; at present the government paid $28 a barrel for flour. Beef was occasionally cured for exportation, yet now, though quantities of meat are destroyed annually, the authorities had to purchase salted salmon as sea stores for a small vessel, and so on. But the Hudson's Bay magnate, like many another, throwing a glance at the country as he passes by or through it, though he might see much, he could not see all.

Leather was made to some extent, but in no proportion to the demands or possibilities of the country. At most of the missions some leather was tanned, the

Santa Bárbara inventory of 1845 showing a tannery house, five good vats, and other articles in proportion. Hall says the natives "made shoes from leather tanned by themselves, in a hurried process; that is, a sham process. They used to take a large ox-hide, gather up its corners, hang it on a tree or beam raised with posts, then fill the hide with water and oak bark, and place therein the skins to be tanned. In this manner they prepared sole-leather. The uppers for shoes were made from smoked deer-skin, colored. Not a bad-looking shoe was the final result of their labor on skins."

Some work in wool was carried on by the Indians, who, says Clymer, "beat the wool with two sticks in place of cards, and when it is beaten enough, they spin it with a stick, and lay the warp by driving a number of small sticks in the ground. It is raised by letting a stick run through sufficiently to pass a small ball through, and brought up with the same stick. Of course their fabric is coarse, but they make it very durable." In 1845 San Antonio had two looms, Santa Inés two, Santa Bárbara four large looms and one small one, and so on. In Petaluma, San José, Santa Clara, and in the more southern missions were weaving factories, where striped serapes with black and white borders were made.

On the 7th of June, 1831, Victoria writes the minister of relations that manufacturing exists only at the missions, and is performed by neophytes, who make ordinary woollen textures for which part of the wool from their sheep is used. Some missions have woven blankets, serapes, sackcloth (sayal), and pañetes. There are also at the missions smiths, carpenters, shoemakers, tanners, etc., though capable of greater perfection. There is a lamentable carelessness, due in great part to want of men, and the abundance of the actual necessaries of life.

Nothing was made of stone, clay, gold, silver, iron, copper, or lead; nor of hair, silk, feathers, or bones.

Leather and sole-leather were made from hides, for shoes and other uses. Of wool were made blankets and serapes—very coarse work.

The inventory of San Gabriel in 1834 includes one wool-weaving establishment with four looms; a brandy distillery with eight stills; a wine manufactory with three presses; a smithy, carpenter-shop, soap factory, and two grist-mills.

The inventory of San Miguel in 1837 values the shoemaking shop with its implements in round figures at $26; hat-making, $60; weaving—25 good wheels—$564; carpenter-shop with implements, $114; tallow-melting, $46; soap-making, $170; mill, for mule labor and hen-house, $99; tannery house, with implements, $300. At San Antonio the weaving establishment was valued at $1,212.

Wheat was ground on metates at first, and for a considerable time. In 1833 there was an adobe grist-mill run by water at Capistrano mission, which was destroyed by an overflow, a wooden one being afterward erected in its place.

A water-mill at Petaluma, belonging to Bell, in 1838 ground 100 pounds daily. Then there was the arrastra, some of which had two or three stones, smooth on one side, the one above it being secured with a piece of iron. Iron pasadores were obtained from the vessels, and a pole fastened to the pasador. To this pole horses were attached, and made to move in a circle round the stones.

The year 1842 saw grist-mills in Santa Cruz county, one built by Dodero, an Italian, and another on the Potrero by one Weeks. The stones were of granite, found in that vicinity. The women washed the wheat, and separated the flour with a sieve; they had no bolt. Bell had a good mill in Napa Valley by this time, and Yount had one near the Sonoma Valley. Peter Sainsevain in 1844 erected a flour-mill on the Guadalupe River, in the San José valley. He used French buhr-stones, and a silk bolting-cloth, and ground

75 fanegas of wheat a day. Some Frenchmen had a saw-mill near Santa Cruz in 1844; there was one erected at San Gabriel in 1846; and the following year Monterey had one.

The Indians made sugar, and why should not the Californians? A reed which grew in the Tulares was cut by the natives when ripe, placed on metates, and crushed. When the refuse was removed, there remained crystals of fine flavor, something like azúcar candi, or rock candy, and of which tamales were made, rolled in reed leaves.

Híjar speaks of a coffee-colored bulb, called torogüi, somewhat larger than the Mexican cacomite of which sugar was made. The bulbs were placed in a hole in the ground, on a bed of hot stones and embers, and baked, in which form they were used to sweeten atole. Then there were the panocha balls made from the crystallized saccharine matter shaken from the dried leaves of a wild reed of light stem found near the missions.

In the year 1838 there came to Monterey one Octavio Custot, surnamed El Azucarero, the sugar-maker, so called because he did not know how to make sugar. He was a sharp fellow, this Octavio; and thinking that among the simple-minded people of our lotos-land it were easy enough to live by one's wits, he deserted from his ship. With the Swiss of New Helvetia, he thought what a fine thing it would be to lay the Californias at the feet of France.

But El Azucarero—it was at Sonoma that he acquired this title, and it was in this wise: Closeted one day with the autocrat of the frontier, he revealed the startling intelligence that he could make sugar; he could fabricate the genuine saccharine substance from beets.

Vallejo was a man of progress. All his life he had spent in this far-away wilderness, and there were now

coming to these shores so many strangers with so many strange tales, ideas new to him, and things never before heard of, that he was ready to believe almost anything. Indeed, there was no reason why sugar should not be made from beets, and perhaps tea from oak leaves, and coffee from manzanita berries.

"Doubtless all is as you say," remarked Vallejo; "but where are the beets?"

"Grow them," replied Custot.

"I have no seed," said Vallejo.

"Send for some," answered Custot.

Indeed, the cunning Octavio had all along reckoned on this—on the absence of facilities, and the restful days in store for him while awaiting them; for this, to a deserted sailor, was a fat country, with balmy air and beautiful women.

To his mayordomo at Petaluma Vallejo finally sent the fellow, with orders to place at his disposal four yoke of oxen, eight Indians, and a dwelling and provisions. "Civilization is indeed a boon," thought Octavio, as he lay under a madroño smoking his pipe, while the slow-stepping oxen furrowed forty acres.

Seed was found at Mazatlan, and when it came it was pronounced of good quality—very good quality. "But," said Octavio, "nothing can be done now; it is too late to plant this season." So there was nothing to be done but to extend to El Azucarero his free and easy living at Petaluma through the summer.

At length the rains came, the seed was put into the ground, the beets grew, sun and virgin soil combining to make the biggest and reddest roots on record. The master came frequently from Sonoma to see the beets grow, and in his mind to compute the quantity of sugar each contained, and how much would that be an acre, and what was forty times that, and it was about time to think of getting barrels ready.

Finally came to Sonoma July 1830, and with it a fine box of sugar from Custot to the señora, who pronounced it fine—very fine; equal to her loaf-sugar

brought from Peru. "Here is an industry worth having," mused the master—"oxen, Indian labor, unlimited lands; why, I will have in beets millions of acres, and presently ships carrying hence the great staple to every quarter of the earth."

But what is this the señora says, as she returns with the servant from putting in the storehouse with the other the new production? Her sugar is gone! A dozen loaves of her best Peruvian stolen! Ah! all is clear; she always knew that Octavio to be a thief. Vallejo hurried to Petaluma, demanded to see the process, and was told it would not bear too much light. "True; nor yourself," replied Vallejo as he ordered Solano to take the impostor to Yerba Buena. Solano obeyed, landing El Azucarero waist-deep in water.

Crossing the plains, George Yount dropped himself down in Sonoma, and stood before the master.

"What can you do?" demanded Vallejo.

"Many things," said Yount.

"I do not want you to do many things; what one thing can you do that no one else does here?"

"I have seen no shingles in California; your new house yonder is about ready for them; I can make shingles."

"What are tzin—tzin—, how you call them—tzingals?"

Yount explained, going through with all the operations, barking the felled tree, cross-cutting in block eighteen inches long, splitting and shaving, and all with the simplest tools.

"Very well," replied Vallejo, who had followed him attentively, though half incredulously; "you shall make me some tzingals and roof my house."

The work was done, and the autocrat was highly pleased; he had a 'tzingaled' house, the first in all the two Californias, and he was very proud of it. This looked indeed like civilization.

Again the mechanic stood before the master.

"What shall I give you?" asked Vallejo.

"I would like some land in Napa Valley, if you would lend me a few heifers so that I might start a herd," said Yount.

"How much land?"

"Half a league."

"You can't have half a league; we don't give half leagues here, with five hundred miles on our north, and a thousand on our east, unoccupied. You can have four leagues."

"I will take a league," said Yount, who was thinking of the care and cost attending the ownership of so large a tract.

"You can have two leagues, and nothing less," replied Vallejo; and so the matter ended.

CHAPTER XV.

INLAND TRADE AND COAST TRAFFIC.

With ships the sea was sprinkled far and nigh,
Like stars in heaven and joyously it show'd,
Some lying fast at anchor in the road,
Some veering up and down, one knew not why.
—*Wordsworth.*

Under the exclusive policy pursued by Spain toward her American colonies, California could have, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, no external trade. Indeed, aside from a few products furnished to the Phillippines galleon, and to the transports which brought supplies for the presidios and missions, and some salt sent from time to time to San Blas, on government account, she exported nothing down to 1786. A royal order of this year allowed a free trade for eight years with San Blas, which privilege was later extended for five years more with duties reduced one-half; but California derived little if any advantage from the concession.

The mother country undertook in 1785 to open a trade between the Californias and China, bartering peltries for quicksilver; and a commissioner was appointed to study the question and make the necessary arrangements for carrying out the scheme. Skins of various kinds were to be procured by the Indians, delivered to the missionaries, and then be turned over to the government agent at from $2.50 to $10 each, according to size and color. Private persons were forbidden to become purchasers of furs. The friars favored this project, which would afford an additional income to the missions. The agent obtained about

1,600 otter skins, returning with them to Mexico, whence at the end of 1787 he took them to Manila for account of the royal treasury. Before 1790 the number of skins shipped to that Asiatic port from both Californias was 9,729, at a total cost, including the agent's salary and expenses, of $87,669. But in the latter year it was thought best to leave the fur trade in private hands. However, it appears that some otter skins were procured for government account after that time. The English were intriguing to secure the business, which was checked by the treaty entered into in October 1790, between Great Britain and Spain, inhibiting the subjects of the former power from killing otter within thirty miles of any part of the coast occupied by the latter,—that is, all of California below San Francisco,—and from engaging in any trade with the Spanish establishments.

There were several reasons why the trade in peltries met with ill success. First, the furs obtained in California were fewer in number than had been expected, because the natives lacked skill and the necessary implements. Secondly, the quality of the otter skins was inferior to that of the skins taken to China from the Northwest Coast. Third, the tariff of prices fixed by the government agent at first was considered excessive. The royal fur traders were not satisfied with a fair profit. Then, too, the Spaniards did not know how either to prepare the skins or conduct the business. Nor were private individuals disposed to engage in a business which had been abandoned by the government. Nevertheless, the natives continued gathering furs for the missions, and in later years American smugglers carried off considerable quantities in exchange for goods.

There was no development whatever in any other commercial branch. Each year two transports came to California, one usually visiting San Diego and Santa Bárbara, and the other Monterey and San

Francisco, with supplies for the missions and presidios. The Manila galleon touched at Monterey in 1784 and 1785. Every precaution was taken to prevent communications of foreign vessels with the country, though in cases of distress such vessels were furnished stores and water. The laws prohibited trade not only with foreign vessels, and for foreign goods, but with Spanish vessels and for Hispano-American goods, if brought by other than the regular transports. At first even the transports were not allowed to bring any other goods than those which had been called for by the habilitados of the presidios. It is known, however, that this rule was not closely kept; the officers and others on the ships bringing on private speculation from San Blas articles for barter with the soldiers, for liquors, bright colored cloths, trinkets, etc. A trifling quantity of produce, brandy, figs, and raisins, was imported overland for the friars from Lower California. Several projects were contemplated to foster trade, but they never took effect. In 1788 the governor issued a new schedule of prices of live-stock, agricultural products, and articles he was likely to require: horses, $3 to $9; asses, $6 to $7; calves, $1.50; bulls, $4; sheep, 75 cents to $2; swine $1 to $4; mules, $16 to $20; mares, $3; cows, $4; oxen, $5; goats, 75 cents to $1; jerked beef, 75 cents per 25 lbs.; fresh beef, 25 cents per 25 lbs.; hides, untanned, 37 cents; tanned, $2.25; wool $1.25 to $2 per 25 lbs; wheat, $2 per fanega; barley, $1 per fanega; maize $1.50 per fanega; beans, $2.50 per fanega; flour, $1.25 to $2 per 25 lbs.; sugar, 25 cents per lbs.; brandy, 75 cents per pint. The list was modified some years later, with an increase in the price of some articles; the number of articles was also greatly augmented, including those of luxury, which in the earlier years had been severely excluded.

Early in the 19th century American vessels began to appear at California ports, under the pretext of needing supplies, their real object being to secure

otter skins, for which they had goods to give in exchange, in which illicit traffic they were sometimes successful. The Americans were not the only foreigners poaching in the Spanish preserves of the Californias; the Russians also endeavored to establish commercial relations in some form. Joseph O'Cain, commander of the ship *O'Cain*, persuaded Baránof, chief of the Russo-American colonies, to let him have a number of Aleuts, with their bidarkas, to take otters on shares. O'Cain left Kadiak in October 1803, and did some trading on the coast of Alta California. He touched at San Diego in January 1804, for provisions, which were denied him. After hovering some time on the coast of Lower California, he returned to Kadiak in June with 1,100 otter skins to be shared with the Russians. The same ship, and another American vessel under Russian auspices, visited the coast of Lower California in 1805 and 1806. These voyages yielded about 6,250 otter skins. The Russians allege that Baránof forbade their hunting on the California coast without special permission from the Spanish authorities, but no such permission was either asked for or obtained. From this time on, for ten years or upwards, the Yankees with the aid of the skilful Aleuts, under contracts with the Russians, had things their own way in California. They disposed of their goods by barter with the friars, and even occasionally with the officials. The hunters, became more and more emboldened, until they actually came to take otter in the bay of San Francisco, under the very eyes of the Spanish authorities, who were powerless to prevent it. It is known that the Russo-Alaskan company thus obtained nearly 10,000 otter skins as their share of the number taken by the contractors. It is believed that the latter were honest in rendering an account of the animals killed; but in other respects they caused trouble and loss to the company by occasional sharp practice. The contract system was discontinued about 1815.

In 1806 famine stalked in Alaska, owing to the wreck of a vessel with supplies, and the failure of another to arrive. Scurvy also made its appearance, Hunger, misery, despair, and death were fast reducing the number of the colonists. The chamberlain, Rezánof, who had come to Sitka the previous year on a visit of inspection, loaded the ship *Juno* with such articles as were thought to be acceptable in California, and proceeded to the port of San Francisco, which he reached early in March, after a stormy passage, in which the lives of all on board were repeatedly in peril. Rezánof well knew that trading with foreigners was forbidden in California, but he hoped to soften the hearts of the Spanish authorities to relieve the pressing need of food. Possibly there might be a little business transacted in furs, if not with the permission of the officials, then through the connivance of the missionaries. But he had for a time to contend with Governor Arrillaga's regard for duty. While admitting that commerce would be beneficial to the people of California, the governor felt bound to comply with the strict orders he had from the crown and the viceroy of New Spain. The most he would permit was the purchase of cereals for cash; no sales of goods from the ships, nor purchase of peltries should be allowed. But where diplomacy failed, love, all-conquering love, succeeded. Rezánof won the heart of Concepcion Argüello, the comandante's daughter, and offered his hand to her in marriage. Through this intermediary the comandante's influence was brought to favor the chamberlain's wishes. Arrillaga found himself at last unable to resist the pressure of the friars, the people, his own inclinations to favor the country, and the arguments of his friend of thirty years' standing, Captain José Darío Árgüello. He yielded, and a complicated plan was devised, by which specie was made to appear as the medium of purchase on both sides, Rezánof's name not appearing in the transactions. Pursuant to this

arrangement the ship was soon loaded with wheat and flour, maize, barley, beans, oats, and pease; salt, soap, tallow, etc. The ship delivered goods, which had originally cost about $5,000. Rezánof now delayed his departure as little as possible, and arrived safely at Sitka on the 19th of June.

The Russians after this determined to establish a settlement on the coast of California, the port of Bodega and the country back of it being the chosen spot. The Russian emperor gave his assent, without saying anything of Spanish opposition. The Russo-American company was simply authorized, as regarded commerce, to arrange the matter in their own way. The first attempt at Bodega in 1810 was unsuccessful. Meanwhile Captain Jonathan Winship, in the *O'Cain*, visited the California coast in 1810–11, under contract with the company, and returned to Alaska with 5,400 otter skins. His brother, Nathan Winship, in the *Albatross*, under a similar contract, took 1,120 skins. Several other ships were at this time engaged in the same traffic, namely, the *Isabella*, *Mercury*, *Catherine*, *Amethyst*, and *Charon*. The Russians finally effected the desired settlement, commenced agricultural operations, and made efforts to open a trade with California, but their overtures were unfavorably received, and they were ordered to quit the territory. While the revolutionary war raged in Mexico, California was left without supplies. Fortunately a small trade with Peru began, two ships coming from Callao with cloth and miscellaneous goods, to barter for tallow, hides, and other produce. The American ship *Mercury* was captured on the coast with a cargo worth $16,000, which afforded considerable relief. The Russians at Ross were after a time allowed to send to San Francisco, in bidarkas, goods to the amount of $14,000. From this time commercial relations were rarely interrupted. In 1814 another Spanish vessel sold $16,000 worth of goods for treasury drafts. A small amount of money

was also obtained from two English vessels that visited Monterey and San Francisco. Lieutenant Moraga was sent a third time to Ross to order the Russians to depart; but the officer in charge, Kuskof, found it convenient not to understand a message conveyed to him in Spanish, and despatched his clerk to San Francisco with the usual cargo, which by the indulgence of Captain Luis Argüello, the comandante, found a ready sale, and the Russians met ever after with the same success, to the benefit of the troops and people of California, for they not only furnished needed articles, but purchased large quantities of grain. And thus it was that from the year 1815 to the end of the Spanish domination, in 1822, the period of most complete interruptions of trade with Mexico, and consequently of greatest want, with what the Russians furnished and vessels from Lima brought, the situation was rendered less insufferable. In fact, during the last half of the decade 1811–20, there was no need on the part of foreign vessels to resort to smuggling, for the Spanish authorities were glad to purchase every cargo, Spanish or foreign, though duties were exacted on all exports and imports, according to a tariff devised to meet, as alleged, the needs of California; but practically, there was no obstacle to free commercial relations. Nevertheless, there is nothing to show that any trade was carried on with foreign vessels, even contraband, except by the government. Of course there was smuggling even then to some extent.

The missionaries claimed exemption from export and import dues, but Governor Sola heeded them not, and finally they had to be content with the cold comfort of paying by a pro rata contribution, a sum of money believed to exceed the amount of duties demanded. The governor accused the friars of being unscrupulous, inasmuch as they bought goods on speculation, pretending that they were for the missions, and shipped liquor and other merchandise under the title of gifts,

etc. He thought it needful to watch their proceedings, on behalf of the country's interests.

In April, 1821, was published in California, a royal order of the preceding year, exempting from duties national products exported on Spanish bottoms to San Blas and the Californias. But this order, connected as it was with some commercial schemes which had no effect, brought no benefit to California. The rates of duties exacted in the last decade were now continued. Nine vessels entered California ports during this year, and in 1822 there were twenty on the coast, one being a government transport, and six whalers which entered San Francisco for supplies. The rest traded goods for California produce. In 1823 there were seventeen vessels, three of them Russian men-of-war, five whalers, and the rest traders, purchasing tallow, hides and produce. The duties on imports and exports collected at Monterey, amounted to upwards of 17,500, which may or may not include $6,500 received at San Francisco and San Diego.

The British subjects, Hugh McCulloch and William Edward Petty Hartnell, the latter becoming a permanent resident as well as a citizen, brought a cargo of goods in 1822, and proposed, both to the government and to the prefect of the missions, to enter for Begg and Company of Glasgow and Lima, into a contract to keep the province regularly supplied. Such a contract was actually concluded for three years, to begin from January 1, 1823. A scale of prices was arranged, Prefect Payeras saying that the times when hides and tallow where to be had for the asking had passed. The following was the schedule fixed in the contract: hides, $1 each, large and small; wheat, $3 per fanega; tallow, $2 per arroba of 25 lbs; suet, $3; lard, $4; soap, $16 per 100 lbs; beef in pickle, including bone, $4 per 100 lbs, without casks. Other articles were included without mentioning their prices; such as horns, hair of horses and cattle, hemp,

wine, brandy, saffron for dyeing, skins of bears, foxes, etc. The only article to be received in unlimited quantities was hides. Wheat in large quantities was to be taken only in the event of the wheat crop being short in Chili. The contractors were bound to despatch at least one vessel every year, which was to touch at each harbor or roadstead, take all the hides offered, and at least 25,000 arrobas of tallow, and to pay for the same in money, or such goods as might be desired. There were a few other conditions which it is unnecessary to enumerate.

In September 1824, a tax of ten per cent. on products was decreed. The comandantes of presidios were instructed to facilitate the sale of products as much as possible; taxes on exports were repealed from January 1, 1825, but a duty of 25 per cent was imposed on all coin taken from the province.

From this time it is unnecessary to detail the development of trade from year to year, under the privilege of free intercourse, subject only to duties as required elsewhere. The ever lean treasury could ill-afford to lose the amount the parties in interest would contribute toward its relief. Every such contribution was a godsend. A colony of foreign traders controlled the commerce, and the system of exchanging hides and tallow for goods brought from abroad did not vary much between 1823 and 1846.

Complete records of revenue exist for only three years, making the average $70,000 annually; the receipts for about 1837 did not exceed $60,000 yearly. Exports could not vary much in value at California prices from imports. For three years the average of exports from San Francisco was $83,000; the annual exports from California to Honolulu for five years was $45,000. Sir James Douglas, of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1841 estimated the total exports of California at $241,000, the largest item being $70,000 for hides.

During General Micheltorena's rule, a decree was

issued, in 1844, forbidding the importation of nationalized foreign goods from Mexican ports. This decree was repealed by his successor in 1845, as was another placing restrictions on trade by whalers. These vessels could now sell goods to any amount in exchange for produce by paying the regular duties, and were exempt from the payment of the tax of $30 formerly exacted from them. Every vessel was required to pay $50 per month for a license to engage in the retail trade. This was constituted a special fund to pay the guards placed on the vessels, and for the construction of a pier at Monterey. The traders objected to the presence of these watchmen, but not to the tax.

The total revenue collected by the custom-house in 1845 was about $140,000. The records and other sources speak of sixty vessels having been in California in that year. A dozen names mentioned are rather doubtful, many of them resting on unreliable statements, and eight were men-of-war, which, if not regular traders, must have brought large supplies. The *Matador* paid into the treasury $67,000, which far exceeded the amount ever paid before by any one ship. Between 1841 and 1845, 134 vessels arrived. Among them were 45 of American nationality, 11 British, 8 French, 7 German and Swedish, 5 Russian, 3 South American. In the case of 29,—many of which were smugglers and reticent,—no nationality appears in the records. Of the 134, 43 were whalers and 22 ships of war or of scientific exploration.

It may be of interest to the general reader to know what were, in the late years of the Mexican domination, the ruling prices for the chief articles. Brandy of the country was $50 a barrel; a fat beef, $5; sheep, $2; wheat, $3 per fanega; maize and pease, $1.75 a fanega; beans, $2.50, oats, $1.50, a fanega; butter, $2 for 5 lbs; milch cows, $8 each; and hogs, $6; horse-skins, $1 in merchandise, and $.75 in money; ox-hides, $2 in merchandise, $1.50 in silver; deerskins, $.50 to $1, according to size; beaver skins, $3 per lb. More

than 3,000 skins were obtained each year. Otter skins became very scarce. Scarcely 100 were taken in 1842; they were worth in California from $35 to $40, at Mazatlan from $50 to $55, and in Mexico from $60 to $70. They were not regularly exported to China after 1840. The skins of fresh-water otters were worth only $2 to $3. Wild goat skins were worth 25 cents; skins of the hair seal, 75 cents; of the fur seal, $3 to $4. Californians would pay for shoes $4, boots $15, vermicelli $10 a box, woollen socks $10 a dozen, silk stockings $2.50 to $5 a pair, linen thread $4 a lb., silk handkerchiefs $2 each, sugar $20 per 100 lbs, nails 37 cents per lb., calico 50 cents a yard, brown cotton 37 cents a yard, not to mention a rebozo at $150, a serape of Saltillo at $200 to $300, a saddle at $300, etc.

In 1839–40, while the country was at peace, some native Californians united to export their products independently of foreign traders. This relieved the want of money somewhat, since they sent letters of exchange on their agents in Mexico and La Paz and received money in return. But the arrival of Micheltorena unsettled things again, and each one looked out for himself, and not for the country. Freight to the Sandwich Islands or Mazatlan was $20 per ton; passage, $60 and $30, or $80 and $40; time, 14 to 20 days. To Boston, freight was $40 per ton, hides 75 cents each, and tallow 50 cents per arroba; passage, $150 to $50. To Callao, $25 per ton, hides 37 and 50 cents, tallow $3 per arroba; passage, $200 to $120, according to agreement with the captain; time, 50 to 60 days.

The fat from the weekly slaughter of cattle at the missions was dragged in on the hide, made into soap, or melted and put up in leather botas. The melting coppers were of iron, of 200 or more gallons capacity. The hides were stretched on the ground, and held by sticks driven into the ends. When dry, they were stored for shipment.

Sutter says that when he first came to California, "articles on trading vessels were so high that he who went on board with $100 in money or hides, could carry away his purchases in a pocket handkerchief."

The trading ships, after entering their cargoes, and supplying the wants of Monterey, usually proceeded to San Francisco, where, mooring off Yerba Buena cove, they despatched boats to various points of the bay to bring the rancheros and their families to the ship. Stearns was the first to export cattle horns on a large scale.

There was usually, says Davis, a considerable floating population, mostly made up of runaway sailors, disposed at all times to purchase goods on credit; but as they were men who spent as fast as they earned, the greater part of their earnings going for tobacco and drink, their credit was naturally below par. These remarks do not apply to permanently settled foreigners, nor to the hunters and trappers who came across the mountains and remained in California. They were men of a different type, true, sober, and industrious. Most of them continued as hunters and trappers here, and were confidently trusted by merchants and traders.

Davis' father owned and commanded the ship *Eagle*, of Boston, and visited California with goods early in this century. On one of his trips to California he went into Refugio, a rancho situated a few miles west of Santa Bárbara. Many of the well-to-do Californians, as well as the missionaries, visited the ship to make purchases, and as the captain had no use for hides or tallow, the rancheros and priests produced their Spanish doubloons to make payments, or tendered otter skins, which were then plentiful and acceptable.

About 1823 was organized a company of otter-hunters. They were Kadiaks from Alaska. Their way was to pursue in their boats the otter in the bay of Monterey, and when the latter became tired out, kill them with arrows. The otter used to sleep on a bed of sea-weed, opposite the sand-banks of the bay.

The Kadiak skin boats would take positions in line; then from a large boat several shots were fired; the frightened otter would start on a run, and the boats pursued them with the utmost speed. Their boats were made of seal-skins, the hair having been removed; they had a wooden frame inside, and they sounded like a drum; generally each boat carried two or three Kadiaks. In this manner were destroyed all the otter on that part of the coast, and further down.

The padres were the chief customers in those days, and spent freely from their well-filled coin-bags, or from their stores of otter-skins, which they accumulated largely from the bay of San Francisco and along the coast. They were extremely jealous of the Russians, who were making fortunes out of the business. The padres had become regular traders. The China goods they bought were not for their own use and enjoyment, but were resold to the rancheros at a profit. They were shrewd traders, making their purchases with good judgment, and at lower prices than the rancheros. They frequently supplied the latter with goods from their stores, taking in payment hides and tallow, furs and cattle. Captain Davis' voyages to this coast on the *Eagle* proved successful, realizing about $25,000 profit on each, in Spanish doubloons and otter-skins, from his sales in California and the Russian settlements. He was among the first traders from Boston, and had everything pretty much his own way. John Meek, who in after years traded on this coast as master of the *Don Quixote*, was Davis' mate. On one of his first voyages here on the *Don Quixote*, he received a present from Comandante Ignacio Martinez of three heifers and a young bull, which were carried to Honolulu. In 1871 Meek was living there, and owned a rancho about 25 or 30 miles from the town. He then had between four and five thousand head of cattle, and had been for years supplying foreign men-of-war and other vessels with beef cattle, all the offspring of the little band presented by Martinez.

There was considerable competition in later years among the traders on the coast, and there were not wanting instances of sharp practice in the collection of hides and tallow, especially during the slaughtering season. Merchants trusted the rancheros largely for the goods they sold them, and the indebtedness was paid when the hides and tallow were prepared. Most of the rancheros were in debt at the time. One of them, for instance, would promise the trader to supply him at a specified time with hides and tallow, but shortly before the time so fixed another trader, to whom he was also indebted, would come, and by persistent efforts and blandishments, so work upon him as to secure for himself a good portion of the *esquilmos* which had been promised to the first trader. When the latter in due time presented himself, and demanded the fulfilment of the ranchero's promise, such demand the poor man could not disregard. Then the second trader's claim had also to be attended to in some way, at least in a measure, and so, between debt and duty, the ranchero was pretty well pulled to pieces. The hides were often received in a green state, and had to be staked out and dried at Yerba Buena or San Diego. Davis often had them staked out in a meadow by the waterside in Yerba Buena, between what are now Washington and California streets. It was considered legitimate among traders for the best to outstrip the others in the race for precedence. Business was transacted in a straightforward manner between the merchants and the Californians. The purchaser never had occasion to ask the price, the seller quietly naming it at once, which was accepted or declined without more ado. No advantage was taken. There were, of course, exceptions, but this was the rule.

The merchant, Don José Antonio Aguirre, owner of the ship, *Joven Guipuzcoana*, once had a new supercargo, a young man, who was a stranger to and ignorant of affairs in California. While the ship lay at San Pedro, Aguirre being absent on the shore, Agus-

tin Machado, a well-to-do ranchero, and a man of sterling character, but who could neither read nor write, went on board to make purchases, his carts being at the landing. After his goods had been selected, as he was about having them placed in a launch to be carried on shore, the supercargo asked him for payment, or some guaranty or note of hand. Machado stared at him in great astonishment; at first he could not comprehend what the man meant. Such a demand had never been made from him before, nor, in fact, from any other ranchero. After a while, the idea struck him that he was distrusted. Plucking one hair from his beard, he seriously handed it to the supercargo, saying, "Here, deliver this to Señor Aguirre, and tell him it is a hair from the beard of Agustin Machado. It will cover your responsibility; it is sufficient guaranty." The young man felt much abashed, took the hair and placed it inside of his book. Machado carried away the goods. Aguirre was chagrined on hearing that the supercargo had demanded a document from Machado, a man whose word was as good as the best bond, even for the entire ship's cargo.

José M. Estudillo, who was a brother-in-law of Aguirre, and in his employ from boyhood, relates the above, and also the following occurrences in which the same Agustin Machado was concerned. In 1850 Aguirre despatched him, Estudillo, to Los Angeles to collect old bills, many of which were outlawed; but the greater part of them were finally paid. He visited Machado's rancho, La Bayona, to collect a balance of about $4,000, and happened to arrive when the house was full of company. He was cordially received as a guest, and a little later on being apprised of the object of his visit, Machado said that he had been for some time past thinking that he was indebted to Aguirre. As Estudillo could not remain long, Machado made him take a fresh horse, and promised to see him in Los Angeles in two days. On the time appointed Machado was there, and delivered him

the whole sum at the door of Manuel Requena's house, and refused to take a receipt, saying that Aguirre was not in the habit of collecting the same bill twice.

Before 1826 nine or ten trading craft, and later twice as many, came to the coast each year laden with goods to be exchanged for hides and tallow. Restrictions imposed by the laws were regularly disregarded by the authorities of California under Mexican rule. Gradually, as the excess of duties developed smuggling, wayports and *embarcaderos* were closed, and even Santa Bárbara and San Francisco. In the last years other restrictive measures were attempted, but they generally came to naught; subordinate officials were mostly influenced by the traders, and even the governor often had to submit to the inevitable when a supercargo or owner threatened to take his valuable cargo.

The people seldom resorted to the stores to sell their produce, preferring to await the arrival of vessels which paid more. There was no rivalry between the mission padres and private persons, although they had the same object in view. The padres often gave good advice to the latter in trade.

Laplace went aboard one of the ships which was moored near the land for trading. The goods were spread out on deck. The greater part of those offered were of little value, except the articles relating to the feminine toilette, which were more costly and in great demand. There were household and agricultural implements, side-arms and fire-arms, powder and lead, marine stores, hardware, woolen and cotton stuffs, and a hundred other things easy to sell in a new country.

Phelps, who was in the California and Boston trade in 1840, says that all ships intending to trade on the coast came there to make the best bargain they could with the authorities respecting duties, gave security for payment, and received permission to trade at all

the ports until the voyage was completed. The duties on an invoice of cargo averaged about 100 per cent, payable half in cash, and half in esquilmos, hides and tallow, or goods from the ship. As I have before stated, there was but a limited quantity of specie in the country. Trading vessels brought only moderate sums, barely enough to meet the duties. Many of them borrowed what money they needed for that purpose. Most of the trade was an exchange of goods for domestic produce. Bryant, Sturgis, & Co., the Boston firm, not only furnished most of the goods used in California, but also most of the coin for the payment of the salaries of the revenue and military officers, which payments were contingent on the arrival of the next ship—the duties on a cargo being always anticipated by custom-house orders on such ship for their pay, in goods and cash in equal proportion.

To give some idea of the labors of the trading voyages made by the Boston traders on the California coast, Phelps states that on his 1840–43 voyage, his ship was seven times at San Francisco, thirteen times at Monterey, three times at Santa Cruz, four times at San Luis Rey, seventeen times at Santa Bárbara, seventeen times at San Pedro, five times at Refugio, and returned to the depot ten times, frequently anchoring at other places along shore. The bow anchor was hove up 131 times, and the crew killed and consumed while on the coast 203 bullocks. In collecting and curing a hide cargo, and finally stowing it on board ship, each hide had to be handled twenty-two times.

The want of enterprise was apparent on the part of the people by their paying high prices, with much grumbling, for salt and dealboards, which could easily have been procured at San Francisco and elsewhere. Sea-otter skins were purchased at $20 a piece, while the animals swam about in the bay.

The Californians could have done well in furs had

they not been so shiftless. Amador, mayordomo of the mission of San José, states that with three Indians he rode to Point Quintin in 1830, and caught, by lassoing, 30 sea-otter out of about 100 which were on the shore. Previous to 1846, there was a small community of these animals about the entrance of Sonoma Creek, which were under the special care of Vallejo, who would not allow them to be disturbed. But in 1847 some hunters from Santa Bárbara were in the bay, and not having the fear of the northern autocrat before their eyes, they shot every one of them, obtaining 42 skins worth $60 each, after which slaughter of the innocents, few others were ever seen in San Francisco Bay.

"As respects trade," says Wilkes in 1841, "it may be said that there is scarcely any, for it is so interrupted, and so much under the influence of the governor and the officers of the customs, that those attempting to carry on any under the forms usual elsewhere, would probably find it a losing business. Foreigners, however, contrive to evade this by keeping their vessels at anchor, and selling a large portion of their cargoes from on board. Great partiality is shown to those of them who have a full understanding with the governor; and from what I was given to understand, if this be not secured, the traders are liable to exactions and vexations without number. The enormous duties, often amounting to 80 per cent, ad valorem, cause much dissatisfaction on the part of the consumers; the whole amount raised is about $200,000 per annum, which is found barely sufficient to pay the salaries of the officers and defray the expense of the government feasts, which are frequent and usually cost $1,000 each."

The operation of curing hides is as follows: To soften the hides, they are soaked for some days in sea water. They are then stretched on the ground, and fastened with small stakes. All particles of flesh, which might decompose, are then carefully removed

with a knife. They are next placed on racks to dry. The inside part having been powdered with salt, they are folded in their length, and left with the hair outward. They are then pressed to flatten them, and packed in the ship with the aid of jack-screws. It was not uncommon to see a brig of 160 tons loaded with 14,000 hides, and a three-masted American ship of 360 tons, with 30,000 hides.

The Hudson's Bay Company's Simpson writes in 1842: "Few vessels visit San Francisco except such as are engaged in collecting hides or tallow, the tallow going to Peru, the hides to England or the United States. Each ship has a supercargo or clerk, who in a decked launch carries an assortment of goods from farm to farm, collecting hides, and securing by his advances as many as possible against the next matanza, which is generally in July and August. The current rate for a hide is $2 in goods, or $1.50 in specie, the difference arising from the circumstance that goods are held at a price sufficient to cover bad debts. The exports of hides do not exceed 60,000, yet at present there are fully sixteen ships on the coast scrambling for hides or tallow. Supposing half to be engaged in the latter business, there remain eight for such a number of hides as would take at least three years to fill them. The *Alert*, belonging to one of the oldest houses in the trade, has spent some 18 months on the coast, but is still about a third short of her full tale of 40,000. A vessel has to keep pedling from one place to another, taking her chances of bad weather and anchorage in all the ports from San Francisco to San Diego. As the hides are all green, or nearly so, each vessel has to cure them for herself; and as the upper half of the coast, owing to the rains and fogs of the north-westers, is unsuitable, the hides have to be carried to the drier climate of the southern ports, particularly San Diego; and then the curing is a great loss of time." Evidently Sir George was not in love with Californians or their traffic.

Herewith I give a specimen of commercial correspondence of the period:

San Francisco, Oct. 8, 1845.

Mr James Watson: *Dear Sir*—I wish you would purchase for me, payable next season or in the spring, three bales of sugar, of Malarin, if he will let you have it, at six dollars the arroba. And if not, see if Don Manuel Diaz will let you have it at that price or less. Get two bales at any price you can, if you cannot get it at the price named, and deliver one to the *Advance* when she arrives in Monterey, and send the other one or two, as may be, to San Francisco, in California. I want it for immediate ship's use, as I am borrowing sugar here for daily use.

Yours truly, H. Mellus.

In 1842 common calico paid a duty of one eighth of a dollar a vara. The Mexican tariff imposes a tax of 45 per cent on 'artículos permitidos;' but in California, where no prohibition exists, articles in this category are admitted at 40 per cent ad valorem. Foreign ships pay $1.50 per ton for right of anchorage. Whalers pay a simple duty of $10 when it is supposed they come in merely to provision. If, however, they sell any merchandise, they have to pay the regular duties. Ships that put in for safety pay no duties, but on condition that they sell nothing. Mexican ships bringing cargoes from Mexican ports pay no duty. Monterey is the only port open to foreign commerce, and any ship which 'á moins de relâche pour avarie' runs a risk of being seized as a smuggler. When once the ships have discharged their cargoes at the custom-house at Monterey, and have paid their duties, they are at liberty to take their merchandise on board again, and trade along the coast until they have disposed of their entire cargo.

It may be imagined how easy was smuggling under such circumstances. The American and English ships sometimes landed merchandise at isolated points on the coast; but they preferred to wait out at sea, or

at an uninhabited island, for ships which had already paid their duties, to which they transferred their cargo. Some ships in this manner sold two or three times the value of their original cargo. Coin being scarce in California, captains, supercargoes, and merchants paid part of the duties in merchandise at current prices. Thus we observe at different times different regulations, though statements vary somewhat, as a matter of course.

Governor Micheltorena promulgated his decree on hides the 31st of December, 1843. At every port an agente de policía was to be appointed by the local authorities, who should inspect all hides exported in national vessels. No hide should be shipped without being examined and marked by this agente. Hides not bearing the owner's brand and sale-mark should be confiscated by the alcaldes, and the buyer, or person in whose hands they are found, should be fined $5 for each hide. Every four months the agente should report to the local authorities for publication the number of hides exported, with a statement of their marks of ownership. To the agente of San Francisco all vessels must present themselves on entering or leaving the bay. The agentes to collect from those interested one real for each hide marked. Failing to attend to his duties, the agente should pay a fine of $4 each up to 10 hides exported without the proper marks; $5 each from 10 to 50 hides, and so on, increasing $1 per hide for each additional 50. For a second offence he should lose his position. Fines to be in three parts: the first to go to the informer, the second to the owner of the brand, and the third to the municipal fund. Confiscated hides to go to the owner if he can prove he has not sold them. If he cannot prove this, the hides to be divided like the fines, between the informer and the municipal fund.

From Monterey, on the 22d of March, 1845, Larkin writes: "The laws of Mexico are but little heeded here, only as they may suit the country. No atten-

tion is paid to the Mexican tariff; every single article that can be brought to this country can be entered by paying about 30 per cent duties on its value in Monterey; there are no prohibitions whatever from foreign ports; there is even a law here prohibiting foreign goods being introduced from San Blas and Mazatlan, with guias, pases, unless the owners will pay the duties the same as if introduced from a foreign port. Any foreign vessel entering cargo, and paying duties at this custom-house, can carry on the coasting and retailing trade on board for two or three years, from San Francisco to San Diego, having a store on board, with glasses and shelves; or on shore, selling a vara or bale of calico, and carrying freight up and down the coast as they please. Whalers are allowed to trade, paying no tonnage, but duties on what they say they have sold, and $30 port charges."

Again, January 4, 1846, he says: "Monterey is the only port in this department where foreign vessels can enter to pay their duties. Vessels under the Mexican flag, direct from any other port of Mexico, can touch at any of the ports of California before arriving at Monterey; yet they must pay their duties here, which by the tariff of Mexico is about 15 per cent on the import duties, every time they are transported by land or water from one Mexican state to another; shipping dollars pay the enormous duty of 10 per cent from one state or department to another. The average duties of California for the last seven years amount to $85,985 per year, of which 15 to 18 per cent is paid to the collector of the custom-house and his subordinates; of the remainder, the treasurer pays about one third to the civil authorities, and the balance to the military. The officers of the custom-house receive their salaries in full; the civil and military receive by an average rate according to the amount of each entry, which is divided at the time it is received; they must then wait till the arrival of a new vessel, which may be one month or six. The rule of this

custom-house is to demand the duties in cash and hides in 80, 130, and 160 days. As the officers cannot wait so long a period, they in general take orders from the treasurer in sums of $5 to $1,000 on the supercargoes, who pay them at sight in goods, or the owner must wait the stipulated time for payment."

From the Larkin archives of 1845, I extract as follows: The regular Boston traders generally have two vessels on the coast at the same time. After collecting in company for periods varying from 12 to 18 months, one of them returns home, leaving the others until a fresh ship relieves her, thus continually keeping the work of collecting going on.

The hide-houses are in San Diego, to which place each vessel proceeds two or three times during the year, to land such hides and tallow as may have been collected from nine or ten ports between San Francisco and San Diego, the customer being expected to pay a part of his debt in produce every time the vessel anchors in port.

There are no Mexican vessels in California owned by Mexicans or Californians; they belong to naturalized foreigners. The laws of Mexico are observed only when they are for the interest of Californians. Little regard is paid to the tariff. The collector of Monterey imposes such duties on many articles as he considers requisite at the time.

Although against the laws of Mexico, the governors and generals of California, since the independence, have allowed the coasting trade from San Diego to San Francisco to all foreign vessels which have paid their duties in Monterey. In 1844–5 Micheltorena levied a tax of $50 per month on foreign vessels for this license of coasting; $5,000 was collected March 28, 1846. Governor Pico annulled this law.

The payments of duties are made in about 90, 130, and 180 days. The supercargoes in general agree upon the second payment, making it in cash, and bullock-hides at $2 apiece; cash, should the vessel

pay less than $6,000; from $6,000 to $12,000, two thirds cash and one third hides; from $12,000 to $18,000, half cash; over $18,000, one third cash and two thirds hides.

On the collector's arranging the amount, mode of payment, and taking two securities, he retains sufficient for the salaries of his officers, and passes the remainder to the treasurer. They both then draw in sums of from $4,000 to $5,000 on the supercargo or agent, payable at the specified time; some orders for cash, some for hides; the creditors and officers receiving a draft on the pro rata system as far as the duties of the vessel then entering may suffice.

The supercargo or agent has a store fitted up on board ship, with shelves, show-cases, drawers, and scales, selling from one pound of tea, shot, etc., to a box or bag, and again from a yard of silk or calico to a bale.

From Boston, cargoes consist of groceries, furniture, dry goods, crockery, hardware, etc., from which cargo the holder of the draft can choose the amount drawn from in his favor, or a part of it, taking the supercargo's due-bill for the remainder, both drafts and due-bills being negotiable; they are sometimes cashed at a discount of two per cent a month. In many cases the supercargo has debts against the holder of the draft, which is always accepted as payment for his or any other demand.

The duties of the principal vessels amount to from $5,000 to $25,000; they also pay one real per each large bale for storage in the custom-house; half of that sum for wharfage; and have the use of the custom-house and warehouses for storage and sales until the arrival of the next vessel that may require the buildings. Tonnage duties are $1.50 per ton to all foreign vessels, and all Mexican vessels from foreign ports. There are no other port charges; no wharfage, pilotage, or light-house fees, nor any health or quarantine regulations. There is no article prohibited by the

custom-house, no prohibition or restriction of any kind; no bounties or navigation acts; no drawbacks on shipping or their cargoes; no board of trade or other establishment relating to commerce in California. Coins, currency, weights, and measures of England and the United States are in common use in California. By long custom, whale-ships are allowed to enter Monterey and San Francisco on paying from $10 to $20 port charges, and a certain percentage on such matters as they may barter for supplies.

The imports from San Blas, Mazatlan, and Acapulco consist of rice, sugar, panocha, nux vomica, saddlery, silk and cotton rebozos, cotton and woollen serapes, shoes, and some English, American, and German goods.

Imports from the United States and elsewhere are domestics in very large quantities; shoes, hats, furniture, and farming utensils, chiefly of New England manufacture; groceries, china goods, iron, hardware, and crockery, which are sold to the merchants and farmers on the coast, on a credit of from one to two years, payable in hides, tallow, dried beef, lumber, soap, etc.

The vessel obtains a coasting license to trade, and collect produce until she is filled, which occupies from 12 to 24 months, the vessel's consort the next year taking the balance of the cargo and debt for collection. The Boston vessels return to that port with from 20,000 to 40,000 bullock-hides, the owner expecting about one hide for each dollar invested in cargo and expenses of all kinds. The tallow is exchanged for hides with vessels bound to Callao.

In former years, considerable fur was exported—prime sea-otter skins for the Canton market being worth in Monterey as high as $40 each; there is still some fur and gold shipped. Shingles, lumber, spars, and horses are shipped to the Sandwich Islands; beef fat, wheat, and beans to the Russian settlements on the north-west coast, in exchange for drafts on St Petersburg.

On the 8th of October, 1845, the assembly decreed that traders who bought hides should register in the books kept for that purpose the name of sellers, marks, and value. A commission appointed by the alcaldes should meet at the market (comercio) every Saturday, and collect the hides brought during the week. The commission should take a list of sellers and marks, and qualify them, whether legal or not, in accordance with the books of the juzgado. Hides with false sale-marks should be applied to the municipal fund, and the sellers held as thieves, to be judged by the alcaldes, the price to be returned to the purchaser, and the value of the animal to its owner. No one should sell stock (bienes de campo) without putting on the sale-mark. Those who deal in hides should obtain a pass from the nearest authorities, when sending them to any place, and present the pass to those in charge at the fort for inspection. Prefects, subprefects, and alcaldes were authorized to inspect hides and receive passes. This service should be regarded as a public benefit. Hides inspected weekly as per article 2 were marked with the national brand, and needed no pass.

Hartnell, in the draught of a letter to R. C. Wyllie in 1844, says that articles of English manufacture best adapted to this market are brown and white cottons, coarse and fine, for shirting, sheeting, etc.; prints of good quality and fast handsome colors; cotton and silk handkerchiefs of all descriptions; good stout velveteens, blue and black; fustian, principally brown; muslin; cambric muslin; bishop's lawn; cotton lace of all descriptions; cloth of all kinds, principally blue and black; cassimere; cassinet; flannel, principally red and white; bayeta; a very small assortment of linen goods, among which some of the finest Irish linen and cambric; cotton, woollen, and silk stockings; handsome gown patterns; cashmere shawls; all kinds of hardware; tinware; earthenware; glassware; needles, mostly very fine; cotton and linen thread; sewing-silk;

hats, boots, and shoes; ready-made clothes of all descriptions, including plenty of white and checked shirts; Scotch griddles; butchers' knives; knives and forks; silver and brass thimbles; all kinds of knick-knacks for women's work-boxes; stout hoes, spades, shovels; window-glass, principally 8 by 10 inches; nails of all kinds, particularly cut nails; furniture of all kinds—a small assortment very elegant, the rest of middling quality; tea-trays of all sizes; carpeting, a small quantity; oil-cloth; artificial flowers; false pearls; the finest and smallest beads that can be procured, of all colors, and needles to work them with; gold and silver lace from $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 inches wide; perfumery; iron pots and kettles; candlesticks; sickles; a few good common silver hunting-watches. A cargo of goods direct would leave an immense profit on the invoice, but two years' time would be necessary to realize it. Payment would be almost entirely in hides at $2 each, which would have to be salted; and tallow, at 12 reales the arroba, brought to pay half the amount.

In 1840 coin was scarce in the country, owing to rumors of civil war, the moneyed men either hoarding it or shipping it away. Hardship in consequence fell on the rancheros, who were obliged to slaughter great numbers of cattle for the hides and tallow wherewith to pay their debts. Many were thus injured to their ruin.

In 1841–2, says J. J. Vallejo, few vessels arrived with merchandise—so that the Californians, of whom a majority owed the foreign merchants large amounts, were obliged, in order to meet their obligations, to kill great quantities of cattle for their hides and tallow, which were the only articles admitted in payment by the supercargoes of vessels. In this way disappeared more than two thirds of the country's wealth; and many Indians, and some white men, who were accustomed to gain a living by driving cattle, were left without the means of subsistence for themselves and their large families.

Retail stores bought directly from vessels, on credit, as did rancheros, selling also on credit, the customer bringing the hide and tallow to the store whenever he slaughtered. If the slaughter did not suffice to pay a debt, the live-stock was given, and all store-keepers had herds, except Spear & Hinckley of San Francisco.

A part of the small interior trade was that from the salinas lagoons, or salt ponds, situated between the ocean sand-dunes and the Monterey River. Salt was here obtained for the mission and the troops, some being sent to San Blas on the king's ships as early as 1770. Salt being a royal monopoly, no sooner did men begin to make and move it than a guard was placed over it by order of the government. The commander of the guard would bring Indians from Soledad and Carmelo, and gathering all the salt from the three lagoons into one pile, covered it with sticks and branches, to which they set fire, so as to melt the surface and form a crust over the mass, which would protect it from the dampness of the contiguous ocean. When all was ready for its shipment, it was brought to the warehouse at Monterey, and placed in charge of the habilitado, and sent away in tanned leather bags brought by the ship for that purpose.

When Frémont wanted horses in 1846, he sent to the natives of the Tulare plains, and purchased 187 horses and mules, paying for each animal one small butcher-knife and a string of beads.

There was some trade with New Mexico. Parties were wont to come across the country with packs of blankets which they exchanged for mares, horses, and mules. Each party would take away from 1,000 to 2,000 animals. On several occasions these New Mexicans were really thieves, and stole many head of stock. The last considerable robbery of this kind took place in 1844–5, when a Canadian, or Frenchman, named Charley Fou, got away with some 2,000 horses and mules. An armed party went from Angeles in pursuit of the thieves, but finding them superior in point

of numbers and well armed, returned without having accomplished anything.

The Amajaves, Cochanes, and Yumas used every year at certain times to bring to Angeles antelope-skins and tirutas—blankets which they wove by hand with great perfection, and which were very durable, in color white and black—made with the wool of the wild sheep once tame (borregos cimarrones), which they chased in Sonora. These tirutas were much sought after by the rancheros, who used them as saddle-cloths. In exchange for them, the Indians took mares and horses. These Indians were led by their capitanes, who were presented by the authorities with horses and cast-off clothing.

We may be sure that the arrival of the first foreign vessel at Monterey was an event. It was in 1817. Lieutenant Don José María Estudillo was comandante of the military post, and Don Vicente Pablo de Sola was governor. On a soft spring morning, while a gentle breeze was blowing in from the north-west, the look-out stationed at Punta de Pinos came rushing in on horseback through the presidio gate, and made straight for the comandante's house.

"What is the matter?" asked Don José, coming to the door.

"A sail! A strange sail, far out at sea; it is very far out, but it seems to have the intention of coming here," replied the look-out.

"Ho, there! My glass and trumpet," shouted the commander; "and bring my coat, the best one with the gold braid; and don't forget my boots and hat. Where is my sword? and hunt me up that chart of the flags of all nations."

Arrayed in his most imposing habiliments, the commander was ready to meet the enemy.

"Now sound the drum!" he cried, "and let the infantry and artillery appear; let all who love their country join with me in her defence, prepared to shed our last drop of blood for God and the King!"

The drummers rushed forth, beating for dear life round the plaza, while the troops mounted their horses, and the artillerymen and militia repaired to the fort. The women made everything ready for flight, and the old men and boys got out their old swords and fire-locks, and scoured from them the rust. At the fort the men heated some balls red hot, so as to do the fullest execution upon the ship.

"Is it a pirate," they wondered, "or a Frenchman, or Yankee?" It did not matter: it was all one; it should see, whatever it was, that the country was not to be so easily wrested from its noble and brave defenders.

Slowly and surely as an impending fate, the vessel approached, until distinctness marked its every outline, and the ever-broadening sails were loosened and allowed to flap in the wind.

The commander planted himself at the foot of the fort. He clutched his big trumpet nervously; he gazed at frequent intervals through his glass, and studied attentively his flag pictures. Life was sweet, but his mind was made up. Life without honor was valueless: and better eyes dim in death than awake to see California sons slain, her daughters ravished, and the little children with their brains dashed out upon the rocks!

By and by, after faithful study, applying to the matter to the fullest extent the exercise of his astute intellect, the commander pronounced the strange sail a schooner of 80 or 100 tons burden, but of what nation it was impossible to determine. The streaked and starred bunting flying at the mast-head was not on his chart of the flags of all nations, which was fully fifty years old. It was evidently a private signal, and there was not a reasonable doubt of its being that of a corsair, the red streaks signifying rivers of blood, and the stars the number of cities taken. He thought he could discern warlike preparations on board; nevertheless, he would play on her at once his old success-

ful tactics, and raise a white flag. If he could thus lure the enemy into his power, he might yet save the commonwealth. Presently the gallant comandante placed his trumpet to his lips and bellowed:

"Qué buque?"

"No sabe Español," was the reply which came back across the water as from another world.

"Ship ahoy! Qué bandera?" bravely persisted Don José, determined to know the truth, however unpalatable.

"Americana!" came from the schooner.

If there were now only a boat at hand; if Spain, in the days of her grandeur, had only supplied the metropolitan seaport of Alta California with a boat wherewith to board ships, he would show the world what a brave man will do in the service of his country. But alas! there was none. And not without show of reason Ferdinand, Charles, Philip, might ask, why burden Spain with the expense of a small boat at the port of Monterey, which has no commerce?

Meanwhile the governor, who had tarried to mend some rips in his full-dress uniform, appeared upon the scene, attended by his officers, all with shoes blacked and hair oiled.

All on shore felt the dreaded moment approaching, as a boat was seen lowered from the vessel and making toward them. Fearlessly it approached the land, and as the bow touched the beach a man stepped forth, smirking, and nodded to the august assemblage. Instantly he was surrounded by soldiers, and the measure taken of his man-killing capabilities. He was arrayed all in black, high hat and swallow-tail coat—a private disguised as a priest, it was whispered. Fortunately for the peace of California, the creature carried no weapon. He was wholly in their power. If, as they supposed him to be, he was the captain of that great and villanous-looking craft, they had him in their power.

Leaving the army to guard the boat, lest some

daring sailor should rush to the rescue of his captain, the Yankee skipper, for such was the quality of the invader, in the centre of a platoon of cavalry was conducted into the presence of the governor. Signifying that he spoke only English, an interpreter was procured in the person of a seaman from the boat.

The Californians were now in a position to take the matter coolly, as did old Nestor, who, after feasting and sacrificing with Telemachus and his crew, turned and bluntly asked them if they were thieves or murderers, or what.

The comandante thought it safe enough at this juncture to charge the prisoner with being the spy of some enemy, and so he boldly said, though of what enemy, and why a spy, was not set forth in the complaint.

The prisoner declared he was no spy, and was not an enemy.

"Then tell me, sir," the governor demanded, "who you are, whence and why you came, whither bound, and what flag you sail under?"

"I am an American," the captain replied; "I sail under the United States flag; I am last from the Russian possessions, and am bound for the Hawaiian Islands; I have stopped to offer for sale some Chinese goods, of which I have a supply on board."

The governor thereupon retired to his house to hold a council with his officers, while the prisoners were conducted to the plaza, and placed in the centre, still closely guarded.

While the council were discussing the matter, the sailor being minutely questioned apart from the captain, the people of the town, men, women, and children, congregated about the captain, and discussed his character and quality.

"He is a Jew," said one. "You can tell by the tails of his coat."

"He is a cannibal," remarked another; "for he chews tobacco, which is more filthy than eating human flesh."

In any event, they all agreed that he was a sea-heathen, as they could see in every feature that he had never been baptized; and this opinion was presently more fully confirmed in their minds when the noon bell sounded for the Ave María, and the prisoner neither kneeled nor removed his hat like the others.

"Down! down on your knees, barbarian!" the guard exclaimed, as best they were able to make themselves understood. The skipper turned pale, thinking his hour had come, and that he was thus to be shot.

"Hell!" said he, "you wouldn't murder a man like wild Indians, would you?" But when he understood that they only wished him to pray a little, he put on the outward appearance of piety with thankful alacrity.

It was a picture for the tin-type man, truly, the soldier of mixed Spanish and Indian blood, clad in his *cuera*, or yellow leather jacket, armed with long sword, lance, and bloody-looking knife, kneeling beside a ship-master of Anglo-Saxon origin, in diplomatic attire, the guard with bended head, having one eye on the being he was praying to, and the other on the prisoner, while all around over the plaza were the scattered populace down on their knees where the stroke of the noon bell had met them.

"Ask your master if he would not like to become a Christian," said the soldier to the sailor, as they presently wended their way to the governor's council-room, whither they had been summoned.

"He says he is a Christian," was the reply of the interpreter. The Mexican man of prayer could not believe such a thing possible of one so ignorant of the commonest intercourse with heaven, and charged the sailor with lying.

With the dust marks still upon his knees and on the tails of his diplomatic coat, the captain was ushered into the august presence of the governor.

"We cannot find you guilty of being a pirate or a

spy, for lack of evidence, though doubtless you are both. A storm might have blown you hither; and wanting water you may have said you had Chinese goods to sell. Neither can we prove your flag piratical, though it looks so, as indeed do you. You may have water; but you must be off within five hours or be hanged."

We may be sure that the captain did not unnecessarily delay his departure. Five months afterward an English man-of-war in like manner disturbed the serenity of the sleepy capital. From the boat sent ashore, in polite terms and good Spanish, the officials were informed that the ship was on a voyage of observation round the world, and had called that the officers might pay their respects to the governor of California. As there were powder and shot here wherewith to blow the town to atoms, and as the high responding parties were smoothed the right way, the reply was as courteous as had been the announcement.

CHAPTER XVI.

A FUTILE FIGHT WITH IGNORANCE.

For ignorance of all things is an evil neither terrible nor excessive, nor yet the greatest of all; but great cleverness and much learning, if they be accompanied by a bad training, is a much greater misfortune.—*Plato.*

Owing to the very exceptional nature of education among the Californians, it will be necessary, in treating of what little did exist, to enter somewhat into detail, and adhere strictly to the chronological order of a few meagre facts; for from the earliest settlement of the country until it became an integral part of the American republic, California had no well-established system of schools. All of the instruction imparted to her sons and daughters was due to the spasmodic and short-lived efforts of rulers, who, on coming into office, deemed it their duty to initiate reform, and yet lacked the ability and power to overcome the obstacles which at every step confronted them. These obstacles, we shall find, were ever alike in kind, although varying in degree, and consisted in the chronic depletion of the public treasury, and an inveterate unwillingness on the part of the people, which was theirs by right of inheritance from illiterate ancestors, to give to their children an education better than that which had fallen to their own lot.

In all that pertains to the proper discipline and enlightenment of the intellect, the Californians, compared even with their brethren in many of the Mexican states, were deficient. Almost without exception, the early settlers, men and women of mixed blood, drawn

from the humbler ranks of Spanish colonial society, were unable either to read or to write. The alcalde of San Francisco in 1781 could not sign his name to a document conveying the possession of land. Equally ignorant were the non-commissioned officers and privates of the presidial companies; for these men were chiefly Mexican half-breeds, while the handful of Spaniards in their ranks were of the unenlightened peasantry of the mother country; and not infrequently it was found necessary for the commanding officer at one garrison to request that there might be sent to him from some other presidio a man qualified to act as amanuensis. Out of fifty men comprising the Monterey company in 1785, but fourteen could write. Among the thirty men of the San Francisco company, only seven could write. Thirteen years later but two out of twenty-eight men in this same company could write. Again, in 1794, not a soldier of the company was able to read or write, and the commanding officer asked that one so qualified should be sent to him from Santa Bárbara.

The commissioned officers themselves possessed only that rudimentary education at the time considered sufficient for the Spaniard who, while yet scarcely more than a child in years, embraced the profession of arms; and few of them had the opportunity, even had they possessed the inclination, to improve their minds during the years of hardship passed at a frontier post.

Nor at a time when growing weakness at home presaged the downfall of Spanish dominion in America, did the education of the masses in a new and remote colony form any part of the policy of a government whose aim it was in all its cisatlantic possessions to maintain its subjects in ignorance, in order that they might less murmuringly bear the increasing exactions of the crown.

Not until children born in California had in their turn become parents was the least attempt made to

establish public schools in the country; and that child was fortunate indeed whose parents were able or willing to instruct him to the extent of reading with hesitation, and writing the few misspelled words that at rare intervals should serve to convey to others in graceless language the very primitive ideas of the writer. Occasionally some woman, fortunate among her sisters, with a mother's love imparted to her little ones her own scant store of knowledge, while at times the *amiga*, as she was significantly called, performed the same duty toward a neighbor's child, or taught to the ambitious soldier the simple accomplishments necessary to his promotion. José María Amador says that in his childhood—and he was born in 1794—there were no schools; and what little instruction he, as well as his brothers, acquired, he owed to his mother, María Ramona Noriega, who also instructed the children of some of their neighbors. She moreover taught to read and write a few soldiers desirous of becoming corporals.

To the count of Revilla Gigedo, second viceroy of that illustrious house, and by far the most liberal of all the viceregal rulers of New Spain, is due the suggestion which in 1793 caused a royal order to issue concerning education in California, by which schools were to be established, not only for the children of gente de razon, but for the neophytes, who were to be taught to read, write, and speak Spanish, the use of their own language to be in every way discouraged. The later portion of the royal order was communicated by Governor Borica to Father President Lasuen, and that most politic of Californian prelates hastened to promise his coöperation in a scheme of which neither he nor his subordinate friars at heart approved; for presently a want of funds was the extraordinary excuse for non-compliance, pleaded by men who avowedly had dedicated their lives to the rescue of their fellow-creatures from the multiform degradation of savagism.

Borica did succeed, however, in establishing a system of public schools, if system be the proper term for a plan alike crude in conception and practically inefficient. In December 1794, he inquired of the commandants of the presidios and the comisionados of the pueblos, whether, in their respective jurisdictions, there were any persons who knew how to read and write, and were otherwise fitted to become instructors of children.[1] He also desired information as to what

[1] In the accompanying I give a list of the teachers of public schools, places at which they taught, terms of service, and salaries, from 1794 to 1846.

Name.	Place.	Salary.	Term of Service.
Manuel de Várgas	San José		Dec. 1794–June 1795.
Ramon Lasso	San José	2½ reales per child	July 1795–May 1796.
Manuel de Várgas	San Diego	$250 per annum	July 1795–Dec. 1798.
José Manuel Toca	Santa Bárbara	$125 per annum	Oct. 1795–June 1797.
Manuel Boronda	San Francisco	Taught gratuitously	May 1796–June 1797.
José Rodriguez	Monterey		May 1796.
José Medina	Santa Bárbara		June 1797–Dec. 1798.
José Alvarez	San Francisco	$2 extra pay monthly	July 1797.
Manuel de Várgas	Santa Bárbara		Jan. 1799.
Rafael Villavicencio	San José		Oct. 1811.
Miguel Archuleta	Monterey		Jan. 1818–1822
Antonio Buelna	San José		–Mar. 1820.
Rafael del Valle	San José		April 1820–Dec. 1820.
Joaquin Buelna	San José	Extra pay	Jan. 1821–June 1822.
—— Labastida	San José	Extra pay	July 1822.
José Berreyesa	San Francisco	$10 per month	Mar. 1823–Oct. 1823.
José Antonio Romero	San José	$15 per month	April 1823.
Luciano Valdes	Los Angeles		Jan. 1828–Nov. 1830.
Antonio Menendez	San Diego	$15 per month	Aug. 1828–Dec. 1829.
José Tiburcio Castro	Monterey	Taught gratuitously	Jan. 1829.
Joaquin Botiller	Los Angeles		Dec. 1830–Dec. 1831.
Vicente Moraga	Los Angeles	$15 per month	Jan. 1832.
Pablo de la Ossa	Sta Gertrúdis		Jan. 1833.
Cristóval Aguilar	Los Angeles		Jan. 1833.
Francisco Pantoja	Los Angeles		Feb. 1833–Feb. 1834.
Petronilo Rios	Monterey	$20 per month	Feb. 1833.
José María Aguila	Monterey	$20 per month	March 1834.
Juan Iguera	Monterey		June 1834.
José de los Santos Avila	Branciforte	$10 per month	July 1834.
Victor Prudon	San Gabriel	$1000 per annum	Nov. 1834.
Ignacio Coronel	Sonoma	$1000 per annum	Nov. 1834.
Miguel Avila	Monterey		Jan. 1835.
Domingo Amador	S. Luis Obispo	$15 per month	Jan. 1835–Aug. 1835.
Márcos Bonilla	Santa Bárbara	$1000 per annum	April 1835.
José María Silva	Santa Cruz		–Oct. 1835.
José Fernandez	Santa Cruz		Nov. 1835.
José Mariano Romero	Monterey		Nov. 1835–Nov. 1836.
José Zenon Fernandez	San José		Feb. 1836.
Juan Padilla	San Antonio		April 1836.
Florencio Serrano	Monterey	$1000 per annum	Dec. 1836.
Ignacio Coronel	Los Angeles		July 1838–Sept. 1840.
A. A. de Miera y Noreña	San José		April 1840–Dec. 1841.
Enrique Cambuston	Monterey	$1200 per annum	Aug. 1840–Jan. 1846.
José María Campiña	Monterey	$1000 per annum	July 1841–May 1843.
Agustin Dávila	Santa Cruz	Each child $2.50 per m.	Dec. 1841.
José Peña	Santa Clara	$20 per month	May 1842.
W. E. P. Hartnell	Monterey	$1200 per annum	June 1843–Feb. 1844.
Guadalupe Medina	Los Angeles	$500 per annum	Aug. 1843–July 1844.
Francisca Gomez	Monterey	$40 per month	June 1844–Apr. 1846.
Luisa Argüello	Los Angeles	$40 per month	June 1844.
Guadalupe Medina	Los Angeles	$500 per annum	Jan. 1845.
—— Boca	Sonoma	$40 per month	Jan. 1845.
Jorge Allen	Monterey	$1000 per annum	March 1845.
Manuel Gutierrez	San José	$500 per annum	Nov. 1845–July 1846.
Florencio Serrano	Monterey		Jan. 1846–July 1846.

compensation they would require, and from what source this was to come. Masters supposed to be competent were found, and Borica repeatedly expressed his satisfaction with the speedy success that had crowned his efforts. Not later than the 12th of December, 1794—I am unable to establish the date more satisfactorily—Manuel de Várgas, a retired sergeant, opened in the public granary at San José the first primary school in California. Várgas shortly afterward went to San Diego to open a school there, and Ramon Lasso took his place at San José. Early in October 1795, José Manuel Toca became the master of a school at Santa Bárbara.

I have been unable to ascertain the names of the masters at Monterey and San Francisco, the last of the presidios to have a school, but the five schools named were in operation early in 1796.

Not without difficulty, however, did the energetic governor accomplish what he did, for at the very outset he found himself confronted with the necessity of creating funds for these establishments, and the want of properly qualified teachers. The men whom he had appointed teachers were retired veterans, whose knowledge of what they were called upon to teach was but slight, and who from their age as well as their experience of life were ill fitted to become instructors of youth. It is possible that these appointments were regarded by the governor as temporary, and to last only until the arrival of teachers from Mexico. The other difficulty he hoped to evade by decreeing that when the people would not voluntarily support the school-master a contribution should be levied, payable in grain when money was not forthcoming. This order was dated October 19, 1795, and bachelors were to be taxed as well as married men.

By this decree the attendance of all children over seven and under ten years of age, both of civilians and soldiers, was made obligatory; and such of the non-commissioned officers of the presidial companies who

were unable to read and write were ordered to attend. The hours of school were early in the morning and again in the afternoon, in order that in the interval the children might aid their parents in the necessary labor of the household or the field. The only text-books were primers furnished by the parents of the children; but paper for writing was supplied by the habilitado, to whom it was afterward returned, that it might be made use of in the manufacture of cartridges. The prime object of instruction was to learn the *doctrina cristiana*, or Christian doctrine; and this the children acquired by rote, repeating it line by line and sentence by sentence after the master. Reading and writing were matters of secondary importance, and were taught to no child until he had treasured up in his memory the contents of the catechism.

Upon the schools thus established, the governor looked with excusable pride, for he hoped that they were but the forerunners, necessarily imperfect, of flourishing academies. He took great interest in the progress of the scholars, and naturally supposed that the parents would appreciate his endeavors. He required that, at stated periods, reports of the number of scholars in attendance at the different schools should be made to him, and for several months this was done.

He also required that their copy-books should be submitted to his inspection.

But presently there was a notable falling off in the attendance; nor could the threats to which he now had recourse accomplish what persuasion had failed to do. Parents, seeing that under the instruction of masters but little less ignorant than themselves their children did not make much progress, suddenly discovered that in order to lead the same monotonous life of sluggish toil that had fallen to their own lot, not even the most rudimentary knowledge was imperative. Books they possessed not, letters they neither received nor were called upon to write, while the few formal documents that were needed could be drawn by

the few among them capable of the task, and who made such profitless drudgery their business. Why, indeed, should their children know more than they or their fathers knew? Reasoning thus, and with the plausible pretence that the services of their children were necessary to the support of the family, they gradually withdrew them from the schools. On their part the masters, conscious perhaps of their lack of qualifications for an office which had been in a measure forced upon them, as well as discontented because of their scant salary and the difficulty of obtaining even that pittance, took but slight pains to enforce the attendance of unwilling scholars.

Thus it came to pass that some time before the expiration of Borica's term of office, teachers were almost entirely wanting, those who still pretended to teach assembling their scholars but once a week; and the youth of the country, instead of learning to read and write, and to stand before the king as that zealous ruler had hoped, were growing up to manhood as their fathers had done, without education save in horsemanship, and the primitive agriculture then practised; fit for nothing but the unintellectual life of a ranchero, or enlistment in one of the presidial companies. A blight fell upon education in California, similar to that which after the death of Charlemagne paralyzed the schools of his empire.

Another generation needed instruction before the subject of education was again taken up in earnest; for during the long second term of Arrillaga the apathetic, nothing was done for the more permanent establishment of better schools. But his successor was a man of different mould. Shortly after his arrival at Monterey, Sola summoned to his presence the schoolmaster and his pupils, the latter bringing with them their cartridge paper and their books. After examining these, the governor announced his intention of attending to their education more closely than his

predecessor had done. Thereupon, the worthy pedagogue, apparently considering this remark as a reflection upon himself, and anxious moreover to bask in the rays of the rising sun, with much earnestness and at great length, explained that his pupils were well read, though few of them could read a word, for the lives of various saints and like ghostly lore was at their tongue's end. Many of them were also especially adept in the singing of masses, for their voices had been carefully trained by the neophyte José, choirmaster at the neighboring mission, and a master of his art; and they took part in the weekly processions of the rosary. Nor were these the sole accomplishments of the youths who yearly on the feast day of Our Lady of Guadalupe pronounced discourses in honor of her merit, which won the applause of listening multitudes. What more was necessary than this heavenly discipline? As for a knowledge of earth, any fool keeping his eyes open would learn that.

To this erudite tirade, his Excellency listened attentively, at its close remarking dryly that for all this a little education would not harm the young Californians, and that there were other branches of learning fully as important as sacred music. After a servant had distributed fruits and sweets to the children, Sola dismissed them, bidding some of the more advanced scholars to wait upon him the following day. On their presenting themselves, he explained the importance of close attention to study, and at the close of the interview presented them with a copy of the constitution of 1812, some recent decrees of the córtes and numbers of the *Gaceta de México*, and, most acceptable gift of all, a copy of *Don Quixote*. Promising them more when these should have been carefully perused, the governor dismissed the lads, who returned to their fellows with a glowing account of the interest taken in them by their new ruler.

In this way Sola caused the schools to be reopened at various places in the province. As masters, he

selected settlers, or invalided soldiers of good character, to whom a gratuity was given, or some soldier who taught reading and religion. Out of his own abundant means he founded at the capital a school for boys, and one for girls. He caused the reins of discipline to be tighter drawn, complaint against a master being regarded as a sort of high treason, to be punished with the utmost severity; and wisely holding that on the education of youth depends the progress of the state, punished such short-sighted parents as refused to send their children to the schools.

In a letter to Comandante Argüello of San Francisco he wrote: "No admita Vm disculpa alguna á los padres que rehusan enviar sus hijos á la escuela porque, si no se educa la juventud, el país en vez de progresar, forzosamente se verá obligado á retroceder, cosa que es deber de las autoridades evitar á todo riesgo."

Desirous of founding a high school, he invited to Monterey two Spanish professors of ability and experience; but to men of narrow though educated minds, life in California proved irksome, and the imported pedagogues remained in the country but a few weeks. Observing that the neophytes evinced a certain aptitude for singing the Latin of the mass, and took great interest in assisting at that ceremonial as well as in all pertaining to the service of the church, he proposed to the viceroy the establishment of a college similar to that of San Gregorio de Méjico. The expense was to be borne by the mission communities, each of which should send to the college half a dozen young Indians, who, under the supervision of two of the friars, should be taught writing, grammar, philosophy, and ethics. It was Sola's well-founded opinion that thus there could soon be instructed a body of missionaries who would be of inestimable advantage in the conversion of their kinsfolk. He also suggested the foundation of an establishment where the female neophytes, who at the tender age of three years should be taken from their mothers, might un-

der the care of a discreet matron be instructed in the ordinary household duties of women. But men of the stamp of Quiroga no longer existed in New Spain, while the political condition of the viceroyalty was such as to render even the discussion of such a scheme impracticable.

It was evident that no aid of any kind could be expected from Mexico, and Sola was left alone to battle in behalf of education against the covert influence of the friars, which fanned into open resistance the inveterate dislike of an ignorant people to any project for the mental improvement of their children. When, therefore, in addition to this the governor found himself opposed and crippled because of the chronic lack of funds in the public treasury, it cannot be wondered at that even an enthusiasm such as his became discouraged, and that he abandoned the profitless struggle.

The earlier years of Sola's administration may be regarded as the golden age of education in California, since heretofore the schools had never been equalled, while later they were unsurpassed. Of these schools, the following is a description: The room itself was long, narrow, badly lighted; with unadorned walls, save by a huge green cross or the picture of some saint, generally the virgin of Guadalupe, suspended over the master's head, or to one side of his table; dirty everywhere, and in places dilapidated. Around its sides were ranged roughly made benches. There was a rude platform at one end, sometimes with a railing, but more frequently without, on which was placed a table covered with a dingy black cloth. Behind this table was seated, in a greasy dress of fantastic fashion, an old invalided soldier of ill-tempered visage and repulsive presence. As the scholars reluctantly entered its chilling atmosphere, each walked the length of the room, kneeled before the cross or saint, recited aloud the bendito, and crossed himself. His devotions

finished, he, trembling, approached the master, saying, "La mano, Señor maestro;" whereupon that grave functionary, with a sort of grunt or bellow, gave him his hand to kiss. The boy then put his hat on the heap formed in a corner by those of his school-fellows, took his accustomed seat, and as soon as a larger boy had shown him his lesson, began to recite, in a high tone and with a vehemence that caused the veins of his neck to swell, his allotted task of the *caton*, or primer. If learning to write, he placed some heavy black lines, called a *pauta*, under the coarse paper, which he ruled with a piece of lead, afterward taking the paper and his pen to the master, who, sharpening the latter with a knife, set him a copy according to his grade, of which there were eight, ranging from coarse marks and pot-hooks to fine writing in the old-fashioned round hand. The sheet completed, the child took it to the master. "Here is a blot, you little rascal!" "Pardon, Señor maestro, to-morrow I will do better." "Hold out your hand, sirrah!" and the necessary discipline, without which no education could be achieved, was duly administered. During the time devoted to the examination of the copies, the ferule had but little rest. But on the black cloth lay another and far more terrible implement of torture—a hempen scourge with iron points—a nice invention, truly, for helping little children to keep from laughing aloud, running in the street, playing truant, spilling ink, or failing to know the lesson in the dreaded *doctrina*, the only lesson taught, perhaps, because it was the only one the master could teach, this latter offence being unpardonable. This very appropriate inquisitorial implement was in daily use. One by one each little guilty wretch was stripped of his poor shirt, often his only garment, stretched face downward upon a bench, with a handkerchief thrust into his mouth as a gag, and lashed with a dozen or more blows, until the blood ran down from the little lacerated back. Ah, heavenly Father, what fools! and what innumerable follies civil-

ization and christianity have to answer for! It was held that while the children were at school their parents could not call upon God in their behalf, but that the master was alone answerable to him, as well as to the civil authorities and the church. The master was also responsible for any want of application on the part of his pupils; as a set-off, however, he was directed to counsel and warn the children, and to apply the torture when deemed necessary, especially for shortcomings concerning the *doctrina cristiana*, for which no excuse, as I have said, could be accepted. Moreover, the master's conduct was watched by the parents; and if the children did not make satisfactory progress, complaint was made to the comisionado or alcalde.

Six or twelve months were devoted to the primer, or A B C book. A like time was given to the *caton*, which, though also a primer, was regarded as a second book, an incongruous mass of reading, obtuse, useless, corrupt, absurd; lessons of servility to the stupid alcalde; gross doctrines ill defined. After this the child entered upon the course of writing from the first to the eighth grade, after which he learned the first four rules of arithmetic—this accomplishment, however, not being taught universally. Through the whole course ran the *doctrina*, the most accursed torment of all—the children reciting these sublime lessons of ignorance like parrots.

Even in the same school there was no uniformity in the reading-books. They were all religious works, chief among them being the famous *Catecismo de Ripalda*, after which ranked in importance the *Caton Cristiano*, a *Novena de la Virgen*, in some one of her many attributes, or the life and martyrdom of any of the innumerable Spanish saints. In committing these to memory, each paragraph was associated with dire mental torments, the remembrance of each page indelibly fixed by the all-purifying scourge.

Vallejo, to whom I am indebted for many facts connected with the subject of education, writing at a

time when upwards of half a century separated him from the occurrences which he relates, says: "The catechism of Father Ripalda! Who among the surviving elders of the native Californians is not acquainted with Father Ripalda? Who among them possessed of a glimmering of reason, and the least desire for liberty of conscience, does not detest that monstrous code of fanaticism, which, like some venomous serpent, entwining itself about the heart of youth, slowly devours it?—the while implanting in their innocent understanding principles of tyranny and superstition incompatible with our institutions—I had almost said inimical to human dignity!"

The Spanish government, while not prescribing what class of text-books should be used in the schools, took especial pains to prohibit certain political catechisms and pamphlets published in Spain, and which seditiously savored of other things than the divine right of kings. Among the prohibited text-books, which do not, however, appear to have made their way to California, were: "Catecismo político arreglado á la constitucion de la monarquía española para ilustracion del pueblo, instruccion de la juventud y uso de las escuelas de primeras letras; por D. J. C. en Córdoba, en la imprenta real de D. Rafael García Dominguez—año de 1812; Catecismo patriótico, ó breve exposicion de las obligaciones naturales, civiles y religiosas de un buen Español; compuesto por un párroco del arzobispado de Toledo: Madrid: Imprenta de Ibarra, 1813; Lecciones políticas para el uso de la juventud Española; por el Dr. D. Manuel Cupero, Cura del Sagrario de Sevilla: Impresa en la misma por D. José Hidalgo—año de 1813; Catecismo político Español constitucional que á imitacion del de doctrina cristiana compuesto por el Sr Reynoso, presenta al público E. E. D. C. N. En Málaga, en la oficina de D. Luis Carreras, año 1814; Catecismo cristiano político compuesto por un magistrado para la educacion de su hijo y dado á luz por el ayuntamiento de Antequera para el uso de sus escuelas,

impreso en la misma por la viuda é hijos de Galvan, año 1814."

Compare these with the text-books we place in the hands of our children to-day, and we may well excuse any manifestation of feeling on the part of one who, like Vallejo, had been subjected in the days of his tender youth to their tortures.

This, then, was the routine of study during five days of the week, except when some feast or fast of the church gave the glad children a holiday. Saturdays were days of review and examination. Occasionally the children were taken to church in order to be present at the mass and listen to long sermons, dry and tedious. Now and then they were made to confess to some grim old missionary.

This was the almost unvarying routine of school-boy life. Their mothers had some pity for them, as after a frugal breakfast, pale and tearful they left their homes; but their fathers, saying, "As I was ground so be thou ground," took away all hope. Vallejo thus graphically closes his account of the early schools: "The escuela antigua was a heaping up of horrors, a torture for childhood, a punishment for innocence. In it the souls of a whole generation were inoculated with the virus of a deadly disease. . . . There opened, black and frightful, the tomb of thought, and the school, which should be the gilded vestibule carpeted with roses, by which the human family enters the sanctuary of civilization, in the time of the viceroys and the earlier governors of California was but the gloomy and harmful passage which swallowed slaves for the future use of monarchy. In my mind there rise up such painful emotions, such bitter remembrances of the sad consequences due to the education which our masters gave us, that the mere recollection is absolutely painful. Recalling to mind these things is like the dream of the escaped victim who sees arising from the depths the spectre of his hated executioner. The old school should have been called the

school of servilism, since it was the torture-chamber wherein was done to death the sentiment of dignity which perished amid a thousand torments, physical and moral, encompassing the martyrdom of the body, and extinguishing the light of reason in the new-born man." Such being the case, there was fully enough of education in pastoral California, after all.

Not that the little Californians were angels, deserving no discipline. They were like other school-boys of other times and countries in frequently infringing the rules laid down for their guidance, and were, indeed, if the truth must be told, sometimes found in open rebellion against the master. At Monterey, it was customary to allow the boys to go to the beach in order to see the incoming ships. On one of these rare occasions, the *Princesa* was signalled in the offing, and the usual permission was given. The elder scholars had nearly completed a copy of the habilitado's accounts, on which they had bestowed unusual care, as it was intended for transmission to Mexico, and were bidden by the master to carefully put away their manuscript, and to close as they went out the *gatera*, or hole cut in the door for the passage of the cat. Heedless of everything but the anticipated pleasure, these injunctions were forgotten, and the eager children hurried to the shore. There they met Sola, who received them kindly, as was his wont, and was well pleased with their report of the progress made in the task which he had allotted to them. In due time the ship anchored; the commander and passengers came on shore, and the unwilling lads returned slowly to school, to find that, in consequence of their neglect, a number of hens had invaded the classic precinct, and overturning the ink-bottles, had ruined beyond redemption their elaborate copies. Their hearts almost ceased to beat as they thought of the impending consequence; for their preceptor, while miserly in the expenditure of cigarrillos, was nowise niggardly in the use of the ferule, which, moreover, through long

practice, he wielded with no mean skill. Their suspense was not long. The master entered, and taking in the situation at a glance, with a scowl more than usually demoniacal ordered the whole school into the torture-chamber, an inner apartment with no means of egress save through the school-room. He was obeyed in ominous silence. But when he ordered two of the elder boys to seize the first victim, they flatly refused. Encouraged by this bold stand, their comrades closed the wooden shutter of the only window, and began discussing the advisability of laying out the pedagogue on the bench, and applying to his back the scourge. If well laid on, it might serve as a reminder to lessen their tortures, which presently it would be their turn to endure. When it fully came home to him—this amazing impudence—the schoolmaster took to his heels and reported the matter to the commanding officer of the presidio, who in turn informed the governor. A commissioner was sent to investigate the matter, who pardoned the rebels, on the ground that their excessive joy at the arrival of the *Princesa* so affected their minds for the moment as to render them irresponsible agents.

Little learning as the boys got, far less was imparted to the girls; it was not necessary or desirable that a woman should know anything beyond household duties. Besides plain cooking, plain sewing, sufficient for making plain clothes, unvaried in fashion, worn by themselves, their husbands, and their children, made up the sum of their accomplishments. With the exception of the single instance of a girl's school, to which I have alluded, there were none established until a much later day. In the towns, the daughters of some of the prominent families assembled at the house of the mother of one of them, who taught them to read and write, in the same way that the boys were taught, although not to the same extent. They also learned to weave in hand-looms the gaudy

rugs which, spread upon the floor of the church, served them as seats. Or seated on the floor of the school-room, or of the inner corridor of the house, each child with her hoop-like embroidery-frame upon her knees, they slowly wrought with the needle in cotton stuff not over fine the simple embroidery intended for the embellishment of valances, and the like, which ultimately were to form part, and frequently all, of the maker's dower. The simple cookery known to Californians, and the care of children, each girl learned at home.

The friars took no part in public instruction, and this may well excite our wonder, for they were themselves all men of good education, some of them deeply learned. But they taught, only in a desultory way and as if for pastime, their favorites among the soldiers of the escoltas, or the few children de razon who lived at the missions. One enthusiastic religious was wont to arise at untimely hours of the night in order to instruct the sentry at his post, and with the ramrod of his pupil's musket trace in the ashes of the guard-house hearth the letters of the alphabet. A few there were who, mastering the tongue of those whose welfare, material and spiritual, was in their keeping, endeavored to make clear to their benighted intelligence mysteries not easily comprehended by Plato or Paul. As a rule, however, the friars, adopting the traditional policy of their country and their cloth, that education was bad for the Indians, although in the few cases where it had been tried in California the result had been good, prevented the neophytes from acquiring a knowledge of reading and writing, and taught even to their household servants only such menial duties as were necessary to their own comfort. Of what avail was learning in this lotos-land? There was in it neither health, wealth, nor happiness; besides, it was a great waste of labor; for if the soul was saved, the mind at death would know all, and that was soon enough.

Thus, as we have seen, a twofold obstacle hindered the progress of education, and during the administration of Argüello nothing was accomplished. In 1824 he presided at a meeting of the provincial assembly, on which occasion the question of the establishment of a high school for the education of youths was mooted, but it was decided that there were no funds that could be applied to such a purpose. Of eight members present, the half spoke in favor of the establishment of the hospicios de estudios, in view of its great benefit to California. A little later, Sola, who still preserved his interest in California as well as his enthusiasm for the promotion of learning, and now represented the province in the Mexican congress, wrote to Argüello of the formation of an institute for the promotion of science in the republic, and invited the Californians to contribute to the estimated expense, which was not slight. Though aware that he was about to be removed, and, moreover, no friend to Sola, Argüello sent circulars to the friars, and to the more prominent among the laymen. The priests refused to aid an enterprise favored by enemies of the monarchy, and the others said that they had no time for science. California contributed nothing; and as the other states did no more, the enterprise failed. No public interest in education could be awakened, and each father of a family followed his own inclination.

Echeandía held that learning was the corner-stone of a people's wealth, and its encouragement the chief duty and greatest glory of a governor. He believed in the gratuitous and compulsory education of rich and poor, Indians and gente de razon alike. These were favorite ideas with him, openly and frequently expressed; and when the matter came to the ears of the friars, who through many channels ever kept themselves informed of what was said at the government house of the territory, they, having neither forgotten nor forgiven his secularization scheme, called upon God to pardon the unfortunate ruler unable to

comprehend how vastly superior a religious education was to one merely secular. This, however, did not prevent the governor from calling on the fathers to establish at each mission, and at its proper charges, a primary school, whose teachers were to be capable men of good moral character. The fathers promised obedience, determined all the time to disobey.

While at Tepic, on his way to take possession of his government, he had been obliged to inform the supreme authority that the two teachers of primary schools in California who had already reached Acapulco were unable to go farther, because the province could not defray the cost of their passage to Monterey. Shortly after he reached Monterey the assembly, at his instigation, voted to request the supreme government that it should send, at its own cost, some masters for primary schools in California. The number of masters, who were also to establish, if possible, an academia de gramática, where philosophy, law, and drawing should be taught, is not mentioned. Mechanics for a rope-walk which might be useful to vessels were also asked for. The requests were not granted.

Nothing daunted, the governor continued to battle with recalcitrant friars and stupid ayuntamientos. He left no means untried to gain the support of the latter, in one instance directing that there should be elected to that body only members who should at least be able to write legibly, and threatening that were this requisite not complied with judicial action would, conformably to law, suspend their right of citizenship.

Finding that the civil authorities were powerless to carry out his commands, some of them in despair asserting that it was useless to endeavor to pay a teacher if not a single child attended school, Echeandía called upon the commanding officers at the presidios to compel parents to send their children. This measure was to a certain extent effective, and the alcaldes again set to with a will, he of Monterey voluntarily acting as master of a school whose sole belongings con-

sisted of a covered table, one arithmetic, and four primers.

So the magistrate was able to make a brave showing—on paper—when in 1829 he reported to the supreme government that there were in existence in the province eleven primary schools, with an attendance of 339 pupils. This report was dated at San Diego, May 19, 1829.

The schools were as follows: one at San José pueblo with 30 scholars; one at San Miguel mission with three scholars; one at Santa Bárbara presidio with 67 scholars; one at Santa Bárbara mission with 44 scholars; San Buenaventura had 36 scholars; San Fernando 20; Los Angeles pueblo 61; San Diego presidio 18; San Gabriel mission 8; San Juan Capistrano 17; San Luis Rey 35. It will be observed that the Monterey school was once more closed for want of a teacher, and that of San Francisco had not been reopened.

The governor added that the schools had been paralyzed by the lack of funds and the impossibility of obtaining suitable teachers. Municipalities and missions were now prepared to pay capable teachers; for even at the schools for gente de razon only poor instruction was given in the doctrina cristiana, reading, and writing. At the mission schools the young neophytes learned only to sing the mass awkwardly, to play wind and stringed instruments, and repeat the doctrina, while the attendance was small because of the necessary work afield. He therefore called on the supreme government for aid.

But the enthusiasm of the subordinate authorities was short-lived, and Echeandía, unable to contend against the enmity of the friars, the indifference of the people, and the poverty of the treasury, accomplished no more than his predecessors had done. Reluctantly he abandoned the contest, and the cause of education again declined. The schools, few in number and presided over by incapable teachers, were open only

about one third of the time, at irregular intervals, and for brief periods, according to the condition of the treasury. Any circumstance was seized upon as a pretext for closing the schools. In March 1832, it coming to light that the assessor had introduced some aguardiente without paying duty thereon, the merchants at Monterey also resisted payment on their introductions of liquor until the assessor should pay. Consequently the schools, which at the time were maintained by these funds, were closed. Some of the teachers of the mission schools went so far as to employ their pupils as servants about the house, or in gathering herbs which the master sold for his own profit. During the period of anarchy which followed Echeandía's term of office, and even before the secularization of the missions, these schools one by one had ceased to exist.

At this juncture W. E. P. Hartnell, a Roman catholic Englishman of liberal education, and proficient as a linguist, who some years previously had married a woman of the country and engaged in trade at Monterey, in which he had not met with success, concluded to establish at Monterey a school for boys. For that purpose he associated himself with the Rev. Patrick Peter Short, a refugee priest from the French missions at the Hawaiian Islands. He also obtained the concurrence of the friars, and of the governor, Figueroa, who promised aid. Hartnell thereupon issued a prospectus. In this document, which is dated December 10, 1833, he announced that he would open a 'casa de educacion' for a limited number of pupils, not under eight years of age. He counted upon the patronage of the government, and of a considerable number of honorable citizens and foreigners, who had already contributed liberally to the preliminary expenses of the undertaking. By the favor of God, the establishment would be opened at the beginning of the coming year; and as there were but limited accommodations for pupils—the wilderness hereabout

being narrow—early application should be made. Instruction would be given in reading and writing; Spanish grammar; French, English, German, and Latin; arithmetic and book-keeping; mathematics and philosophy. Particular attention would be given to teaching the christian doctrine, and to the boys' habits and manners. For his board and lodging and education, each pupil should pay $200 yearly. They should furnish their own books and stationery, and bring with them certain articles of clothing. Three weeks thereafter, namely, on January 1, 1834, the Seminario de San José was formally opened at the rancho del Patrocinio, an estate near Monterey belonging to Hartnell. Fourteen boys were brought together under these happy auspices, and yet in a year and a half the school was closed.

In May 1834 Governor Figueroa reported to the supreme government that there were primary schools only at Monterey, Santa Bárbara, and Los Angeles, which were taught by ill-qualified, inexperienced men, and attended by but few children. They were all for boys; for girls none existed; nor of late years had any attempt been made in the direction of female education. These facts the governor set forth in a speech delivered shortly afterward at the opening session of the assembly, whereupon that body asked from the supreme government an annual sum for the support of public schools, to which request no attention was paid.

Aid was at hand, however; while the governor and the ayuntamientos were searching for men and money, the Híjar colony arrived, with a teacher for the normal school, which it was proposed to establish at Monterey, and eight, of whom one was a woman, for the primary schools.

At a session of the assembly, held November 3, 1834, a bill of the following tenor was passed: 1. The governor should designate the places at which the

teachers brought by Híjar were to open schools. 2. These teachers should receive the salary assigned them by Híjar—$1,000 per annum—and be paid from the municipal funds, or the community property of the missions, as the governor might determine, in money or in produce. 3. The teachers of primary schools should first be required to pass the examination by law indicated. 4. The teacher proposed for the normal school should also comply with the law previous to establishing himself at the capital. 5. The governor should see to it that one or more persons from each pueblo, chosen from among those most apt for the purpose, attended the normal school. These should be maintained while at the normal school by the pueblos. 6. Señora Ignacia Paz should open at Monterey a primary school for girls; she should undergo an examination, and receive a salary of $600 per annum.

Still the cause of education did not thrive. The Californians did not like new-comers; and soon there were complaints on the score of morals against the masters. Some of these, finding Híjar's representations to some extent false, returned to Mexico. Then some of the schools were confided to the old-time pedagogues, who were incompetent, he of Monterey, for instance, being unable to spell correctly his native language. And above all, the old opponents of progress, the ignorance and indifference of the people, which led them in some cases into avowed opposition to the governor's scheme, were unconquerable.

At Los Angeles not a man could be found who was able to discharge the duties of fiscal in an alcalde's court. Of thirty rancheros of San Antonio, San Pablo, and elsewhere, who petitioned the governor that their properties might be separated from San Francisco and joined to San José, only eleven could sign their names.

At first the alcaldes, urged thereto by the governor, threatened to punish the priests who did not comply

with the law; but these having little effect, educational matters were allowed to drift and decline.

In February, 1835, Figueroa instructed the alcalde of San Diego that parents need not be required to send their children to the school when this was not convenient. At the San Diego ex-mission the Indians were excused from attending school because they did not like the master. Kind treatment or punishment equally failed to prevent the schools from being deserted; parents preferred to employ their children in labor, and when search was made for them by some conscientious master—which, however, was of rare occurrence—they concealed themselves.

Nor was Alvarado, himself one of a handful of native Californians who in spite of all obstacles had acquired some little education, a whit more successful in his persistent endeavor to advance the cause of learning. His first message to the so-called congress of California urged the necessity of public instruction, and he made other appeals to the same effect. But the treasury still remained in its normal empty condition, and save by the stereotyped reiteration of laws on the part of the ayuntamientos, nothing was accomplished. Continuing his efforts, however, the governor visited frequently the schools at the capital, rewarding the meritorious and rebuking those deserving of censure. But the government was powerless to render pecuniary aid, and the negligence of parents insurmountable. At Los Angeles, when Ignacio Coronel, a man of fair education and good ability, called a meeting of his fellow-townsmen to select a suitable locality for the school of which he had charge, there was exhibited an almost entire lack of interest in the matter, and few of those present offered to contribute to the necessary expense.

After four years, Alvarado, in another speech delivered at the opening of the assembly, said that in the whole territory there was scarcely a single school.

That the ignorance of the people was as great as ever, is evidenced by a mass of documents in my collection. At Santa Bárbara there was no one qualified to act as secretary to the alcalde's court. At San José the juez de paz, as he himself informed the prefect, being unable to write, appointed an amanuensis.

While it was so impossible to maintain in the territory the necessary primary schools, it was proposed that a number of young Californians should be educated at the military academy of Chapultepec. The plan was abandoned, however, on the ground that it was better to bring up Californians in their own country, where their morals were less likely to be corrupted, and where they were less liable to be seduced into participation in revolutions.

About this time the sons of several foreigners who had married Californians, and had settled in the country, were in need of education, and with a few of the sons of native Californians, were sent to a school at the Hawaiian Islands, which had been for several years successfully taught by the missionaries. But the expense deterred many parents from sending their sons thither. After they had been there some months, the boys wrote to their parents asking for some horses and their equipments. The first Sunday after receiving the gifts they went out to amuse themselves, and other game being scarce, they lassoed and nearly killed three natives. The boys were arrested and lodged in jail, being liberated only at the intercession of the foreign consuls.

When Bishop García-Diego took possession of his diocese, he signified in his first pastoral his intention of attending to the primary schools; and in accordance with orders from Rome, he busied himself with the project of founding a seminary at Santa Bárbara. But although he succeeded in obtaining from Micheltorena a grant of eight square leagues of land, he was

unable to raise the money for building an episcopal residence.

Micheltorena endeavored to adopt a new system for the establishment of schools. He exhorted the masters to be patient and kind, and sought by means of rewards to arouse in the children a love of study. These he caused to be distributed at an examination of the pupils of the Monterey schools, and made similar gifts at such times as he visited them unannounced. Among other reforms, he concluded that instead of two poor teachers for the normal school, at salaries of $1,000 and $1,200, one good one was better, and Hartnell was appointed with a salary of $1,200. He also stimulated to action the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles, although the corporation wondered where the necessary funds were to come from.

The ayuntamiento, at its session of January 11, 1844, claimed that there were no municipal funds which could be appropriated to the schools, for there were none except such as arose from fines and land dues, and requested that Los Angeles might be put on an equal footing with Monterey, whose schools received an annual appropriation of $600. The governor replied that he was engaged in preparing regulations for the schools, and that meanwhile $500 per annum should be given to the schools of Los Angeles. Micheltorena also agreed to purchase a suitable building for a school.

The governor spent several weeks in perfecting his educational scheme, and finally issued a decree by which schools were reëstablished at San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Bárbara, Monterey, San José, San Francisco, and Sonoma. The plan adopted, though but a slight improvement on the others, was perhaps the best that under the circumstances could have been devised. The decree was issued May 1, 1844, and contained the following articles: 1. Each school as soon as opened should be located in the teacher's house until a suitable locality was provided. 2. Read-

ing, writing, the four fundamental rules of arithmetic, and the doctrina should be taught. Girls, however, should also be instructed in making and mending clothes, and to a certain extent in embroidery and weaving by hand. 3. The schools should be open from 8 to 11 A. M. and from 2 to 5 P. M., except on Sundays, national holidays, the saint's day of the town, and scholars were excused on their own saint's day. 4. All children of from 6 to 11 years of age should attend school, unless a valid reason was given for not doing so, or unless the child were instructed at home or elsewhere, in the branches specified. 5. The school-mistress might, if she would, receive children of less than the specified age. 6. When it should be necessary to exact the fine or impose other penalties, as specified by law, the judge must take into consideration the circumstances of the case; for the child might be ill, or have to work at home. 7. Pupils were to furnish their own books and stationery. 8. The school-mistresses were to be appointed by the governor, from names sent to him by the ayuntamientos, and were to receive each $40 monthly, the payment being preferred to that of any salary in the territory. 9. The school-mistress, always keeping good order in view, should arrange the school work to suit themselves—the sexes, however, being kept separate—should attend to the religious education of the children, and pay due regard to their acquiring proper social manners. 10. The most holy virgin of Guadalupe was named as patroness of the schools, and her image was to be assigned a suitable place in each of them.

The governor likewise issued a proclamation, in which, after an exhortation on the usefulness of education and a recital of the obstacles which heretofore had prevented the establishment of schools, he called upon the patriotism of officials and people to support them. The proclamation closed with the announcement that on the first Monday in June the schools should be

opened with a solemn mass, and with the concurrence of all the leading people. It does not appear that schools were even opened at all of the places indicated by the governor, and at the places where they were established it was found to be impossible to raise money to pay the teachers.

In the autumn of this year, another attempt was made by a few foreigners to secure an education for their sons, who had long since returned from the Islands; but the plan was never carried into effect.

Nine men signed an agreement, whereby each was to pay annually for three years $100 to a school-master from the United States, who should be a Roman catholic, and bring with him satisfactory certificates as to ability and character. He should teach Spanish and English grammar, writing, and mathematics for six hours daily during five days of the week. Each subscriber had the privilege of sending two boys to the school, and by the payment of an additional $50 was entitled to send a third; but the number of pupils was never to be more than thirty-six. Each subscriber agreed to board the master for three months, either at his own house or some other, and each was to furnish the books and stationery used by his sons. At other hours than those specified, the master was at liberty to teach other pupils.

A visionary proposition was made to the government by Henri Cambuston, a Frenchman who had been master of the Monterey school, but had been discharged on account of some trouble with the prefect. He offered to teach more branches, from primary instruction to the application of the sciences, than any four men could have taught properly; the offer was not accepted.

Within a year after its adoption, the impracticability of Micheltorena's regulations for the schools had been abundantly shown, and he had but just left the country when the assembly resolved to ask the supreme

government to furnish five teachers of primary schools on the Lancasterian plan, and two professors competent to teach the higher branches and the two principal foreign languages. But when this request reached Mexico, other matters engaged the attention of the government, and the request was not granted.

During his brief term of office, Pico took steps for the establishment of schools similar to those attempted by his predecessors, and encountered the same obstacles—want of funds, lack of competent teachers, indifference on the part of parents—which rendered his efforts fruitless.

Such is the brief history of the schools of California under the dominion of Spain and Mexico. There were, indeed, none worthy of the name until a different race came into possession of this fair land, and broke the spell that seems to bind every colony of the Spaniards still ruled by their descendants. The Californians of 1846 were scarcely more learned than those of 1769; they hardly knew enough fully to realize their ignorance.

In 1845 but eleven of twenty-five voters at San Diego were able to write. In March 1845 Alcalde Leese of Sonoma reported to the governor that the pueblo contained upward of 100 inhabitants, but that among the civilians there were but two persons competent to serve as judges, for they were the only ones who could write. Two months later, Márcos Baca, one of the persons referred to by Leese, requested the governor to excuse him from acting as judge, for he could neither read nor write. Baca stated, moreover, that the judge should be removed from office, as he also was incapable. Private letters and official documents in my collection, in penmanship and in spelling, as well as in the crudity of the ideas expressed, bear testimony to a lamentable condition of ignorance.

Among such a people books were a superfluity; and

only in later years were a few volumes collected by two or three individuals. During the early years of the missions, they had been furnished with certain approved religious and historical works. Among these were copies of Venegas and Palou's *Vida de Junípero Serra.* But the Inquisition, which throughout Spain's wide domain was the ruler in all that related to the mental development of her subjects, prohibited the introduction into California of any but a certain stripe of books, and watch was kept on the luggage of the few foreigners who visited the country.

In January 1797, the governor, writing to the viceroy, reported that Captain Dorr's French pilot had furnished him with the voyages of Biron, Cartaret, and Cook, and that he had given in return the memoirs of Sully and the voyages of Tavanier. As these works were all in the French language they could not have worked great harm to people unable to read them.

One would think that it was about time for mind to be emancipated in America, but one of the first acts of the church in Mexico was to insist upon the full rigor of the prohibition. Heretofore, indeed, the ban had been inoperative, because there were no transgressors; but now that trade with California was open to the world the case was different. The Boston skippers and supercargoes indulged in little ventures of their own, which did not appear on the ship's manifest—among other things a few books which they bartered for hides and tallow to two or three Californians athirst for knowledge. The friars were vigilant, however, and not infrequently detected the illicit traffic, and condemned the volumes, in all the soberness of mediæval times, to be burned in the marketplace. In 1831 some persons who had in this way come into possession of prohibited books were duly disciplined by the church.

But in the lotos-eating days, few books were acquired, and except the collections of religious works

at the missions, which at the time of their secularization consisted in the aggregate of some 3,000 volumes valued in the inventories at about $4,800, there was no such thing as library, public or private, in California, until the arrival of the Híjar colonists, who brought with them a few books. While limited in number, these must also have been only such as the church permitted, for as late as 1838, at least, the supreme government ordered certain books to be taken away from their owners and destroyed. A list of works "contrarios á la religion que de pronta providencia se manda recoger é impedir su introduccion," is given in an order issuing from the department of state, dated July 2, 1838. And this was only eleven years prior to the time when such a flood of infernal literature was poured into the country as should call Serra Salvatierra, and all the rest of them back to that dear old besotted book-burner, Zumárraga. Shakespeare, Smollett, and Shelley. Oh! Tom Paine and Luther, Bunyan and Byron, Voltaire and Victor Hugo, Eugene Sue, Paul de Kock, and Reynolds. Oh! Oh! Oh! If now the scions of California nobility could only read what delicious draughts of wickedness might be theirs!

There were in 1846 three or four libraries in California, other than those of the missions, being M. G. Vallejo's, at Sonoma, Hartnell's, which had cost him a good sum, and from which he readily lent to his friends; Francisco Pacheco's collection was worthy of notice, consisting as it did of *periodicos empastados*, and books on Mexican history. Captain de la Guerra at Santa Bárbara had a lot of scientific and religious books. None of these libraries remained long in the original owner's possession, Vallejo's being burned; Hartnell's divided among his descendants; Pacheco's went into the possession of his brother-in-law, Mariano Malarin, of Santa Clara. De la Guerra's was probably scattered among his sons and their descendants.

The padres, as I have intimated, during the period of full sway over the consciences of the Californians, did all they could to check intellectual development, by preventing the circulation of books containing modern philosophical ideas. A number of books received by one of the Carrillos from the American bark *Volunteer* were burned by the missionaries, who obtained after much exertion, the permission of the jefe-político, Echeandía. This was between the years 1825 and 1831. In the latter year on board of the Mexican vessel *Leonor* was a large collection of books of the class interdicted by the church. They were the property of the German merchant Virmond, and were not on the ship's manifest. A spiteful or fanatical sailor reported the matter to the padres at San Francisco. Vallejo, then comandante at this place, went on board, warned Virmond and Fitch, the commander of the *Leonor*, and offered to buy the books, which were sold to him for 400 hides and 10 skins of tallow. This was the best library in California up to this time. By 5 o'clock the next morning the books were safely in the purchaser's house. José Castro and Juan B. Alvarado, who became in later years so prominent in California, took some of these books to Monterey to read.

Later, Castro's very pious *chére amie*, on confessing her own and her lover's sins, told the padre that he and Alvarado had been reading Rousseau's and other prohibited works. About the same time Father Esténega at San Francisco surprised Vallejo reading *Telemachus*. The president of the missions demanded the surrender of the books, and due penitence, etc., and the demand not being complied with, the three were excommunicated, and the decree was duly proclaimed at the several missions. Neither of them cared much for that, and went on with their reading, though the books were kept where they could not be easily discovered. But their mothers, sisters, and female friends were filled with terror at the fate

awaiting them, both here and hereafter. A short time afterward, Alvarado had some money to pay to Father Duran, the prelate of the missions and vicar-forain of the bishop of Sonora, and went to his residence; but before offering to deliver the money, told him that he was one of the excommunicated, and inasmuch as he had heard Father Sarría say that it was sinful to hold any relations with an excommunicated person, he was sorry to be thus prevented from paying him the money. Thereupon he turned to go away. But the padre called him back, saying: "Listen Juanito; thou hast misunderstood what Padre Sarría said. What thou sayst applies only to persons under excommunication major, and not the minor. I have power to annul the sentence, and to do much more. From now thou and thy companions are absolved, and I can give you permission to read prohibited books, even the protestant bible. Let us have the money, and we will still be friends, for I believe that the sons of the old settlers who suffered with us in early times, will not permit the Mexican government to drive us out after so many years of toil, simply because our vows will not permit us to take the oath of allegiance demanded of us." Alvarado returned thanks and took lunch with the padre.

CHAPTER XVII.

CALIFORNIANISMS.

Wer etwas Treffliches leisten will,
Hatt' gern was Groszes geboren,
Der sammle stillt und unerschlafft
Im kleinsten Punkte die hochste Kraft.

—*Schiller.*

The inhabitants of California have retained in common use, since the annexation of the country to the United States, a considerable number of Spanish, Mexican, and Hispano-American words and phrases. Among them are some which seem to be of purely Californian origin. The able jurist, Ignacio Sepúlveda, remarks that though the Californian settlers did not preserve the Castilian language in its purity, yet they retained a great many memories of old Spain, with many of the concise proverbs which the Moors brought to the peninsula, and many of its legends and traditionary songs.

Beginning with the word *greaser*, so commonly applied by Americans to their Mexican neighbors, Salvador Vallejo, in his *Notas Historicas* gives a version which may be taken for what it is worth. He says that in 1844–5, when large numbers of immigrants were arriving overland, and most every one drove a heavy ox team by which their aged relatives, their women and children, had accomplished the journey, the Caynameros, who for mother wit were the Irishmen of California, flocked around the wagons, from which came forth human beings with dirty faces and greasy hands, the drivers pulling out greasy mattresses and with greasy hands spreading them on the

ground. It made the savages smile to see such greasy civilization, to see a people more greasy than themselves, and so they called them *mantecosos*, greasy ones; and at the last it turned out that whenever a Caynamero spoke of any one who had come over the plains, he called him a mantecoso. The nick-name having been afterward explained to the overland immigrants, they turned the tables on the Indians, anglicized greaser, and applied it to them, and finally to all native Californians and Mexicans. In 1846 the word was also used in connection with the people of Matamoros, and all Mexicans with whom the American army came in contact. Its use there is said to have originated as follows: The Americans did not especially fancy greasing the wheels of their wagons, and made the natives do it for them. Hence they, and presently all the Mexicans, came to be termed greasers.

Adobe. An unburned, sun-dried large brick.

Aguaje. The Mexicans and Californians apply this word to springs. In Spanish it has reference only to the sea.

Alameda. A grove of trees.

Alforjas. Saddle-bags, commonly made of rawhides.

Alisal. A grove of alisos, or alder trees.

Aparejo. A pack-saddle, also applied to appurtenances of machinery.

Arrastra. An old-fashioned mill for crushing ore.

Arroyo. A brook; also applied to the dry bed of one.

Ayunte pronounced by the illiterate jayunte (hah-yúhn-tay). The assembling of the Indian single men and grown-up boys, as well as their quarters in the mission.

Baqueano. In Spanish it means an expert. In Spanish-America it is especially applied to one who knows well a country and its roads.

Berruchi. A peculiar form of men's shoes in old times. Possibly it meant also the material the shoes were made of.

Bonanza, and *Borrasca* in sea parlance mean respectively fair weather and storm. In mining the former is applied to a mine that is yielding well; and the latter to one that will not pay expenses.

Brea. Pitch; also applied to tar.

Buscon. A poor miner seeking for metal.

Caballada. In California signifies the herd of broken horses of an individual or of an armed force.

Cacaste, or cacaxtle. A basket; also a footstool.

Canada. A deep ravine, small cañon, or narrow valley with steep sides.

Canon. The original meaning in Spanish is a tube. It is applied also to a narrow, tunnel-like passage for a stream of water between high precipitous banks; a canyon.

Carpa. Used in California for tents, or shelter.

Cateador, like buscon, refers to a miner who is looking for metal.

Cedazo, a fine sieve; also a figure of the contredance.

Cha. The Californian term for tea.

Chahuixtle. A disease of wheat caused by long drought.

Chapapote. A bituminous substance; also applied to tar.

Chaparro. A short, thick-set man.

Chapulin and Chapul. Mexican for locust, and grasshopper. In Spanish langosta, salton, and grillo for different species.

Chichiguo, as applied to sucking calves, and toruno to bull calves. Chichigua is applied to milch cows, and possibly, as in Central America, to wet nurses.

Chinguirito. Rum distilled from the refuse of sugar. Applied also to all ardent spirits.

Chirrion, from the Spanish chirriar, to squeak. Chiefly applied to an unwieldy cart. It means also a heavy whip. A chirrionazo is a blow with a chirrion; a pela de chirrionazos, means a sound thrashing with a chirrion.

Comilitona, an old Spanish word, now comilona. An abundant feast; a sort of picnic and barbecue, with plenty of meat, bread, mezcal, etc.

Corral. A pen for live-stock; even a poultry yard. Hence the California verb 'to corral,' to drive into a corral.

Coyote. A small California wolf; also a mining term, meaning to dig a hole similar to the burrow of a coyote. It is used likewise as an adjective applied to any person or thing native, or indigenous to the country.

Cuera was a jacket of several thicknesses of chamois or other skin, used by the presidial troops for campaigning against hostile Indians.

Cueradera, the practice of killing cattle to steal the hides.

Cuero, the hide of cattle or horses.

Denunciar, or to make a *denuncio.* To report to the government a crime or plot; a metal bearing site, or unoccupied land.

Dia feriado. A day on which no work could be done. Used in California as *dia de fiesta.*

Embarcadero. A place of embarking, or landing.

Expediente. The collection of original papers relating to a government affair.

Encinal. A grove of *encinos*, or oaks.

Fandango. A dance of the common people.

Fuste. A saddle-tree.

Gorguez. Probably a corruption of the Spanish gorguz, a species of dart used in the olden time. In California, gorguez means an ox-goad.

Habilitacion. The act of authorizing a thing, or the provision made in money, goods, etc., to carry out a project.

Habilitado was the paymaster and business man of a presidial company.

Huero. In Spanish, it is an unfecundated egg; unsubstantial, empty, insignificant. In California, it was applied to persons of light complexion and hair.

Huilo. A man without physical strength, or weak in the legs.

Jacal, or *Jacale.* A temporary hut covered with canes or tule.

Jáquima. A head-stall for breaking wild horses.

Jara. An arrow or dart.

Jarazo. An arrow wound.

Jilotear. As pronounced by the illiterate. The word is helotear: to pick Indian corn in the milk, which is called helote.

Lazar. To lasso, or catch animals with a rope.

Manada. A herd of sheep, also called *borregada.* A *manada de yeguas* is a herd of breeding mares under the lead of a stallion. When the mares were used for breeding mules, a *caballo volteado* was placed with them. A mare, after she had been touched by a jackass, was called a *yegua aburrada.*

Mangas. Bed-clothes and blankets.

Mecate. Mexican for rope.

Mesteño and *Mostrenco.* Live-stock without owner. Generally applied to wild horses or cattle.

Milpa. A field of Indian corn.

Mochilas, or *Mochillas.* Leathern flaps for covering a saddle-tree. A soldier's mochila is his knapsack.

Mocho. Applied to a bull or cow with horns cut off; also to any human being or animal that has lost a piece of a finger, thumb, toe, ear, etc.

Monjerio. The quarters of the single Indian women, or even young widows, in the missions.

Naranja de agua. A measure of water of about the diameter of an orange, which is rather an indefinite measure.

Orejano. Res Orejana de fierro. Cattle marked on the ears, though not necessarily with an iron brand.

Panino. An epithet applied to land suitable for any purpose.

Panocha for *panoja.* An ear of millet or maize; applied to the disc-shaped loaves of coarse sugar; otherwise called panela, and in Peru, chancaca.

Placer. A place where gold is found in dirt, either on dry land or in the bed of a stream.

Playa. The sea-beach.

Plaza. An open square in a town.

Pozo. A spring or well.

Pueblo. A chartered town.

Rancho. A tract of land used almost wholly for pasturage. It rarely had, in Mexican times, less than four miles in extent; in most cases, not less than 30. Since the American annexation, rancho, anglicized ranch, is applied even to small farms, and to single houses. The verb, to ranch, has been coined in connection with farming. It is bad form.

Ranchero. A person owning a rancho, or living in one.

Ranchería. An Indian village, or collection of Indian lodges. It may also be a place of scattered huts.

Realar, or *echar realada.* To seize by royal right. No longer heard.

Reata. A rope made of rawhide, used for lassoing animals.

Recogida. A gathering of horses.

Res. A head of neat cattle.

Rodeo. Rounding up cattle for separating or marking them.

Rúbrica. A scroll or flourish appended by people of the Spanish race to their signatures, as a necessary part of them. Officials in the Spanish dominions often use the rúbrica alone to public documents.

Sauzal. From sáuz, or sáuce, willow, means a grove of willows.

Saúzalito. This diminutive means a small grove of willows.

Sierra. The original meaning is a saw; a serrucho is a common carpenter's saw. The word is commonly used to express a chain of mountains.

Socoyote. As is applied to the youngest child of a family; also to the lowest servant.

Tápalo. A shawl.

Tapanco. Used to mean a cock-loft or room over the garret.

Tardeada. A march begun late in the day.

Tecolero. The master of ceremonies at a ball.

Tecolote. A species of owl.

Tequezquite. A mineral salt, chiefly used in the mines.

Tequio. A task allotted to the mission neophytes, after completing which they were allowed to rest.

Tierras de temporal. Lands depending entirely on rains for their cultivation; distinguished from tierras de regadío, or irrigated lands.

Tierras de abrevadero. Lands having deposits of water to which cattle resort.

Tule. Water-reeds.

Tular. Field of tules.

Vallado is used to signify a wide, deep trench, with the earth taken therefrom thrown up on one side. The vallado served as a boundary fence. In Spain and some parts of Spanish America vallado means a kind of fence or wall of rummed earth surmounted by stones or rods, and planted on the summit with maguey, cactus, piñuelas, blackberry vines, or some other thorny plants.

Vacuno. Neat cattle.

Vacuna. Vaccination, and also the vaccine virus.

Vaquero. A cow-herder. Used also as an adjective, as in *silla vaquera,* a saddle of the kind used by vaqueros.

Zanja. An irrigating ditch, such as one in Los Angeles.

Zanjero is the official having charge of the zanja, to see that it is in good order, and to attend to the distribution of water, etc.

To the above may be added other words, not of Spanish or Mexican origin, which have peculiar meanings in California, as for instance:

Bed-rock, borrowed from mining, is often used to imply the bottom of a subject.

Bummer, an idle, worthless fellow, who earns nothing, and has no means of support.

Bumming around, playing the role of a bummer.

Claim. The piece of ground measured out for mining by a party or a company. There are bar, bank, hill, flat, tunnel, claims; also land claims.

Diggings. Ground where gold is dug for. Wet diggings are on banks or bars of streams of water. Dry diggings are in places which are dry at certain periods of the year.

To dry up is a slang phrase, signifying to stop, say no more, fail, go away, disappear, etc.

To freeze out. Used by miners to express that certain stockholders or others concerned in a mine have been forced to sell their shares or interest.

Gulch. A gully.

Hoodlum. Applied to young vagabonds, especially of towns. The word does not necessarily imply that the individual will not work, for there are young persons who work in the day, and act as hoodlums in the evening, on holidays, etc. The word is generally used to mean a young man or woman who is constantly disturbing the peace, or causing annoyances. Most of the hoodlums are vicious, and sooner or later swell the criminal class. Many of them in San Francisco affect a certain rakish dress, peculiar shoes and hats, and mode of arranging their hair, which makes them out at once to be of the class.

Hydraulic. A mining process by which water is thrown through a hose or pipe upon the dirt, to wash out the gold.

To knock down. To steal. In miner's parlance, to steal valuable pieces of auriferous quartz from a lode.

Pay-dirt. Auriferous dirt that yields wages, or 'pans out well.' When wages were high, it was equivalent to yielding abundantly. When a mine has become exhausted it is said to have 'petered out.' Hence, both expressions are applied to other affairs.

To prospect. To hunt for places containing gold, silver, etc.

Prospect is the discovery made after prospecting. When a prospector finds gold in one or more particles, he says he has found the color.

Rocker or Cradle, an apparatus resembling a domestic cradle, used to wash the gold clear of the dirt.

Sluice. A wooden trough used for washing dirt to separate the gold dust or nuggets.

Ground Sluice. A trough or hole made in the ground for washing dirt.

Tail-Sluice. A sluice placed below other sluices from which it receives dirt and water.

Sluice-Fork. A fork resembling one for stirring manure. The prongs are blunt, the width the same at point and heel.

Sluice-Head is the amount of water used in the sluice. Water is constantly running into the sluice through an opening.

Slum is slimy dirt.

To strip. To clear the pay-dirt of worthless earth.

Square meal is a full and sufficient meal eaten at table.

Tailings. A mining word, meaning the waste of a quartz-mill, rocker, sluice, etc.

Tom. A wooden trough, of 10 to 15 feet in length in which to wash out auriferous earth.

Tom-Stream and *Tom-Head.* The quantity of water used in a tom.

Wing-Dam. A dam made in a river or creek, so as to shut out the water from a part of the bed.

A word as to the popular use of the terms 'Californian' and 'American.' I object strongly to the use of these words, in their common acceptation, as, strictly speaking, incorrect and misleading. In my *Native Races of the Pacific States,* I apply the word 'Californian' to the native inhabitants of California, and the word 'American' to the native inhabitants of America. And these are and can be the only strictly accurate

application of the words to peoples. It is a gross absurdity to call the people on one side of the Niagara River, Canadians, and those on the other side Americans; or to call those on one side of the Rio Grande, Mexicans, and those of the other side Americans. An equal absurdity it is to call Europeans who came from Spain or Mexico and settled in one part of the state at one time Californians, and Europeans who came from England or the United States and settled in another part or the same part of the state at another time, Americans. Yet, after turning the matter well over in my mind, I see no other way than to fall in with fallacy, and drift with the tide into the slough of inaccuracy. The words have become so identified with the history of the times that it is now impossible to change them; and even were this possible, it is difficult to find other words practicable to be used as substitutes. The words 'Anglo-American' and 'Hispano-American' are much more exact, but these are too clumsy for popular use. All the more repugnant to me is this forced misuse of these words here, when, in another work, I have applied them in a totally different and the only correct sense; for thus I find myself the instrument of an anomaly which in the same literature applies to the same words different meanings.

There is yet another application of the word 'Californian' rapidly springing into use, which increases the difficulty. Shortly after the country fell into the hands of the United States, returned gold-seekers were called Californians; and as California grew mightily, and became famous throughout the world, and as the word became the synonym of freeness, flushness, manliness, and enterprise, it pleased the fancy of these adventurers; and ever since, wherever the state's adopted sons have wandered—in the east, in Europe, and in Asia—they have proudly recorded their names as Californians. Nor do I see any way to avoid this application of the word in this connec-

tion. The present inhabitants of the country must have a name, and are justly entitled to the use of the word. But that makes the abnormity no less unpleasing to the writer, who finds himself forced to apply to a proper name three several meanings, with nothing but the connection and the intelligence of the reader to determine in each instance which is meant. In writing upon the aborigines of America and California, therefore, I call the natives Americans and Californians, respectively; in speaking of the events that transpired under and immediately subsequent to Spanish and Mexican rule, I call the Spanish and Mexican occupants of the country Californians, in contradistinction to the people of the United States known as Americans; and later, as the before-mentioned distinctions become obliterated, and people of all lands and nations are proud to merge their nationality into that of the land of their adoption, these, too, shall have given them the name they so love—Californians.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LAW, GOVERNMENT, AND RELIGION.

Aviendo y deviendo ser los Historiadores puntuales, verdaderos, y no nada apassionados, y ni el interés, ni el miedo, el rancor ni la aficion, no les haga torcer del camino de la verdad, cuya madre es la Historia emula del tiempo, deposito de las acciones, testigo de lo passado, exemplo y aviso de lo presente, advertencia de lo por venir. *Cervantes.*

If the three great principles underlying ethics, namely, law, government, and religion, are proper criteria of progress, the Hispano-Californians were the most civilized of peoples. Law, dating from Spain and Mexico centuries back, was present to superfluity, though to tell the truth it was very moderately applied. Government, civil and ecclesiastical, was piled round them mountain high, as if the two great purposes of God and man were, one class to rule and another te obey. As for religion, it was like a limitless swamp; all were engulfed in it.

But law, government, and religion are not elements or essentials of progress; they have but little to do with progress except at certain stages. Savages, strictly such, have no law or government, and but a poor excuse for religion. Men the highest cultivated have, or have need of, little more of these bonds than savages. But in the intermediate stage they are found to be essential. Law and government were stronger in feudal times than later; and religion was much more the master of advanced peoples fifty years ago than now.

In few of Spain's colonies, or in any part of her dominions, or in the communities growing out of her col-

onizations, has there been much lack of governing. Dominion has ever been a prominent feature with the Latin race, to say nothing of the Anglo-Saxon, half of the nation being always quite ready to govern the other half. And as for laws, there was no end to them. Men were made to eat and sleep by law, to work, dress, play, and pray by law, to live and die by law.

Nor was California slighted in this respect, as I have said. A pueblo of 500 inhabitants should be ruled by an ayuntamiento, consisting of an alcalde, three aldermen, and one procurador síndico. These officers were to be elected each year according to the law of election, the alcalde and two of the aldermen to be changed every year, while one alderman and the procurador were to serve for two years.

One writing of Monterey places it at the head of civilization. "The whitewashed houses," he says, "have a much better effect in the landscape than those of Santa Bárbara, or of California towns generally, which are all of a dirty mud color; the red tiles of the roofs also contrast well with the white sides of the houses, and with the bright fresh green of the lawn, upon which the dwellings, about a hundred in number, are dotted about irregularly here and there. There are not, in this or in any other town of California, either streets or fences, except here and there a small patch fenced in for a garden, so that the houses being placed at random on the green, and being all of one story and of the cottage form, have a remarkably pretty effect when seen from a distance.

"Monterey is decidedly the pleasantest and most civilized-looking place in California. In the centre of the town is an open square surrounded on the four sides by lines of one-storied plastered buildings. In the middle of the square are some half-dozen cannon, some mounted, others not. This is the presidio, or fort. Every town has a presidio in its centre, or rather, every presidio has a town built round it, as the

forts were first built by the Mexican government, and the people then erected their dwellings round them for protection. The presidio here is entirely open and unfortified. A short time back there were several officers stationed here, with long and sounding titles, and about eighty soldiers. These, however, were very poorly paid, fed, and clothed, and consequently just as poorly disciplined. The governor-general, or as he is commonly called, the general, has his residence here, and Monterey is thus the seat of government. This officer is appointed by the central government of Mexico, and is the chief civil and military officer. In addition to the general, each town has its comandante, who is the chief military officer of the station, and has charge of the fort, and conducts all transactions with foreigners and foreign vessels. The civil officers consist of two or three alcaldes and corregidores, who are elected by the inhabitants. Of courts of law and jurisprudence generally, the inhabitants have no knowledge whatever. Small municipal matters are regulated by the alcaldes and corregidores, whilst everything pertaining to the general government, to the military, and to foreigners is left to the comandante, acting under the orders of the governor-general. Capital cases are decided by him upon personal inspection if he happened to be near, or by minutes, transmitted to him by the proper officer, if the offender chances to be at a distant place. No protestant has any civil rights, nor can he hold property; nor in fact is he allowed to remain more than a few weeks ashore, unless he belongs to some vessel, so that any Americans or English who intend to reside at Monterey are compelled to become catholics."

The only ranchos given as property to holders during Spanish time were those of the Nietos, Verdugos, Dominguez, the Máligo of Bartolo Tapia, and probably also la Ballona of the Zúñigas.

Here are some of the ordenanzas municipales for the ayuntamientos for 1823. One of the principal pre-

rogatives granted by the constitution to the ayuntamientos, contained in the 8th faculty of article 321, is that of forming the municipal ordenanzas of the pueblos, and presenting them, accompanied by a report through the diputacion territorial for approval. These ordenanzas should comprehend the order to be observed in the internal government of the ayuntamiento, and in what must be observed by the citizens as to police, utility (*comodidad*), and health. The principles governing the interior affairs of the ayuntamiento can be generalized; but as to external matters, these will be different in the different pueblos.

1. The pueblo shall have a house for the use of the ayuntamiento, with the necessary offices for the secretary, the archives and accounts, as well as a warehouse for the implements and tools needed for public works, and barracks for the national guard when this be organized. 2. This house shall be termed the casa consistorial, and the apartment where the ayuntamiento meetings are held the sala capitular. 3. As soon as installed, the ayuntamiento shall by a plurality of votes appoint a secretary, a virtuous and capable person—whose appointment shall be subject to the approval of the provincial deputacion, and who shall not be removed except by consent of the same body; a treasurer, or depositary of the common funds—this being a person approved only by the ayuntamiento; a contador fiscal, whose duty shall be that of keeping the municipal accounts, and authorizing drafts made by the committee, such as come within his province; one or two porters, who shall summon members to meetings, and make themselves generally useful; a store-keeper, who shall take care of and keep in order the tools, etc., as well as the furniture and the standards of weights and measures.

4. The ayuntamiento being installed with the solemnities prescribed by the constitution, on the first day in January, which is not a holiday, an extraordinary session shall be held for the purpose of the appoint-

ment of committees, according to article 321 of the constitution—the secretary having previously read the ordinances and the article mentioned. See article 47 of these ordinances.

5. There shall be appointed, besides these committees, regidores auxiliares to assist the alcalde—according to the second part of said article—in caring for the police and security of the pueblos, this, if sufficiently extensive being divided into cuarteles districts.

6. The ayuntamiento as a body shall be called ilustre until the córtes determine the proper title, and while in session its members shall address one another as V. S.

7. Until it shall be determined whether or not the members of the ayuntamiento must use a uniform, they may use those in vogue among former ayuntamientos, and see that they be of stuffs made in the country; no one being obliged to wear uniform if he be not able to afford it, it being sufficient that he present himself decently. Military men will wear their uniforms.

8. Ordinary sessions shall be held on Tuesdays and Thursdays of each week without any summons being necessary, but he who will be unable to attend will previously give due notice to the president, who shall be the jefe-político, where there be one, and in the following order the 1st and 2d alcaldes and the senior regidor.

9. To constitute a quorum all voting members must attend, but this being impossible, a number, consisting of one more than half the whole, will suffice.

10. At the hour fixed upon, the porters shall indicate the same to the president, and the members shall enter the sala capitular, and by order of seniority in office take their seats around the table with the president at the head. The secretary shall occupy a separate table at the foot of the main table. All shall conduct themselves urbanely and circumspectly. The porter shall be at hand outside of the sala, in order to come when called and keep outsiders from entering.

11. Should a member arrive after the sitting be opened, he is to be received by the others standing, and the secretary must inform him of what business has been done.

12. The session will commence by the secretary reading minutes of the last meeting, that, if necessary, amendments may be made, and that a clean copy be made and duly signed at the present sitting.

13. Reception of reports, written or verbal, of committees, shall then be in order. 14. He who has the floor shall be listened to attentively, and not interrupted by others. After all desirous of speaking have done so, the vote shall be taken—the junior members voting first.

15. Should the síndico make any verbal proposition, he shall be attentively heard before the matter be acted on; if in writing it shall be discussed, but not resolved until the next meeting, or if a very intricate matter, the meeting thereafter.

16. When the secretary lays before the council an order, or a bando circular of the jefe-político, it shall be read slowly, and afterward ordered passed to the alcalde for publication or execution—except where it be referred to a committee within the cognizance of which it may come. The alcalde will, as ordered, cause the same to be sent to the next ayuntamiento, and he and the secretary will acknowledge having received and circulated the same.

17. Should any order be received from the provincial diputacion, relative to economy in expending propios y arbitrios, it must be communicated to the contador and tesorero for their guidance.

18. Should the order or bando circular relate to a matter interesting to the juez of first instance, ecclesiastical juez, or other functionary, he shall be officially notified in writing by the president and secretary.

19. The discussion of business treated of being finished, and—provided that the proceedings have been lengthy—the minutes of the secretary signed by the

president, that they may be afterward written out, the expedientes shall be given to the committees, that the same be examined or executed.

20. Should the juez eclesiástico, and he of first instance, have occasion to attend a sitting of the ayuntamiento, the former shall be seated on the right hand of the alcalde, and the latter on the left; either when alone shall be seated on the right—as also the comandante militar—but any other public functionary must sit below the síndico.

21. Should any diputacion of farmers, merchants, or artisans present itself to the ayuntamiento, in order to treat of anything relating to their respective trades, etc., or the imposition of contributions, they shall be seated on seats separated from those of the members of the ayuntamiento; but any one citizen who may present himself individually shall remain on foot unless he have some military or civil distinction—being a military officer or having belonged to the ayuntamiento, or a letrado, or some person consulted on the point under discussion—in which case he shall have a separate seat; if a clergyman, he shall sit among the members next to the decano.

22. Citizens' petitions requiring study or resolution shall be referred to a special committee, which shall examine the same and report at the next meeting of the ayuntamiento; but no business can be so referred to a person not a member, though he be a relative of a member. 23. Should any individual petition have any relation to the public, it shall be referred to the síndico, that he examine the same and report as the occasion may demand; and in any matter of this nature his opinion shall be heard before the same is decided.

24. Should the petition be one in which is concerned any member of the ayuntamiento, or his relative, intimate friend, or person to whom he is under obligations, or on whom he in any way depends, such member shall not vote, or shall leave the sala when the matter may require, that the others vote freely.

25. Should the matter treated of be of a reserved nature, all the members are obliged to be reticent; and whoever divulges the secret shall be voted as weak-minded, and be held responsible for resultant damages.

26. What has been determined upon by the ayuntamiento cannot be revoked without grave motives, or without the previous consent of the síndico, and the concurrence of all who previously voted on the question.

27. Should the secretary be ill or unavoidably absent, the junior regidor shall act in his stead; if the regidor be busy on some committee, a secretary ad interim shall be appointed by a plurality of votes who shall deliver to the secretary, on his return, the minutes, etc., signed by the members.

28. In the same manner, the síndico shall be replaced by the junior regidor; the alcalde by the regidores in order of seniority; when, however, there be two alcaldes or two síndicos, one shall fill the vacancy of the other, and only when both be absent shall the above course be taken.

29. If on the day of any ordinary meeting any matter requiring immediate action should arise, members shall be cited.

30. In case of special meetings members shall be cited by means of notes signed by the president and secretary.

31. The síndico may ask that a special meeting be called, and is not obliged to give his reasons; any other member shall make a like request through and in accord with the síndico, informing him of the case that he may ask what is fitting, and that all the members be cited—they signing the citation and returning it to the portero for a record of their having been cited.

32. At stated as well as at extraordinary meetings members may request that their vote be recorded apart from the rest in a book kept for the purpose, but this will not excuse them from signing the minutes according to the will of the plurality.

33. No individual vote shall be recorded, unless so ordered by the president.

34. If the matter debated be not urgent, any member may suspend the taking of a vote until further discussion, provided that he signify his intention of bringing forward new arguments. No business can be thus suspended for more than 3 sittings—on the 4th the vote to be taken.

35. Should a special meeting be called to consider some sealed communication addressed to the ayuntamiento, the secretary shall not open the same until one more than the half of the members be present, when, if the matter be grave, there must be unanimity in voting—in case of disagreement all the members being cited.

36. No member while engaged on a special committee may absent himself until its labors are concluded, and then only for cause, and with permission of the president.

37. No authority may summon the ayuntamiento as a body to appear before it; and should any individual member be cited, it must be by an official communication.

38. Communications to the ayuntamiento from the different authorities must be in writing, and must be answered in the same way; or if deemed better, by a committee of one or two.

39. Nor can the ayuntamiento summon before it any public functionary, except for consultation or agreement, which shall be done by an official communication.

40. Should the judge of first instance be obliged to judge civilly or criminally a member of the ayuntamiento, he shall, in a polite manner, give official communication to the president, unless he be taken in the act, when it is necessary only to advise the president that the party has been arrested without it being necessary to say why.

41. An arrested member of the ayuntamiento must be detained at the casa consistorial under the respon-

sibility of the president, or one of the regidores, as he should be in case of imprisonment being necessary, or there be no bondsman according to law; but if sentenced to death or corporal punishment, he must be delivered to the juez and go to the jail.

42. During the trial, and until the crime be determined, his vacancy in the ayuntamiento shall be filled in the usual way.

43. The same course shall be followed if the alcalde formulate the sumaria until the culprit be legally placed at the disposition of the juez.

44. Should the culprit be the alcalde, the 2d alcalde, or the senior regidor, shall take his place.

45. Should the arrest be arbitrary or illegal, the ayuntamiento shall, by its síndico, make a formal complaint to the juez of the nearest partido, according to law, for they should aid and honor one another as members of the same body.

46. If the offence be committed by a regidor as regidor, the alcalde cannot judge it, but shall, through the síndico, formalize the accusation before the juez de partido, and if it be for an infraction of the constitution, the same juez shall form the sumaria, and forward the same through the provincial diputacion to the proper authority.

47. In accordance with article 4—ut supra—there shall be appointed a juez de aguas y de plazas, an inspector of cattle-killing and bakeries, a police judge, one of schools, and one or more of public works, roads, forests, and jails, who shall act according to a special ordinance formed for that object.

48. There shall also be a committee of ways and means (hacienda), composed of an alcalde and a regidor, the contador, and the secretary.

49. These persons shall take turns, of one month each, in collecting the rents of propios, or other sums of a like nature, the contributions of arbitrios or capitaciones levied in accord with the provincial diputacion, and shall pay these sums into the treasury—the contador entering the same on his books.

50. No money for expenses shall be drawn without there being presented to the treasurer a draft signed by the alcalde and secretary—cognizance of the same being taken by the contador in the books, all the documents being retained by the treasurer as vouchers for balancing his accounts.

51. Accounts shall be balanced on the 1st of each month, on which occasion the members of the committee of ways and means (hacienda) shall attend, and the accounts audited by the committees of producto and consumo shall be presented, and the estimates for the ensuing month shall be made.

52. No item of the accounts shall be admitted by the treasurer or depositary, unless it be certified by the contador that he has taken account of it; nor shall the latter certify to any taking of funds for expense, unless the same be approved by the provincial diputacion for any object whatever, not even for the secretary's pay—as was determined by the decree of July 13, 1813.

The record of the ayuntamiento sessions of Angeles afford little information as to rules and mode of procedure, besides what the reglamento prescribes. The president as 1st alcalde, and hence usually a man of more influence and sagacity, as may be supposed, than he ordinary regidores, generally proposes the more important projects. There appears to be no record of any motions being formerly seconded; they are referred to the general vote, discussed, and passed or rejected. The resolution is given to the president to carry out by vote of authorization, or a commission is elected to do so. Often a subject is by vote transferred to the president, or to a committee to decide as it pleases.

The limit of power, as regards the nature of a subject or its extent, may be seen in the various proceedings in the police regulations where mention is made as to when the government or assembly have to be appealed to, as of higher authority in the respective matters. The acts of a meeting are re-read at the next one to be approved finally. Often a petition or meas-

ure is exempted from the usual routine of several readings and report of a committee, and passed the same day.

Previous to 1823, the alcalde was elected at the beginning of the year under superintendence of the ministros, who should notify the governor.

On the 11th of May, 1836, Jefe-político Chico issued the following decree for the better enforcement of the law of December 29, 1835: 1st, Cuerpos de seguridad y policía to be established in the territory. 2d, These cuerpos to be composed of jefe-político, síndicos of the ayuntamiento, and four comisarios of policía, chosen from the leading citizens. 3d, The comisarios to be approved by the respective ayuntamientos by a plurality of votes during the first week in January. 4th, Four substitutes were also to be appointed. 5th, The ayuntamiento should notify members of their appointment, and also notify all encargados and masters of haciendas. 6th, No one should be excused from serving without just cause. 7th, The duties of the members will be: 1st, to care for the public tranquility at their place of residence; 2d, to pursue and arrest evil-doers, and deliver them to the judges; 3d, to obey the orders of the alcalde constitucional. 8th, Residents of all municipalities are obliged to aid the officers of police with their persons, horses, arms, and whatever may be required, but the comisarios are to act kindly. 9th, Ayuntamientos will report to the governor the organization of these cuerpos according to this decree. 10th, Disobedience to be severely punished. This is taken from the San Diego archives.

I give herewith the provisional rules for the employees of the office of governor's secretary, prepared by the chief clerk and secretary ad interim, Francisco Arce, conformably to powers conferred on him by the law of March 20, 1837, and approved by Micheltorena.

Secretary's functions: Art. 1. To have charge of

everything connected with the office, being responsible for whatever documents may be intrusted to him by the governor. Art. 2. To see that the employés comply faithfully with their duties, and that they do not divulge matters taking place in the office. Art. 3. To sign all orders or documents sent him for that object by the governor, and to strictly comply with and give speedy despatch to everything sent or recommended to him. Art. 4. To report immediately every paper or document which may come into his possession from other sources, and which may depend for despatch on the governor's decision. Moreover, he shall, once or twice daily, report to the governor for orders.

Escribiente's functions: Art. 1. To comply strictly with the present rules, and carry out faithfully all orders given by the secretary. Art. 2. Shall come to the office at 8 A. M., and work till 12 M., come again at 2, and work till 6 P. M., except on the customary holidays. Art. 3. Shall be responsible to the secretary for any document not forthcoming when needed; and to the government for the slightest infraction of these rules. Art. 4. Shall take care that all matters confided to him be despatched with neatness, and keep silent as to matters confided to him by the governor or secretary.

With Victoria's arrival, the officers already began to look upon the soldiers as inferiors. Formerly, there had been no distinction, for officers' and soldiers' families treated one another as equals.

José María Amador, writing of 1827, relates:

"After ten years and five months of service in the San Francisco company of cuera, I determined to ask for my discharge. I went to Captain Argüello to demand the same. He refused, and offered me a chevron of sergeant if I would remain in the service. This I refused, saying that he had not favored me when promotion would have been timely, notwith-

standing my being the son of an officer, and having always done my duty faithfully.

"All the acknowledgment of my services had been the title of soldado distinguido—a title which was mine by right. I confess that, during the time I was his servant, he had frequently asked me to take wine with him. The advantage of being a soldado distinguido—there were four of us in the company—was this: we were not obliged to do any kind of work other than the occupying of our places in the ranks, and mounting guard. When ordered to do anything else, and we agreed to do it, we received ten reales extra pay in advance. When told that there was no money, we refused flatly to do what was desired."

When Spaniards first began coming to California, pursuant to a royal order the government furnished to each soldier of the garrisons a broadsword, lance, an oval leathern shield, a firelock, and pistols. The sword had to be of the standard size; the lance-heads were about two feet in length, one and a half inches wide, well strengthened in the centre, so that they formed a swell, and sharp on both sides, with a guard to check the weapon from going in too far, and to facilitate its being pulled out, and the repetition of blows. The shield was like those long in use before and after this time; the firelock as well as the pistols were cocked, and had locks after the Spanish fashion; the gun-barrel was of the length of three feet of a toise —a toise being a French measure of six feet, equivalent to seven Spanish feet—the stock was well proportioned. The barrels of the pistols did not exceed ten inches. The calibre of the guns and pistols was of one ounce; the hammers of the guns were of the finest temper, in order that they could stand the action of the sun.

Besides the troops of the line, artillery and cavalry, each presidio had a certain number of Indian scouts, who were armed with pistol, shield, and spear, besides

having their bows, and their quivers filled with arrows. There was always an extra supply of arms at each post, and they were kept in perfect order. An armorer, who was also a private, to whom extra pay was allowed, had charge of the armament of his company, and his duty was to keep the same clean and in good repair.

Each soldier was allowed six horses, one pony, and one mule; the captain of the presidio saw that the animals were properly cared for and fed. Each man was required to have one of his horses ready saddled and supplied with forage, day and night; the captains and officers were held responsible for the strict fulfilment of this order; the safety of the port and of the settlements might depend upon the troops being in readiness to start at a moment's notice, and to put a stop to the raids of the savages.

The Indian scouts were also supplied with a saddle and bridle; the former was of the kind later known under the name of *silla vaquera*, or vaquero's or cowherder's saddle; it was provided with the usual appendages of caparison; long and wide leathern skins attached to the pommel to cover the thighs and legs, little cushions and closed wooden stirrups; the use of large stirrups was strictly forbidden.

"Notwithstanding our privileges," continues Amador, "Captain Argüello frequently put us in the stocks, the culprit lying on the ground, with no rest for the head, and exposed to the sun. This punishment the captain termed the pena arbitraria, and said that he inflicted it because, in refusing to assist in loading mules and conducting them from Santa Cruz to the presidio, we gave a bad example to the other soldiers. But as soon as Doña Rafaela, wife of Captain Argüello, saw us in the stocks, she would insist that we should be liberated; many times coming personally to make the corporal of the guard free us. I imagine that she and the captain had an understanding about this; for one day in his presence, and that of the offi-

cer of the guard, she herself opened the stocks and set us at liberty, after obtaining permission of the officer of the guard. The captain merely laughed, and called us, as was his custom, costales de azumbre." (Azumbre is a measure used for liquids, and azumbrar is to use that measure. It was also used, as are very many other Spanish words, to express drunkenness. The expression may be taken to signify 'empty-pated fellows;' literally, it is 'sack of azumbre.')

Justice was somewhat erratic: severe to-day, lax enough to-morrow. Mexican thieves were so plentiful in 1838 that Alvarado thought two at least might well be spared, and under color of martial law ordered them to be shot.

"I can assert," says Arnaz, "that from 1840 to 1843 perfect security for person prevailed in California towns and highways, except from savages in remote localities, as at El Nacimiento, Asuncion, Paso de Robles, and Las Pasitas. Fink's was the only murder and robbery I heard of."

The alcalde was the justice, and all disputes and all suits were brought before him. Minor cases he decided himself, but cases of great importance, and all commercial cases, were referred to the government at the north. After the suppression of alcaldes and ayuntamientos, under the central régime, there were justices of the peace who exercised the judicial functions formerly performed by the alcaldes.

Alvarado divided the territory into districts and cantons, at the head of each district placing a prefect with a sub-prefect to aid him. Toward the close of the year 1839, in accordance with a law of congress, the ayuntamientos were suppressed, the prefects being authorized to take charge of business connected with land titles in order to bring the same before the government. The law referred to provided that there should be letrados or escribanos públicos, (which will bear translating into notaries public, since

their duties were similar), for the purpose of authenticating all acts, judicial as well as civil; and at points where there were no such officers, the jueces de paz, aided by two witnesses, were empowered to act in their stead. On the suppression of the ayuntamientos, jueces de paz were named, who performed the duties of the former alcaldes constitucionales, with this difference: that, whereas the 1st alcalde had been president of the ayuntamiento and juez de 1ª instancia, now the 1st juez de paz possessed the powers of juez de 1ª instancia who took cognizance of suits at law, and the substantiation of criminal causes. The 2d juez de paz took charge of preliminary matters in criminal cases, and of conciliatory and verbal civil suits.

The San Diego district in 1844 extended to Santa Margarita, one league beyond San Luis Rey. San Juan Capistrano extended from Las Flores pueblito, six leagues south, to Rio Santa Ana. Santa Bárbara extended from rancho Simí on the north slope of Santa Susana to the rancho lying half-way between Purísima and San Luis Obispo. Monterey extended from San Luis Obispo to near San Juan Bautista, though judicially it held sway farther north. San José extended over Santa Clara and San José mission and ranchos.

In case of a sale of real estate, the alcalde acted as notary. The protocol of terms was signed by the parties, by the judge, and two witnesses, and sometimes by two or three other witnesses called instrumentales. The original deed remained in the archives, a certified copy being given to parties. The judge, clerks, or parties would read the document aloud to all.

For very grave crimes, twenty-five lashes daily were given for nine days, but this sentence was indulged in only by military commanders or the government. Twenty-five lashes were the most imposed by the padres.

On one occasion Pio Pico came to Angeles from San Diego. Before reaching Angeles, he was informed

that the alcalde would not let him enter the place without a passport. Having none, he forged one—signing to it the name of the comandante of San Diego. This, on reaching Angeles, he presented. The alcalde, who did not know how to read, took the paper and pretended to read it. Thereupon he expressed himself as perfectly satisfied, and returned the document to Pico.

In a letter from the alcalde of Monterey to the governor, under date of December 19, 1848, reference is made to the enclosed verdict of a jury of six Mexicans, against Salvador Nieto for having challenged Nicolás Silvas and fired a pistol at him. He is condemned to six months public labor, and Silvas to three months for accepting the challenge and leaving his house with arms.

It was common to challenge an opponent out of jealousy, after a quarrel over a game. Place and time appointed, they met, and without further words began to slash with their swords, inflicting terrible wounds. When one of them became tired, a rest was allowed. When one cried enough, and recognized the other as the best man, the victor dictated conditions. The usual meeting-places were the Huerta Vieja, Huerta del Rey, or Cañada de la Segunda. Care was taken to prevent observation.

Writing to the governor from San José April 15, 1825, Father Duran, vicario foráneo, acknowledges the summary of proceedings formed against Cabo Canuto Boronda, and Meliton Soto, civilian, for fighting a duel near Santa Bárbara, in which case he is asked to give his opinion as regards the penalty imposed by the church for the offence. The church, he says, cannot look with indifference on the almost certain eternal damnation of those who die in a duel, and has accordingly imposed the most terrible punishment, namely, that of excomunion mayor, *ipso facto incurrenda*. He refers to the laws on this offence—introduced by the devil to destroy men's souls—which also

deny burial in consecrated ground to the fallen. To this the bull detestabilem of Pope Benedict XIV. adds denial of sacred burial, even when the person dies some time after, in consequence of the wounds.

Boronda appears to have been challenged by Soto, and the duel was fought with deadly weapons, not pistols, in a cañada, without witnesses. Hence they incurred excommunion mayor late sententia ipso facto incurrenda, and must conduct themselves as required to obtain absolution. One excuse was ignorance of the punishment, but this plea was rarely admitted. The absolution for the case was termed *ad cautelam.*

If the Californians were fluent and polite liars, they came honestly by this, with other amiable vices, inheriting them from their Mexican and Spanish ancestry. To lie was a small matter; to be caught lying, even, was not a great matter. Religion, on a Sunday morning, was a serious matter; on a Sunday afternoon, it was a trifling matter. Perjury was a horrible offence—sometimes. With easy consciences and facile tongues, they did not really expect to be visited by punishment, here or hereafter, for false swearing. Governor Sola says, in 1821, it was customary for witnesses to deny a knowledge of facts whenever it might be deemed uncharitable to speak truth which would bring injury upon another—just as it is to-day with regard to our railway magnates testifying where their interests are concerned; if there is no other way of getting around it, their memory is sure to fail them. One certainly could not expect a fifty-million dollar man to remember anything which it was clearly to his interests to forget.

So it is with nine-tenths of those who are put upon the witness stand in any country. Not all of them intend to swear falsely, but few speak or practise the whole truth and nothing else. It may be bias of mind or bias of feeling, but it is a singular fact that the bias is always in favor of the affiant's interests. How often in a court of justice do we hear witnesses

swearing diametrically opposite to each other, so that it is impossible to say that one or both of them are not perjuring themselves, and yet they can hardly be punished for purjury, as it is impossible to tell which, if either, is telling the truth. And so when a man swears he cannot remember; there is no way of proving that he is swearing falsely, or that he can and does remember, and would be very quick to give the desired imformation were it to his interest to do so.

Hence, when we complain that a Mexican's word cannot be relied on, that his sense of honor as a rule, is not sufficiently strong to keep him honest, that as he suspects every one himself, he expects every one to suspect him, that as he believes to be true not more than half of what is told him, so he expects not more than half of what he says will be believed, and so on, —I say when we complain of the short-comings of the Hispano-American, let us not forget those of the Anglo-American.

The ecclesiastical government in 1835 was arranged somewhat in this wise: The two Californias and Sonora together formed one diocese, under a bishop with a stipend of $6,000. Until California should be erected into a bishopric, there was to be a vicar, appointed by the bishop of Sonora, as he was usually called, for each of the two California territories. The necessary curacies were established, each mission being such; and were the curate clergyman or friar, he could not be a Spaniard. The curate must have sufficient means apportioned to him for the support of himself and his subordinates, collecting nothing from his parishioners, and making no charge for baptism. Curates were ecclesiastical judges, their acts to be before two witnesses, with appeal from their decisions to the vicar. Curates should act fraternally, and settle matters amicably.

The mission churches afforded asylum for political or military refugees, but were hardly sufficient to shield notorious criminals. The chapels of the pre-

sidios, whose expenses were defrayed by the garrison, gave no such protection.

Pontifical bulls being counterfeited at Rome, and also breves and rescriptos on indulgences and other favors, the president decreed in 1833 that six months from date no bula or rescripto should be received which did not come provided with the visto bueno of the Mexican consul at Rome.

The Angeles ayuntamiento in 1845 resolved that the present ecclesiastical authorities should set aside a place for Indians to hear mass, because they were too dirty to mix with gente de razon.

Says Alvarado: "In California we have never had a bishop, and consequently the people do not desire one. Here the friars are in general looked upon with indifference, because every one is poor and devoted to agriculture. That is, there is no fanaticism, such as I have been told exists in other parts of the republic. Here we have no religious establishments."

Father Mercado, of mission San Antonio, being called on, March 10, 1836, to ratify on oath what he had on the 28th of December, 1835, represented to the diputacion against the treatment of the Indians of San Antonio by the administrator, Ramirez, refused to do so, pleading his privilege as a priest, and his position as ecclesiastical authority in San Antonio; he denied that the fiscal had any authority to demand testimony from him. The fiscal quoted the law of the 11th of September, 1820, under which he claimed the right to interrogate the padre, and allowed him five hours within which to come and testify.

The five hours having elapsed without the padre appearing, the fiscal wrote him that for the last time he summoned him to appear forthwith; otherwise, he would at once declare the charge against Ramirez false and calumnious.

Still Mercado did not come; but on the same day he answered in writing that he would like the fiscal to show him the law under which he could declare

his charges false and calumnious, and that he protested beforehand against such an illegal action on the fiscal's part.

Mercado finally appeared in person before the fiscal, and took the oath 'in verbo sacerdotis,' and stated that the church canons forbid ecclesiastics to appear before secular judges, unless in self-defence, or in defence of the church, or of such persons as could not act for themselves. Ecclesiastical as well as civil laws, and the holy father's command, and even under the penalty of mortal sin, impose upon all the literate, and also upon the priests of Indians (párrocos de indios), to defend these unfortunate beings against any abuses they may be subjected to.

There may be those who would like to know what the San Francisco chapel contained in the year of our Lord 1831. There were six images on canvas of the virgin, San Diego, and St Dominick, one statue of St Francis, five complete ornaments, two pluvials or copes, rose and black, six stoles, five sets of altar linen (on which the communion bread and wine are put to be consecrated), one set of embroidered linen, five ornaments of the altar, six albs, one surplice, one consecrated stone of the altar, one silver chalice with patine and little spoon, one large silver cup, one pair of vessels for wine and water, silver saucer and tumbler, one silver and one copper small bell, two incensories, two gilt wooden stands for the missal, one old wooden palabrer, two covers for the altar, two amices, one manotejo, thirteen purificatories, six silk embroidered blue ribbons for amices, two missals, one of them old, one ritual, one Christ crucified of wood with the inri of silver, one Christ crucified of copper, one old gilt niche, six copper candlesticks for wax tapers, one copper candlestick in pieces, two large bells, one copper letter, one tin box for communion wafers, two small candlesticks, two parvapalias of front ornaments, one white linen cloth, two long cas-

socks, one old useless carpet, one wooden bench, one arm-chair, two sets of red curtains in windows, one case for the ornaments, one wooden confessional, two old gilt screens, one small vial for the holy oil, one old trunk for the dry goods of the church, one old breviary, one old via crucis, and one iron implement for making communion wafers—machinery enough, if properly fed with money, to save a hundred thousand souls.

It was too much the fashion with foreigners to malign all classes. The priests, they said, possessed little learning or intelligence, and this little they devoted to the crushing and plundering of their people. They were dissolute and unscriptural, fatherly in a too literal sense, bringing too much of heaven to earth if of such is the kingdom of heaven; and loving eau-de-vie, the water of life, more than the bread of life. For the laity, they were the largest order of animals then known, as well as the dirtiest; a people wholly lying in wickedness, and lacking soap. They were supercilious, yet ignorant and superstitious, and full of beastly habits. That they were over-ridden by their clergy they considered a benefit, if not to themselves, at least to their neighbors, for when the blind lead the blind both fall into the ditch. The Indians were as wild and timid as the beasts of chase among which they existed, with the exception of a few slightly advanced by becoming Mexicans by connection with the missions. The appearance of an immigrant for the first time in a ranchería of the natives produced an effect sickening and pitiful, as indicative of their treatment by the Californians. All capable of flight escaped, while the women appeared wailing for mercy, and endeavoring to appease supposed ferocity by offerings of such food as they possessed. On the departure of the stranger, they made the place echo again with cries of surprise and joy. The government was a rotten military despotism; and the courts of so-called justice were run by hard bribery and hard swearing, legal and profane.

Sunday was the great gala-day, devoted to religion and amusement. After mass the young and fashionable belle returned home and dressed for the ball-room. The waltz which followed so closely their worship was all the more fantastic from the previous sombre solemnities. The mind for the present was freed from further anxiety, and the heart, relieved of its burden of sin, bounded lightly forth, a new creature. Aboriginals, those who could obtain it, resorted to liquor as a panacea for their troubles.

The ideal of the time and place was pleasure. Religion was a power, wealth a blessing, and chastity comely; but religion, wealth, and chastity were made secondary to pleasure. The fathers saw this, and so made religion pleasurable; the rich men felt it, and so opened their houses to festive throngs; the humble, the poor, the good, and the wicked, whatever else might befall them, were not to be cheated of their round of pleasure.

On Christmas night, 1837, while the families of San Diego were gathered at Pio Pico's house, the religious comedy of El diablo en la pastorela was performed. In the play appeared an angel, the devil, a hermit, and a Bartolo, in the persons of Guadalupe Estudillo, Felipe Marron, Isidora Pico, and other girls. On each side of the scene were six little girls dressed in white with red head-gear. During the representation the women sang hymns of adoration to Jesus.

The government demanded of all the fulfilment of church precepts. All except the disabled had to assist at mass on Sundays and ordained days. If any one was noticed to fail in attendance for some time without just cause, the authorities sought him out and reprimanded him.

In easter (pascua florida) all had to confess and take sacrament, and assist at doctrina. Each received a paper from the padre to show that he had complied with church duties that year. When one reached the age for confession, this was no longer requisite, or at

least was not compulsory. Still, they performed their duties in obedience to the wish of their parents, although the government did not meddle.

Religious education was carefully attended to. In every house, before dawn, an alabado was said and sung by the united family. At noon, prayers were again offered up. At the oracion—about 6 P. M.—and at night, before retiring, a rosario was recited, and another alabado chanted in chorus. At a fandango or a ball, at 8 o'clock, the head of the family has been known to cause the diversion to cease while he recited the rosario, which occupies about a quarter of an hour, in which all present were obliged to join, after which the festivities were resumed. Many times at rodeos, at the wonted hour for prayer, old men would cause labor to be suspended while they, and with them all the bystanders, offered up a prayer. Indeed, among the more pious life was one continuous petition, or series of petitions, to the almighty powers for favors desired, and calamities to be averted. The most insignificant of every day affairs were referred to the manager of the universe, to be passed upon and adjusted.

It was an altogether abnormal condition of affairs, so far as law, government, and religion were concerned. The natives, when let alone, were wholly natural; when under the domination of foreign missionaries, it was worse than artificial. There were no other appliances for the debasement of intellect which would equal these. For though the mind when left alone may fall into a thousand fantastic fanaticisms, when played upon and impressed by more skilled minds, the result is an intimidation of intellect painful to see. If missionaries, or others who would convert the whole world to one way of thinking in religious affairs, would but observe how quickly both body and mind wither under the malign influence of superiority, savages and children would be more let alone, would be less under restraint in the application of ancient traditions and meaningless formulas to the training of intellect.

A godchild, wherever and whenever he met his godfather or godmother, was obliged to take off his hat and offer a brief prayer, after which a benediction was bestowed by the sponsor. The obligations of the sponsors were such that in case of the godchild becoming an orphan, the sponsors took the place of parents, and provided him with food and education. At all times it was the duty of the sponsor to give salutary counsels to the godchild.

The compadrazgo was a bond of affinity existing between the parents of the child on the one side, and the sponsors of the child on the other—that is, it was so held by the church, but not by civil law. At a baptism the officiating priest always explained the relations thus contracted. Compadre and comadre were the words used in speaking to or of the sponsors of one's child—the same words being by them applied to the parents of the child. The words mean literally co-father and co-mother. We have no kindred term in English, unless it be the now obsolete—in that sense —gossip, a perfectly well-formed Saxon word, against the retaining of which no objection could be reasonably urged.

About September 1847, two Indians were condemned to be hanged for murdering a foreigner. The cords were adjusted by the attending padres, but both knots slipped, and except a slight choking they were both uninjured. In a moment one of the priests mounted a horse and galloped to the governor's, urging a reprieve on the plea of a special dispensation of providence. Governor Mason refused, and the Indians were hanged.

The robes of the padres were deemed by the Indians sacred things, precious relics. In 1833 at the death of Padre Sanchez the women took fragments of his dress, sewed them up in little silk or velvet *bolsillas*, and wore them round their necks as blessed relics.

It was the custom in California to give thanks to

God at break of day, in a loud voice. One gave the thread of the prayer, the rest responding. Men, women, children, all were good Christians at heart, although most knew nothing of the rudiments of their religion.

It seemed hard on the poor padres in California, that after spending their whole lives to gain heaven, they should be left to flounder about in purgatory perhaps for a year or more, and all because there were none in certain times and places to give prompt sufragios. Finally, it was agreed that for lack of quality there should be quantity, every mission padre celebrating twenty masses every time a brother priest died. As there were then twenty-one missions, there would be 420 masses for every priest dying.

Says Friar Juan Sancho, guardian of the college of San Fernando de México, writing to the viceroy, the Conde de Galvez, in answer to the viceroy's despatch covering general royal order of January 31, 1784: "From the reports of the padres in charge of the California missions, which owe their being and advance chiefly to the efforts of Don Josef de Galvez—each of the nine missions has its church well supplied with ornaments, vessels, etc., the $1,000 given by the viceroy for the founding of each having been augmented by what the padres have been able to economize in their yearly stipends.

"Each mission has the buildings necessary for the padres' dwelling, storehouses, and the like. Each has a building for youths, and another for maidens, presided over by persons detailed for that purpose by the priest. Each has barracks for the escolta. These buildings, together with the houses for married Indians, comprise the pueblo, or mission. At each mission live its children, at least the adults, for many little ones by reason of tender age live with their pagan parents, who take them almost every day to the mission that the priest may see them, and in order to receive food

for them, until the age of four or five, after which the child remains at the mission.

"At the sound of the morning bell, the Indians go to the church, where the priest recites prayers and doctrina in Spanish. After hearing mass, they go to breakfast. The same religious exercises are repeated every afternoon. Although at almost each mission the native dialect is different, by the padres' exertions most of the Indians speak Spanish, and some confess in this language. At the same time the priests have learned the Indian tongues. The children learn Spanish easily. The efforts of the padres for the spiritual amelioration of the natives are ceaseless. As the padres also look after the temporal welfare of the natives, they instruct them in what pertains to social and political life, and in all operations connected with the cultivation of the land, the padres actually performing all these operations that they may learn. Thus they have cleared the best land near the missions, and have brought water to irrigate it. Each year there is planted as much as is possible. The new Christians learn also to be carpenters, masons, smiths, quarrymen, and the like, under the direction of the padres. The Indians produce everything that is produced, and consume it. The pagans that visit the missions are given what there is to give, the padre knowing that thus they are more readily attracted to a Christian mode of life. The padres also are physicians and surgeons, making use of remedies sent from the college, and of herbs the virtues of which experience has shown them.

"One affliction the padres suffer—they cannot, as they desire, clothe their neophytes. Of his stipend of $400, each padre spends the half in his own dress, chocolate, wine and wax for the church; and other things of less import—such as medicines, trinkets for the Indians, etc. It costs nearly $100 to conduct these things from Mexico to San Blas. The other $100 is spent on blankets and coarse stuffs for cloth-

ing—that is, the balance left after the necessary purchasers of things for the church and implements of husbandry. So there is not enough to half clothe the Indians. Although nearly every year there is a superabundance of grain and cattle, no advantage can be taken of it, for there are no buyers. If the padres sell anything, it is only losing it and not receiving its value, the purchaser asserting when payment is asked that he has no money.

"Through the instruction of the padres, the Indians soon become skilled in the mechanic arts. They are quick at learning, and are docile. Though they work well when the padre is present, they will not otherwise apply themselves, which, considering the newness of civilized life to them, is not to be wondered at. Without the continual care of the padres, they would relapse into barbarism. This is the reason why the lands have not been assigned by families, and why all cultivate them in common, and live and eat together. At present they are not capable of living in any other way; many years must elapse before they will be. They are like children, and have yet to learn how to live a political and civil life in Christian society.

"At these missions, there are no cofradías, nor hermandades, nor any branch of commerce. The padres do not even think of receiving any obvencion. In December of the past year, an order of the king was intimated to the padres of these missions, and its punctual observance exacted. Paragraph 19 of that order provides that only at missions near presidios. or at those near the pagan frontier, shall there be two padres. All these nine missions are on the pagan frontier, and almost every night many pagans sleep at one or all of them, so it would seem that none are obliged to go on with only one padre. The king orders that the statutes, which in 1780 the comisario general de Indias framed by royal order, shall be observed punctually. Paragraph 6, number 3, of these statutes, orders that no minister shall reside alone at

the new missions. As the missions are distant one from another, and the assaults of savages may take place at any time, a padre living alone is exposed to death without receiving the sacraments—a contingency which should by all means be avoided. Therefore, these padres beseech the viceroy not to allow them to live alone, but to provide that they shall continue to reside two at a mission."

Governor Micheltorena, in his interview with Bishop Diego, said that the clergy of California swam in luxury and lasciviousness, having abandoned the ways of the missionaries of old. The early padres slept on the ground with an adobe for a pillow, and a hide for a blanket; while now the padres Real, Jimeno, Quijas, Mercado, Santillan, and others had luxurious beds adorned with curtains, and provided with good mattresses. Formerly they punished the padre who carried a silver watch, but to-day all the priests go with gold watches and chains. They engage in all manner of illicit pleasures, and all without hindrance from their bishop. The scandalous conduct of the clergy impelled all who could afford it to send their children abroad to be educated, and keep them from the pernicious example of unchaste priests. So said the governor to the bishop.

The Señora Padilla once complained indignantly to the juez de paz, for herself, and in the name of other religiously inclined females accustomed to go to the chapel to say their prayers. On this occasion, they were about to commence their novenas and via crucis, when the sacristan, Mariano Quarte, would not serve them in the via crucis, saying that he did not know how to pray the same, but he did know the novena, always supposing they would give him five reales apiece, as had been done formerly after finishing the novena by those women whom he had accompanied in this exercise; and that complainant and the others were also obliged to do this. No one would object to this were the sacristan not paid by the people

to serve in all things necessary. They believe that they should pay nothing, for the public pays the sacristan a salary, and he does not do his duty as he should.

Mr Reed of Yerba Buena, whose family had been insulted by a drunken priest, being asked why he had not knocked the drunkard down, answered that under the law if a layman struck a priest he had to suffer amputation of his right hand in punishment.

The early fathers were not remarkable for their intelligence, or their faculties for reasoning. "La verité est que ces bons pères n'éetaient pas de grands critiques," says Le Clerc; and the more they were like the apostles the more simple were they. Their writings were like those of men who had never seen daylight, or heard the roar of ocean, or smelt a violet. They could neither receive nor communicate strange truths, and childish credulity characterized their thoughts and actions.

The Californians, says Gomez, had been led to believe that the fathers of Zacatecas were true apostles, living models of virtue and goodness. But what was their surprise when they came hither to find them drunkards, adventurers, who sallied forth at night in search of fun, with women at their arm, with whom they lived more or less openly. For them it was a vice to abstain from pleasure. Among these pleasure-loving priests were Father Ordaz, Father Real, also Mercado and Anza. Ordaz, however, was a Fernandino.

Captain Phelps tells a story of Ermitinger, the trapper, and a padre of San Rafael mission. The scene occurred at a small party given by Glen Rae, under-factor of the Hudson's Bay Company in charge at Yerba Buena Cove. The priest, who had been drinking rather freely, disclosed a penchant for kissing the men after the fashion of the Latin race. Ermitinger, who was a stranger, a rough man, and a rigid woman-kisser, declined the fraternal embrace. "In vain," says the captain, "we tried to keep the

priest quiet; but as he increased his libations, so grew his foolish persistence. Making a desperate effort to accomplish his purpose, most unexpectedly he came in contact with the back of the hunter's hand, which sent him sprawling across the room. 'Stranger,' said Ermitinger, 'when I was in the Rocky Mountains I swore that I would never allow myself to be hugged by a Blackfoot Indian or a grizzly bear; but I would suffer the embraces of either in preference to those of a drunken priest.'"

In robbing the church, the government required no more plausible pretext than did the church in robbing the people. War was a standing excuse; and here the people must not only pay, but come up and be shot. They are fine things, civilization, religion, and well worth paying and dying for, and all so necessary, for so religions and civilizations are established.

It is interesting to follow the manipulations of the fondo piadoso in California. So firmly established in the Peninsula were the ramparts of Satan that the hosts of the Lord could not prevail against them—without money; with money all things are possible, the devil himself, from the earliest times in these regions to the present day, whether in legislative or cathedral halls, being unable to withstand its influence. A royal junta, appointed in 1681 to consider the matter, offered money, but not enough; even the Jesuits were not tempted by the advances of the government.

Finally, in 1697, fathers Salvatierra and Ugarte offered to undertake the work on their own account if the government would give them their own way, which it was very glad to do, for it was a shame to give over to Beelzebub any portion of Christ's kingdom, even so God-forsaken a spot as the Peninsula. But even these priests, ripe as they were for martyrdom, and depending chiefly on spiritual weapons, must have money. It is wonderful how spirits even are wooed and won by the cold, impassive metal.

The priests began to borrow and beg, and the people gave willingly enough, security being well assured in heaven if all were lost on earth. One man, Caballero y Ozio, gave $20,000; another, Puente y Peña, desiring something more than a hut in heaven such as this sum would buy, with his wealthy wife put up half a million dollars in lands and cattle. Others gave, until the pious fund aggregated a million dollars, and a board was appointed to take charge of it, the government meanwhile eyeing it closely. Ten thousand dollars would found a mission in those days, and the establishments of Upper California were not without participation in the pious fund.

From the Jesuits the pious fund passed to the junta de temporalidades, and when this board was extinguished, to the ministerio de hacienda, after which it went to the minister of relaciones. It was invested at this time in buildings occupied mostly by the government and paying no rent, which was equivalent to confiscation by the government.

The government divided the fund into three branches for its better administration: one embracing the city estates and the interest of the capital; the second, embracing the hacienda Ciénega del Pastor, in Jalisco; and the third, the other country estates in Guanajuato, Potosí, and Tamaulipas. All these branches depend directly on the secretary of affairs.

The secretary of state gives a review of the condition of the pious fund in 1830, and calls the attention of congress to the fact that not only had the missions of Alta California sustained themselves during the withdrawal of the pious fund stipends from 1811 to 1818 and 1823 to 1830, but actually provided $271,311 for the troops there, which had been also neglected by the government. Hence some modifications in the administrative system should be entertained, reserving the funds for the poorer establishments, both for support of their missionaries and for their exterior progress. He foresees the most glowing results to the Califor-

nians in applying to its development the yearly fund revenue of 30,000 pesos or more.

Says Carrillo: "The people of California are well convinced that to the missions is due the little prosperity hitherto attained by their country. They believe that the government is bound to protect and develop the missions. They well know that the income of the pious fund ought to be expended for that purpose, and that the missionaries have not been paid for years—and that the government treasury is indebted to that fund some $500,000 principal and interest." In 1836 the Mexican government obtained from the pope the establishment of a bishopric in California, and gave the administration of the pious fund to the bishop. But this functionary was soon bankrupt, and the fund turned over to a government director to manage. The amount, yielding six per cent, was now $1,698,745.

That black angel, Santa Anna, pretending to a better care of these gifts of piety and charity, in 1842 ordered the fund, now amounting to a million and a half, to be swept into the government treasury, or thieves' strong-box, Upper California's declared portion, after passing the ordeal of a joint commission, being finally declared to be $900,000.

CHAPTER XIX.

CRIMES AND COURTS.

Les republiques finissent par le luxe; les monarchies par la pauvreté.—*Montesquieu.*

It is not among a lazy, improvident people that we go to look either for the greatest criminals or the strictest administration of justice. Few desired to kill; there was but little to steal; it was easier and more profitable to be satisfied with poverty on a full belly than to enjoy a lean and hungry higher sphere. Illicit hate was thus reduced to a minimum; while illicit love was not driven into the thorny path marked out for it by the saintly and sentimental of the more frigid moralities. Governor Alvarado affirms, with perhaps a slight stretch of truth, and himself the father of children born out of wedlock, that in pre-American times there were no prostitutes. Some women, indeed, may have given themselves up to their heart's desire, but it was through the heart's impulse, and not base passion. Money had nothing to do with it, until the Americans came—which would seem to say that the wicked ones from the United States paid the women they prostituted, while the good Mexicans did not. The truth is, in lotos-eating lands loves licit or illicit are not harshly denominated crimes, but rather the effect of the weather.

So with cattle-stealing, probably the next great wickedness, it was rather a manly occupation, sometimes a war measure, unlucky on the part of the person caught at it, but not specially disgraceful even though it might be death.

Slander was an offence. On the 12th of March, 1828, the governor, writing to the comandante at Monterey, ordered him to exact reparation from María Vasquez for calumniating the honor of the wife of Captain Gonzalez. But back in 1785 I find in the state papers Governor Fages writing from Monterey to Diego Gonzalez, desiring him to warn the heads of families to be scrupulously mindful to correct among themselves all excess of bickering and discord, and to hold each responsible for any disturbance they cause.

In the archives of Santa Cruz, I find written in May 1835 that it is notorious that vagrancy is excessive in the pueblos. And the governor ordered that alcaldes should establish tribunales de vagos, or vagrants' courts, to hear and determine cases against vagrants, conforming proceedings to the law of the 3d of March, 1828.

In November 1833, Governor Figueroa issued circulars to the comandantes of the four presidios, that from each presidio there should every month be sent out a military expedition which should visit the places of refuge and deposit of horse-thieves. The missions and neighbors nearest at hand should supply the necessary horses. Expeditions should be made at any time during the month, to be commanded by an officer, sergeant, or corporal, who should conform to the orders of the comandante of the presidio. All horses found in the possession of any one without the *venta*, that is to say, sale mark, or other legal formality showing rightful possession, should be restored to the owners. Cattle found at the tulares, and in other waste places, should be considered as stolen, and the actual possessors thieves; and they should be held responsible for damage done by the gentiles whom they incite to steal the cattle. Alcaldes, comandantes, proprietors, owners of ranchos and estates, and their mayordomos, should aid in pursuing cattle-thieves, arresting those caught in the act, or where there might be proofs of crime, and delivering them to the proper authority.

The monthly expedition should take place at the time most convenient, and any hunters encountered, if foreigners, were to be told that hunting is prohibited; and if Mexicans or naturalized, that they must have permission from the government.

All commerce should be carried on in the civilized districts, and on no account with the wild Indians, who possess no property whatever; any one found carrying on a clandestine traffic should be deemed a smuggler, his goods confiscated, and placed at the disposal of the judge, who should decide whether they are to be forfeited or not.

The Indians should be well treated, and be made to understand that if they stole stock they will in future be brought by force to the presidios for punishment; that all were under the obligation to inform against robbers, and if they did not, they too would be punished.

Alcaldes as well as comandantes militares, proprietors of ranchos, haciendas, and;their mayordomos, were to pursue all stock-thieves, apprehending them when caught in the act, or having proof of their crime, and to hand them over to the judge, who as quickly as possible should sentence and punish.

There were laws against gambling and against drinking; no special increase in the vices seems to have been noticed after the passages of these regulations. The gente de razon, or people of reason, were the only class the law allowed to drink at all, the wild gentiles not having any reason to be affected by fire-water, it were a waste giving it to them. A wager on a game not forbidden by law was a legal contract in 1833. On all the ranchos where there were shops, the ranchero encouraged gambling among his laborers. The games were of cards, and the players would bet hides, money, and any article of clothing, to their shirts. The money and hides generally fell to the ranchero, in exchange for aguardiente and other merchandise. Later, store-keepers allowing gambling

were fined $6 for the first offence, $12 for the second, and for the third offence according to the decision of the judge. Bankers of games and monteros paid the same penalties, and those assisting $1 each.

Echeandía, writing to the minister of justice in Mexico, in June 1829, says: "Formerly San Francisco, Monterey, San Diego, and Santa Bárbara were the four heads of departments, and the respective comandantes had cognizance of government and the administration of justice according to the formulario de Colon, and in the graver cases sent the expedientes, or information, to the governor for his decision, or that of a court-martial, or for him to send to the viceroy. Since the independence, things have changed. The government, in order to have a rental, has opened commerce to foreigners, and there are many in the country. Civil population has increased, and the number of military officers decreased. The alcalde of Angeles within his limits, and on the neighboring farms to a distance of nine or more leagues, and the alcalde of San José in his jurisdiction, determine civil causes not exceeding $100 in value, and criminal matters where only reparation is to be made, or a light punishment inflicted." In matters of greater importance, they take the first depositions, which they remit to Echeandía, who, according to the military system, determines the matter, or consults the nearest asesor, or legal adviser, who is at Sonora, or calls a court-martial, or sends the matter to the minister of justice, or war, or of the navy, as the case may be. In his small jurisdiction, the alcalde of Branciforte determines matters verbally, and in graver affairs sends the expediente to the comandante of Monterey, who proceeds in a military manner. The alcaldes of Monterey and Santa Bárbara, as well as the respective comandantes, take cognizance of civil matters not in excess of $100, and act—criminally—as the alcalde of Angeles, except that they refer proceedings to the comandantes.

At the presidios of San Francisco and San Diego,

the comandantes proceed in a military manner in minor matters, and in graver cases as the others. There are therefore six districts for the administration of justice. This itself is in a lamentable condition for want of a letrado, or legal adviser, which makes it impossible to proceed properly in military or other depositions.

Savage says that in 1826 there were no competent courts of law to try civil or criminal cases. The alcaldes of the towns were authorized to act as jueces comisionados, or fiscales, in criminal cases, to make investigations, and suggest release or punishment of the accused; but being ignorant of law, they could not even do this properly, and they often acknowledged their ignorance in the dictámen fiscal. And as late as 1847 Bryant found no written statute law, the only law books being a digested code entitled *Laws of Spain and the Indies*, published in Spain, a century before, and a small pamphlet defining the powers of various judicial officers, emanating from the Mexican government since the revolution. A late governor of California told a magistrate to administer the law "in accordance with the principles of natural right and justice;" and this was the foundation of California jurisprudence—the true foundation, indeed, of all justice. The local bandos or laws were enacted, adjudicated, and executed by the alcaldes. The alcalde had jurisdiction in all municipal matters, and in cases for minor offences, and for debt in sums not over one hundred dollars. In cases of capital offences, the alcalde had simply power to examine, testimony being taken down in writing and transmitted to the juez de primera instancia, or first judge of district before whom the case was tried. The trial by hombres buenos, to which any one that might demand it was entitled, differed from our trial by jury only in the number of the jurors, they having three or five, as ordered by the magistrate. With honest magistrates, the system of law in California operated well; but

with corrupt and ignorant magistrates, too frequently in power, the consequences were bad.

I find among the archives of the administration of justice, of 1824, the following instructions for the tribunales of 1ª instancia of California compiled by the asesor thereof.

"As the alcaldes constitucionales exercise the functions of jueces de 1ª instancia—in conformity with articles 1 and 3, chapter IV., degree of October 9, 1812, still in force in the republic—and as no distribution of partidos has been made, nor jueces de letras appointed for them, as the alcaldes have no escribanos, or other subalterns, who might advise them, as it would not be easy for them in a short time to solve doubts arising—I have deemed this cartilla necessary, in order that it be of service to them, it being understood that my labor has been unofficial, and that as asesor of California I am not obliged to do it—whence it follows that it has the same authority as would the production of any individual lawyer who desires uniformity of proceeding, and who has held strictly to the practice and formulæ generally in use."

1. Having been informed that an offence has been committed, the juez shall draw up a document called cabeza de proceso, which must set forth the information, and order an inquiry into the alleged offence. This must be signed by the alcalde and two testigos de asistencia, who act instead of an escribano público—of this proceeding it being said that they actuaron por receptoría.

2. The alcalde will then proceed to verify in person the fact of an offence having been committed: in a case of homicide, he will inform himself as to where the body is, of the wounds and their dimensions; shall make a drawing of the weapon, as part of the sumaria, in order that two experts may verify its having caused the wounds; if the alcalde be alone, he should make an examination of the locality where the crime was committed

3. After taking declarations concerning the crime, he shall take that of the criminal himself, and thereafter take such proceedings as the case dem nd.

4. Should the crime be proven even by circumstances, the alcalde shall draw up the document called de bien preso (that culprit is well held), endeavoring to do this within the 60 hours stipulated by article 191 of the general constitution. This he shall make known to the accused, and shall send a copy to him who acts as alcaide (jailer), that he may comprehend his responsibility. If it be manifest that the accused be not delinquent, or that the crime is unimportant, the alcalde shall set him at liberty, or order the proceedings to be quashed.

5. In case the prisoner should be guilty, and there be no further documents to be made out, he shall be notified to name a defensor—or having none, or refusing to do so, the juez shall do so. In the presence of this defensor, the culprit's confession shall be taken as to all of which he is in the sumaria accused, and he shall be confronted with any or all of the witnesses, if this be considered convenient.

6. At this stage, the sumaria is to be sent to the offended party—if there be one—as is his right, and to the defensor, that he may answer the charges made. The alcalde shall wait for this such time as appears well to him—even for the 80 days prescribed by law; the witnesses, except those who have been confronted with the accused and qualifying as acceptable, those of deceased witnesses or those who live at a distance.

7. The proofs or allegations of the offended party and of the defensor—or of this latter alone when the proceeding has been de oficio—having been received, the same shall be made public, and after the prosecution and the defence have pleaded de bien probado, the case shall be sent to the asesor in order that he may pass upon the matter definitively, and pronounce sentence.

8. The decision of the asesor being received, and being in conformity with the alcalde's opinion, sentence

must be passed within eight days—according to article 18, chapter ii., of the decree of October 9, 1812.

9. The sentence pronounced shall be notified to the acusador, and to the reo. If either appeal, the original cause shall be sent to the supreme court of justice, in order that in its quality as audiencia the sentence be approved or modified.

10. Should accuser and accused conform to the sentence, and the crime be a trifling one for which the law does not prescribe corporal punishment, sentence shall be executed by the alcalde; but if it be grave, the cause and the customary official communication shall be sent to the supreme court after the time for appeal has passed, although neither party, being cited, demands such proceeding.

11. If the delinquent be an ecclesiastic, at whatever stage of the proceedings this fact appear, the matter must be transferred to his proper judge, except the crime be atrocious, in which case the civil and ecclesiastical judges shall sit jointly.

12. If the criminal be a military man, he may be apprehended at once, the first steps in the sumaria be taken, and an account of the same, together with the testimony, be given to the officer under whose command the criminal is, and this latter placed at the disposition of said officer—except that the offences have been committed while the perpetrator was a deserter, in which case, or should delinquent be of that class which has lost the fuero militar, the alcalde shall continue to manage the case until definite sentence be pronounced—this in accordance with decrees of October 14, 1823, February 13 and April 12, 1824.

13. Should the criminal take sanctuary, his delivery shall be demanded of the ecclesiastical judge—this having been preceded by the caucion juratoria (bond that he be returned on demand) that no capital punishment be inflicted—and the case properly prepared shall be sent to the asesor.

14. Should the asesor declare that the offence is

not an excepted one, or that the proof is insufficient to take away the immunity of the culprit, he shall be condemned por providencia (temporary resolution of juez) as the asesor may rule—before its execution the matter being reported to the supreme court of justice, sentence being executed when the offence is such as bars the right of asylum to the criminal.

15. Should the supreme court of justice return the case to the court of first instance, as coming within the exception treated of in the latter part of article 14, this latter tribunal shall present a certified copy of the delito, and a communication on ordinary paper to the ecclesiastical judge of the district, and demand the full and complete delivery of the culprit—whereupon the trial shall proceed in the usual manner.

16. In case of a refusal to comply, on the part of the ecclesiastical judge, the alcalde shall report the same to the supreme court of justice, in order that the corresponding recourse to force may be justified.

17. In case a criminal cannot be found, there shall issue an exhorto giving his description; and the desired result not being obtained in this manner, he shall be summoned by three edicts, issued at intervals of nine days, which shall be posted in public places, and his family shall be notified—it being stated whether it be the first, second, or third edict.

18. The alcalde shall make the general and weekly visits to the cárcel in the manner prescribed by law, and shall make a monthly report of the result to the supreme court of justice, accompanying the same with a list of causes pending, with a specification of the day of the commencement of the proceedings, and the stage these have reached.

Here follow various forms for the use of alcaldes in the before-mentioned proceedings. They are the following: For the cabeza de proceso of the inquiry into a crime; certification of the cuerpo del delito; declaration of the surgeon or surgeons; declaration of the experts; declaration of the culprit; the document

called de bien preso; acceptance of position by the defensor, and his oath; confesion con cargos, of the criminal; confronting of witnesses and criminal; document called *de prueba;* ratification of his testimony by witness; formality in case of dead or absent witness; definite sentence; form of edict for summoning absent culprits.

Whenever a person was arrested for any offence of a serious character, he was imprisoned and fettered, and so held until his trial was concluded.

Sir Simpson thought the judicial system "rotten to the core." "In cases of real or fictitious importance," he says, "the alcalde reports to the prefect of his district, the prefect to the governor of the province, and the governor to the central authorities of Mexico." Meanwhile, the accused endures in a dungeon a mental torture in most cases more than adequate to his alleged guilt. The ordinary result after the delay "is a receipt either for dismissing or for punishing without trial—perhaps for punishing the innocent and for dismissing the guilty. . . Frequently, however, the subordinate functionaries, under the influence of personal feelings, such as caprice, or vindictiveness, or indignation, or love of popularity, pronounce and execute judgment on their own responsibility. Thus, a prefect of the name of Castro, being informed that a man had murdered his wife in a fit of jealousy, caused the offender to be instantly destroyed under this sentence: 'Let him be taken out and shot before my blood cools.' A commandant named Garvaleta similarly disposed of a suspected murder, on the principle that he had before been accused of a similar crime. Occasionally, the government is unable to carry into effect its ideas of justice. In 1837, when the foreigners of Los Angeles carried before Alvarado some wretches who confessed to the murder of a German, they were told: 'I have not sufficient force to carry the law into execution against them, but if you have evidence of their crime, do as you consider right.'"

The alcalde generally walked with a silver headed cane, with it summoned parties into court. Or a man bearing the cane summoned a person; if he disobeyed he was sure to be fined. When the parties appeared in court, each, if he wished, could select a hombre bueno, arbitrator, or juryman. Then the alcalde made the parties tell their story and heard the witnesses, if any; after which the alcalde and arbitrators would decide. Sometimes the alcalde decided the cases himself at once."

Governor Chico, writing to the alcalde of Angeles on the 4th of May, 1836, orders him to arrest criminals, for alcaldes primeros are as jefes políticos in their jurisdiction. Thieves and murderers are to be given up to the comandante militar, according to the law of October 29, 1835, which orders them to be tried by a military court; or he may try them himself, as subdelegate, which the law declares him to be.

"As an instance of the way civil cases are disposed of in this strangest of strange places," writes the Hudson's Bay Company's Douglas, in his journal, in 1840, "I may cite the example of a Mr. Stokes, who summoned a farmer before the alcalde, to compel the payment of a debt which had been two years outstanding, contrary to the previous stipulation between the parties. The justice, instead of meeting the case, referred it to arbitration. The case was going against the farmer, who entreated for a further indulgence, as, if compelled to pay at that moment, he would be compelled to sell his cattle at a heavy sacrifice. 'Well,' says the justice, 'how long do you ask?' 'Why,' says the farmer, 'I promise to make the first instalment in twelve months hence.' 'Very well,' replied the justice, with the utmost indifference, 'that will do;' and the case was dismissed without further proceedings."

In 1834, Governor Figueroa published the text of the law passed by the Mexican congress, and approved by President Santa Anna, regulating the judiciary system of the republic. The parts particularly refer-

ring to California were that the state of Sonora and territory of Alta California should form one circuit. Until a convenient division of the republic into districts should be made, each of the twenty states should be considered one district. District judges should have cognizance of causes and affairs affecting the federation. There should be one district judge in the territory of the Californias. The seat of the district courts should be in the capitals of the states and territories not on sea-coast, or in the principal port of those which are; the government might change the place when deemed expedient for the benefit of the federation. The district court should have a notary appointed by the government with a salary not exceeding $1,200, and no fees. In the absence of a notary, the judge should appoint one—if there were none, the judge should collect the pay to remunerate attorneys, witnesses, and a clerk. The district court should have a sheriff appointed by the judge, with a salary of $200 or $300, and no fees. Fiscals should have a salary of $1,500, and no fees. The district judge of the Californias should have a salary of $3,000. His promotor fiscal's salary should be $2,000.

As in the case of wages of common and skilled labor, so with regard to salaries, they were about where they are to-day in many parts of the United States.

Hall states that "according to the leyes constitutional of December 30, 1836, each department was to be provided with a superior tribunal. On the 23d of May, 1837, the Mexican congress passed a law making provisions for such a tribunal for California, out of which two courts were to be formed. This tribunal was to be composed of four ministros, or judges, and one fiscal, or attorney-general. The three senior judges were to compose the first sala, or bench, and the junior one the second. The second bench was known as the court of the second instance, which took cognizance of appeals from the court of first instance, and also original jurisdiction in certain cases.

The first bench was the court of third instance, with appellate powers. These courts were to sit at the capital of the department. There was to be a court of first instance at the chief town in each district, with original general jurisdiction of all sums over one hundred dollars. No superior tribunal was ever established under this law in California; nor were there any judges of the court of first instance; certainly none in San José until 1849, when they were appointed by United States authority." The governor of the department, in his message to the assembly in 1840, expresses his regret that no superior tribunal existed, and that there were no judges of first instance, adding that the justices of the peace in the towns had begun to exercise the judicial functions in the first instance. The governor also informed that body that they had power by the act of July 15, 1839, to appoint judges for the interior; but they failed to use their faculties in this respect.

In the decree of the Mexican congress of March 2, 1843, it is stated that in the Californias there had been no courts of second and third instance established; and by act 28th, the governors of these departments were ordered "to take care that justice is punctually and completely administered in first instance, by judges of that grade, if there be such, or by alcaldes, or justices of the peace."

The supreme court of the United States, in the case of the United States against Castillero, held that the alcalde in San José could not perform the functions of judge of first instance, under the mining laws, as provided by the Mexican decree of the 2d of December, 1842; and that his acts relating to perfecting title to the Almaden mines were void. The judicial officers then known at San José were first and second alcaldes and justices of the peace.

The alcalde's court had appeal to courts of first instance, which had original jurisdiction in cases over $100. If a single judge was in commission, he took

cognizance of civil and criminal cases. If two were appointed, their jurisdictions were divided, one judge only constituting the court. The court of second instance was an appellative tribunal, consisting of as many judges, not exceeding three, as corresponded with the districts in the department. These judges were the court of second instance for the districts they represented, and they entertained appeals from all judgments of the court of first instance in that district. The court of third instance was the last resort, except to the supreme tribunal at Mexico. All the judges of second instance in the department, or a majority, constituted this court. It entertained appeals only in cases involving more than $4,000. Its review of cases was general, not being confined to the questions raised below, but it could not review those on which the two inferior courts had concurred.

In a letter from Monterey, in May 1845, Larkin writes of the condition of the laws as follows: "In California there is a large allowance of laws sent on by the supreme government, and as the paper is not very good to make paper segars, the law-books are laid on the shelf. To make a thousand-dollar obligation good, it is necessary to purchase from government an $8 stamped paper; and I have never seen an alcalde enforce the payment of the debt, although $8 was paid to make it legal. Sometimes the debtor pleads too much rain for his crops, at other times the season is too dry, or he 's too busy to attend to the debt; as the alcalde has neither sheriff nor constable, fees nor commission, and is forced to serve for one year, nolens volens, collecting debts is at the lowest stage. If a person with stolen property was brought forward, and said he purchased the article from an Indian who had left for some other place, the trial might be put off until the Indian returned, or the supposed sheriff had time to look for him. Some people dislike prosecuting a man for stealing his horse, for fear he should be told that the man was only bringing

him home by a roundabout road, and demand a dollar for his trouble. If a person is really convicted of a crime, he is ordered to some other town, and is sure to go when he gets ready, and return when he has occasion. As some of the jails are uncomfortable, the prisoners are often kept outside; as the food is bad, they go home to get better, and always return to the prison door when ordered. There was one day a complaint made to the alcalde by the person who lost the property stolen, that the thief was every day out of prison and every day passed his house. The alcalde said he was very sorry, and in extenuation remarked that he had told the prisoner to take his forenoon and afternoon pasear on the other side of the town. On another complaint of the prisoner, after his trial, reaching the store where he had been stealing, before the merchant, the alcalde said: To-day is Saturday, to-morrow is the sabbath, Monday is a feast-day, but on Tuesday or Wednesday the man shall be informed that he is a prisoner, and dealt with accordingly. Sometimes the alcalde puts a few of the Indian prisoners to work on his own farm. When they become tired of the fare, they run away on his worship's horses, if they are fat; as the Indians eat these horses, they never steal poor ones.

"The alcaldes pick up the drunken Indian cooks and stewards in the afternoons of feast-days, and discharge them next morning in time to cook their masters' breakfasts. Some of the Monterey prisoners are banished to San Diego; those of San Diego to Monterey—that's fair. If they commit a second offence, they may be banished back again, and find their own horses on the road, which are easily borrowed with a lasso. So that the owners of a Monterey horse, which has been stolen near home and then again at San Diego, may see the animal again, in bad condition it is true, but then he gets his horse, by giving the man who says he found him at San Diego a dollar or two; and that's cheap for bringing a broken-down horse 500 miles."

During Echeandía's time, 1825–31, robberies were frequent. His successor, Victoria, made a vow that during his rule property should be safe left unguarded on the public highway. He published an edict that larceny to the value of two and a half dollars and upwards would be punished with death. It was not long before he had occasion to put his sincerity to the test. Two servants of the San Cárlos mission obtained the keys of the warehouse from an Indian boy who acted as a page of the priests, and robbed it. The men were convicted, and sentenced to death. The missionary came to Monterey, threw himself at Victoria's feet, and implored him to spare their lives; but he was inflexible, and the two men were shot. The boy was flogged almost to death.

A little later, an Indian boy, of less than 20 years of age, stole some buttons from the military stores, which he gambled away. They were picked up, and valued at $2.50. The boy was tried, convicted, and shot.

In that same year, 1831, one evening, at about six o'clock, an Indian entered the house of Venancio Galindo and his wife, Romana Sanchez, and seized their two children, a boy and a girl. The former managed to escape. The Indian ravished the girl, and afterward killed her. The little boy said that the coyote had seized his sister. On the strength of this, the soldier, Francisco Rubio, nicknamed Coyote, was arrested, tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death. The evidence, it was alleged by many, did not justify such a finding; nevertheless, Victoria approved the sentence. The officers, M. G. Vallejo and José Antonio Sanchez, and several others, including the priest who prepared him for the awful change, believing Rubio innocent, exerted themselves to save him, but nothing availed, and he was shot. His innocence is said to have been made evident some time after. The Indian perpetrator of the crimes was captured, and being in a miserable condition from venereal disease, died in the prison before his trial was ended.

A fellow named Mariano Duarte, whose mother or grandmother was an Indian of the mission San Antonio, was placed in charge of the public school of the town of San José. Some of the school-girls accused him of having assaulted them. He was taken to San Francisco, tried, and sentenced to hard labor in the public works. He was accordingly kept fettered, and put to breaking stones, sweeping the plaza, etc. At the expiration of his sentence he was released, and died shortly after.

Another man, named Cornelio Rosales, for violating his step-daughter, was kept a close prisoner in irons at the guard-house in San Francisco, working as a tailor, but he died after a little more than a year's imprisonment.

An ex-soldier, named Diego Félix, who lived at the Huerta Vieja, about half a mile from Monterey, in 1840, murdered his wife, inflicting most horrible wounds on the head and body of his victim. The most heartrending part of the case was that the woman being enceinte, he cut her open, and dragged out the child, which also exhibited evidences of having been killed with blows. It seems that Félix went to the house of his mother-in-law, where his wife was, and asked her to go home, as he wanted her. On the way, he kept pricking her in the back with a poniard. After committing the murders, he coolly walked up and down a distance of 70 paces outside of his house, but when he saw a military guard coming to arrest him, made an attempt to escape, which proved unsuccessful. He was secured, and taken to Monterey.

A superstition prevailed at the time in California that if a person killed another, and the corpse fell face downwards, the slayer could not escape, but would hover around the spot to his final undoing. Several cases occurred to confirm this idea. The prisoner at his trial pleaded that he had done his duty, as he would not be a willing cuckold, or assent to infamies. But the evidence proved that his wife's frailties had

been with his own knowledge and consent, and his displeasure had been caused by her failing to give him the amount of money she had formerly supplied him with. It was true that he had unsuccessfully attempted to kill one of the men with whom she had committed adultery. As martial law was then in force, Governor Alvarado had the murderer tried by court-martial, aided by the civil judge, and he was sentenced to be shot at 7 P. M., just 12 hours from the commission of the crimes. Just after the reading of the sentence, an edict was published, embodying the law prohibiting, under the penalty of death, that any one should crave mercy for the criminal.

The body of an Indian woman being found eaten by coyotes at San Gabriel, and a man accusing her husband of having murdered her, the matter was duly investigated, and the charge proved to be a calumny. Whereupon the false accuser was sentenced to imprisonment, and to receive 35 lashes, twelve lashes a day for the first two days, and eleven on the third day.

One Albitre for having illicit intercourse with an Indian married woman was put to hard labor for two months at a presidio, after which he was forced to live at a great distance from his home. The woman was also exiled. Wives were not to be abused. One García was sentenced for maltreating his wife, and one Higuera likewise for cutting off his wife's hair out of jealousy. A soldier who had ruined a girl, and refused to make her his wife, was confined in a fort in irons, and forced to pay her $50 out of his savings in the fondo de retencion. In March 1841 Uribe was fined $5 for challenging to a duel with a "bone," and Ibarra was fined $1.50 for accepting the challenge.

Pastoral California never had a hangman or public executioner. An order of the Mexican government, in 1835, to organize a force of from five to ten men in places where no executioner could be obtained, was

not carried out here, and the few executions that occurred were done by the regular troops.

Among the crimes committed in California, prior to the American annexation, which were expiated with the death penalty, were the following:

In 1840 a German named Fink, who owned a shop in Los Angeles, was assassinated and his goods stolen. The perpetrators left the corpse in a locked room, the key of which they threw out on the hill, and carried away the effects. The body remained four days in the room, until, after some hesitation, the alcalde forced the street door. Inside everything betokened violence and death. The body was found with a large cut in the forehead, already in a state of putrifaction.

After some inquiry it was discovered, a few days after, that Eugenia Valencia, mistress of Santiago Linares, had carried a bundle to San Gabriel, and was engaged in making for herself petticoats trimmed with green ribbons. She was forthwith arrested and the goods were secured. Linares was also arrested at the same time. He confessed the crime and gave the names of his two accomplices. All three were secured, convicted, sentenced to death, and shot on the spot were the crimes were committed.

Antonio Valencia, in 1842, stabbed Águila in the back and killed him. The cause was that Águila, a large, powerfully built man, was beating Valencia's small brother. Valencia was tried and shot. This seems somewhat severe.

In 1842 Manuel Gonzalez, a Peruvian shoemaker, while at work in the San Isidro rancho, was threatened with violence by a drunken Englishman, who had a hatchet in his hand. Manuel had no means of escape, and so he stabbed the Englishman in the heart with his knife. The Englishman fell dead. The slayer was tried in Monterey for murder, and sentenced to be shot. While in the chapel he was shrived by Father Antonio Anzar, who was noted for his ignorance. The prisoner complained of the in-

justice of his sentence, claiming that he had killed the man in self-defence. Anzar wanted him to accept his fate with resignation, and as Manuel refused, the priest burst out, "Be resigned, be resigned, you beast, for whether you are or not you must die." Manuel still persisted in denying that he was a criminal, "pues allá te las compongas," said Anzar. The man was shot on the 27th of July 1842. Public opinion very properly disapproved of this execution. Alvarado was accused of permitting it because the slain man was an Englishman, though the latter had deliberately and from a spirit of jealousy gone to assail the Peruvian at his house.

One Sunday in July 1845, three females, mother, daughter, and granddaughter, the latter a girl of about eleven years, together with some small children were bathing near the beach at Monterey, in a little stream where there was a grove of willows. An Indian rushed out of the grove armed with a knife, and a club, seized the girl and tried to violate her in the presence of the other women, who endeavored to protect her. He struck with the club on the head the elder woman, and felled her to the ground senseless. He then began to beat the other woman, nearly killing her; the children ran away and reported what was occurring. A friendly Indian named Sebastian, and other men rushed to the spot—the first to reach the arroyo was Sebastian, who seized the malefactor, but received a perpendicular stab from the shoulder. The wretch was finally overpowered, disarmed, and bound. Colonel Alvarado, commanding at Monterey, had the criminal forthwith shot without the formality of a trial.

In pastoral days in California, it was customary to take boys to see executions and public punishments, to serve as a warning. Rafael Pinto relates that he was present at the execution of two robbers at Monterey. The minister of mission San Cárlos addressed the parents on the necessity of watching their

children. His brother-in-law, Bonifacio, an Italian with whom he lived, then held him tight with one hand, and with the other gave him a severe flogging. Pinto pleaded that he had done nothing to deserve punishment, but it did not avail him. Bonifacio answered that it was true that he had done no wrong, that he was a good boy; but the flogging was inflicted so that he should remember that day throughout his life—and as Pinto said, "No se me ha olvidado, por cierto."

It was related of a certain person who had occupied a prominent position in California, and was the owner of a rancho in the district of Monterey, that one day in the thirties he lacked a few hides to complete a contract, and employed a man to furnish them on that same day. Now, it was well known to all that the man was a sort of vagrant vaquero, not overscrupulous how he obtained his hides, and for this reason, and because he must have them quickly, and at no advanced price, that the contractor applied to that particular man. "I cannot bring them in to-day," remonstrated the vaquero.

"I said to-day," the ranchero replied.

"But I have not the hides, and the nearest herd, except your own, is four or five leagues away."

"Before 12 o'clock to-night, bring me the hides I need. Now go."

The job was done. The vaquero was praised and paid. But next day when the ranchero's Indian went for his master's cows, he found many of them missing. A chilling suspicion crept upon the owner of the rancho. He mounted a horse, rode forth, and after due search found the carcasses of his cows in the chaparral, in the upper end of a cañon. He rode slowly back, his wrath rising meanwhile.

"You villain, you slew my cows!" exclaimed the now furious owner of the rancho.

"Certainly, sir, it was my only chance to fill your peremptory order."

The tricked ranchero was too shrewd not to know that he had himself laid the trap in which he was caught. He had to be content with cursing and kicking the wily vaquero, the latter being only too happy to escape with such a mild punishment.

Governor Alvarado, who was in Angeles in 1837, fell in with a girl, and took a house for her use. Castro, on observing him enter, ordered artillery salvos during his visit. Those who inquired why these salvos were fired, were answered: "In honor of the act of the governor." When this girl bore her first child, there was a great demonstration in the town; a drinking bout of fifteen days ensued, and a sum of money was taken from the public funds and scattered among the people. "The birth of this bastard cost $5,000," growls the alcalde.

Thus we see that in matters of morality, private or political, it was among the pastoral Californians much as it is with us to-day: vice in the high circles was winked at, while the poor were severely punished, too severely in many instances.

In going over the matter of the murder of Padre Quintana, there is something to be learned of criminal procedure. In the registry of deaths, at Santa Cruz, October 14, 1812, Padre Marquínez certifies to the burial of Padre Andrés Quintana, who was found dead in his bed, having died a natural death, it was said by Surgeon Manuel Quijano, who made a post-mortem examination. There is a marginal note to the entry, written by Padre Marquínez at some later time, stating that the circumstances attending the death were again investigated, when it was discovered that he was murdered by Christian Indians of this and Santa Clara missions. Inveigled into the garden to administer the sacrament to a dying man, he was thereupon smothered.

Writing to Padre Marquinez on the 15th of October, Don José Maria Estudillo says: "It is absolutely

essential that Surgeon Manuel Quijano make a post-mortem examination of the body of Padre Quintana, who, according to common report, died on the morning of the 12th—the circumstances of his death being very suspicious. Estudillo has been ordered by Governor Arrillaga to make this inquiry, and beseeches and enjoins the padre to permit the exhumation of the body, which after examination shall be reinterred." On the same date Padre Marquínez gives the desired permission.

On the 23d, Lieutenant Estudillo reports to Governor Arrillaga "that the post-mortem examination of the body, and the investigations in relation to the death of Padre Quintana, were commenced on the 14th and terminated on the 22d. No evidence of violence was found. The padre was a valetudinarian, and unable even to dress himself."

Time passes. In volume xliv. of the Provincial State Papers, we find recorded, under date of March 10, 1816, that Governor Sola orders the murderers of Father Quintana, the Indians Lino, Antonino, Quírico, Julian, and Fulgencio, of Santa Cruz, to receive each 200 lashes, *azotes*, except the one last named. The two first are also to suffer ten years of presidio imprisonment, the two next six, the last seven. On the 28th it was determined that they should suffer their sentence at Santa Bárbara.

Referring again to the State Papers, we find that on the 21st of March, 1820, at San Francisco, Ignacio Martínez, juez fiscal, certifies, "that by order of Comandante Argüello he took the declaration of the neophyte Alberto, of the mission of Santa Cruz, accused of being concerned, with seven other neophytes, in the murder of Father Quintana in 1812. Alberto, being sworn, said that Quírico invited him to join in the murder. One night about dark Quírico called him into the garden, he supposed to steal fruit, but was told by Quírico that they were going to kill the padre. Alberto asked why. They went to the gardener's house and

found the others outside in a group. Andrés then spoke to Alberto, and told him they were going to kill the padre. Alberto said he would have nothing to do with it; he left them at once, and went to his house and to bed. On the following day he heard that the padre was dead, and supposed that they killed him.

Alberto confessed that he had done wrong in not giving notice to the guard or the mayordomo. He did wrong in running away to the woods, he said, but did so because his son told him that the others were being taken. He knew nothing of the matter until Quírico spoke to him as related.

After a long interval, we find again a relation given by Lorenzo Asisara, ex-cantor of the mission of Santa Cruz, given at Watsonville, July 10, 1877.

"The story I am about to tell," says the narrator, "was told to me in 1818 by my father, who was a neophyte of Santa Cruz, one of its founders, and one of the first who were baptized. His name was Venancio Azar, and he was the gardener of the mission. He witnessed all that happened at the time of the death of Father Quintana.

"The Indians came together at the house of Julian, also a gardener, and agreed to kill the padre. Donato, who worked inside the mission, had by the padre's order been chastised with a *disciplina*, the thongs of which had wire points, each blow cutting into the flesh. Donato determined to revenge himself, and he it was who called together the party of fourteen men, among them the padre's cook, Antonino, and his servants, Vicente and Miguel Antonio.

"The fourteen Indians met at the house of Julian, to consider in what way they might avoid the cruel punishment they suffered at the hand of Padre Quintana. Lino, the brightest of all, said that in his sermons the padre taught that God did not do that way. He asked what should be done with him, since he could neither be driven away nor accused before the judge. Andrés, father of Lino, said: 'Let us kill the

padre, unknown to any except those here present.' Julian, the gardener, then said: 'How can we manage it?' This man's wife then suggested that he should feign illness, and that then the padre would come to him, and it could be done. This Lino approved; whereupon all assented to the plan, and agreed to carry it into execution the next Saturday night.

"Father Quintana had proposed to bring the people together in the plaza on Sunday, in order to try the new *cuarta* he had made, the points of the lashes being of wire. Accordingly, about 6 o'clock on Saturday night word was sent to the padre that the gardener was dying. The Indians were already in ambush behind two trees at the sides of the path by which the padre must pass. The padre went to the house of Julian, who appeared to be dying, administered the sacrament, and returned to the mission unharmed, for their courage failed those in ambush. The supposed dying man followed close upon the heels of the priest.

"Within an hour the wife of Julian went to summon the padre to her dying husband. He accompanied her to the house in the garden, she crying and wringing her hands. The padre examined the man's pulse, but found he had apparently nothing the matter with him. However, he anointed him. When the padre left the house, Julian rose, and washing off the sacred oil, followed the priest, but those in ambush again allowed him to pass. While the padre sat at supper, the conspirators came together again at Julian's house, Julian alleged that the padre had poisoned the oil with which he had anointed him, 'echado yerba en los óleos,' and that their faint-heartedness would prove the cause of his death. The woman averred that if they did not carry out their agreement, she would denounce them. Thereupon, they all said that this time there should be no failure, and bade her fetch the priest. She found the padre at supper, and he at once accompanied her. This time three servants with lanterns preceded, and Lino came behind the priest. He

found Julian apparently very far gone, and speechless. He recited the prayers for the dying, but did not apply the sacrament, and said to the woman: 'Thy husband is now prepared to live or die; do not summon me again.' The priest left the house, Julian following him.

"As the padre reached the two trees where the conspirators were in hiding, Lino threw his arms around him, and said, 'Stop, padre! thou must converse a while.' The lantern-bearers turned around, and seeing the people sallying from behind the trees, turned and fled. The padre said to Lino, 'What art thou about to do to me, my son?' Lino replied, 'Those who wish to kill thee will answer.' 'What have I done to you, my children, that you should murder me?' Andrés said, 'Why hast thou had a cuarta of iron made?' The priest said, 'My sons, unhand me, for I must go this moment.' Andrés then asked him why he had made the cuarta, and the priest said it was for those who were bad. Then several exclaimed, 'Well, thou art in the power of the bad ones. Remember thy God!'

"Many of those present wept, and commiserated the priest, but could do nothing for him, as they were compromised. The padre begged for his life for some time, promising to leave the mission. One said, 'Thou art going to no part of the earth, padre; thou art going to heaven.' This was the end of the colloquy. Those who had not been able to seize the padre found fault with the others, saying that the conversation had gone far enough; that he should be killed at once. They then muffled the priest's head with his gown, and after he was smothered, in order that no signs of violence should be apparent, they squeezed one of his testicles until he had apparently expired. Then they took him into his house and put him to bed. One of the two lantern-bearers who had run away wanted to inform the guard, but the other dissuaded him, saying that it would be the cause of their own death.

"When the priest was undressed and put to bed, all the evil-doers, including Julian's wife, were present. Andrés asked Lino for the keys of the warehouse, saying that they wanted money and beads. In the party were three Indians from Santa Clara, who wanted to know what money there was. Lino opened the strong-box and showed them. These Indians took a considerable sum; what they could want it for, I know not. All the others took some of the money.

"They then demanded the keys of the single women's quarters, monjério, which Lino gave them, together with the key of the single men's quarters, ayunte. Those of both sexes went, without making any noise, to the lower part of the garden, and passed the night there together, until 2 o'clock in the morning. Lino had a girl in the sala of the mission.

"During the night Lino went into the padre's room, and found him coming to his senses. He called his accomplices, and they destroyed the other testicle. This was done by Donato, and had the desired effect. Donato told Lino to close the chest containing the plata colorada, as the Indians called gold, and eight of them, taking it to the garden, buried it there. The others knew nothing of this. After the men and women had retired to their quarters, the assassins assembled in order to receive instructions from Lino and Donato as to their future conduct. Some wanted to run away, but were dissuaded by the rest, who held that the matter would never come to light, as no one knew of it save themselves. As Donato proposed, in order to be sure that the padre was dead they went into his room, when they found him cold and stiff. Lino showed them the iron cuarta which was to have been tried the next day, and assured them that it would not now be used. Lino then gave them some sugar and panocha, and sent them to their houses. Lino arranged the padre's room, placed his book at his bedside, all as the priest himself was wont to do. He told the others that in the morning he would not ring

the bell, an omission which would bring the mayordomo and the corporal of the escort to see what was the matter.

"It was Sunday morning, and the bell was always rung at 8 o'clock, because at that hour the Branciforte people began to come in to be present at mass. The mayordomo, noticing this, went to inquire into the matter. Lino was in the sala, and when asked why he had not rung the bell, said that the padre was still within, sleeping or praying, and that he, Lino, did not like to disturb him. The mayordomo went away, and the corporal of the escolta came on a like errand. The mayordomo returned, and they resolved to wait a little while. At length Lino said that they being present, he would knock at the door, provided that should the padre be angry they would shield him. This they agreed to, and Lino knocked at the door and called to the priest. There was no sound from within, and the other two wanted Lino to ring the bell, which he refused to do. They then retired, charging Lino to call the priest again presently, as it was very late. All the servants were about their daily tasks as usual, so that no suspicion was created. At 10 o'clock the mayordomo returned, and asked Lino to call out to the priest and learn what ailed him. Lino called loudly but ineffectually, and the mayordomo, Cárlos Castro, told him to open the door. Lino excused himself from entering. At this juncture the corporal, Nazario Galindo, arrived, and they ordered Lino to open the door. Although he had the key in his pocket, Lino went out to look for a key; brought in a large bunch, none of which would open the door; pretended that the key he had belonged to the kitchen, and with it opened the door of the priest's room, which opened into the plaza. He opened the door into the sala and came out sobbing, saying that the priest was dead, and that he would go and toll the bell. Only the corporal and the mayordomo entered the room to satisfy themselves that the padre was dead. The other missions

were written to, and Father Marquínez, who was at Monterey, was summoned. Some of the old neophytes, and others, who suspected nothing, wept bitterly; Lino, within the house, bellowed above them all.

"The priests came from Santa Clara and other missions to bury Father Quintaná. All believed that he had died a natural death, but not until the body had been opened and the stomach examined with regard to poison. Finally, by chance some one noticed that the testicles had been destroyed, but though convinced that their condition had something to do with the cause of his death, they kept silence.

"Several years after Father Quintana's death, Emiliana, wife of Lino, and María Tata, wife of Antonino, had a quarrel. These women were seamstresses of the mission, and were at work behind a wall. The mayordomo, Cárlos Castro, passing by overheard them, he understanding the Indian tongue. Each accused the husband of the other of being concerned in the murder of the priest. Castro told Father Olbés, and he informed Father Marquínez, who sent his servants to tell Julian and his accomplices to run away, if not they would be taken. Father Olbés sent for the two women, separately, and pretending that he wanted them to cut and make some clothing, shut them up in separate rooms. The mayordomo, Castro, was acting in unison with the priest. After dinner the priest examined each of the women separately, and apparently without much questioning each accused the husband of the other. The priest dismissed them with a present; and then ordered Corporal Galindo to arrest the assassins, but without telling them why. The gardeners and the cook were taken, Antonino first. He, when asked, denounced one of his comrades, who in turn denounced another, and so on. Finally, all were taken except Lino.

"Lino, supposed to be very valiant as he was very powerful, was taken by stratagem, by Cárlos Castro, his compadre. Castro gave Lino a knife, and told

him to cut some hair from white mares and black mares, in order to make a gay head-stall for the padre's beast. Lino suspected something, and there were indeed two soldiers hidden behind the corral. Lino said: 'Compadre, why are you deceiving me? I know you are going to take me prisoner. Take your knife, compadre. What I thought would be is already done; I'll pay you for it. Had I so wished on the night I killed the priest, I could have made an end of mayordomo, soldiers, and all.' All the accused and their accomplices were taken to San Francisco, my father being one. The actual assassins were sentenced to receive each a novenario of 50 azotes, that is, 50 lashes a day for nine days in succession, and to labor on the public works at San Diego. The others, including my father, were set at liberty, for they served as witnesses, and were not shown to have taken part in the assassination."

But however lax may have been Echeandía, or howsoever to the other extreme may have gone Victoria and Alvarado, there was always present that gross favoritism which usually attends the administration of justice at the hands of the Latin race. The poor stood little chance against the rich. It will be noticed that the severe and public examples were made for the most part of the friendless and ignorant, Indians, soldiers, and low trash of various shades of color. Within certain bounds, and with due regard to certain conventionalisms, the rich and influential of all times and nations may commit all the crimes of the decalogue with impunity. As a rule, it was in California as in Mexico, there was little real principle, little inherent honesty and integrity in high places.

And however primitive may have been the condition of Pastoral California down to the third decade of the present century, from that time for a brief period matters were worse. The natives were in a state of insubordination; robberies and other crimes were prevalent, and little or nothing was done to

check them, there was ill-feeling between the people of the north and south, and both hated those from Mexico. The worst cancer was the plundering and wasting of the public funds, until the bottom of the treasury chest may be said to have dropped off.

Eusebio Galindo, a pure white man born in California, in 1802, and descended from the first founders of the country, bewailing, in 1877, the sad condition his country had been brought to by disunion and misgovernment on the part of the men who ruled its destinies under the Mexican flag, said, "This California during the time she was ruled by the Spaniards was a perfect paradise, where all lived in peace, and had the wherewithal for his or her support. He concluded with the following quotation:

"Lindo país, California,
Principio fué de mi vida,
Hermoso paraíso ameno,
Jardin de gloria escondida."

The animosity of the Hispano-Californians toward their Mexican fellow-citizens reached a climax in 1844 when the former resorted to lampoons couched in scurrilous language, and with obscene pictures, anonymously insulting the officers of the Mexican battalion, stationed at Monterey, especially those who had wives. Their authors thus manifested the spirit of provincialism prevailing among their countrymen. The abused officers, not knowing their opponents, vented their wrath upon all Californians in vulgar and quixotic expressions, showing themselves to be low-bred braggarts. This mutual abuse continued until even the most respectable families of the place were not spared. The hostility became so intensified that it showed itself at public and private gatherings, and even at church. It must be said that the conduct pursued by both sides was equally reprehensible. At last the Californians abandoned these vile practices, and resorted to the more manly course of open rebellion against their ruler, who too often richly deserved it.

One Limon, in 1839, was accused of rape on a girl at San Fernando mission. The case was sent to the alcalde of Angeles, January 12th. A lengthy trial ensued, owing to the circumstantial evidence. At one time it was proposed to send the case to the governor for military trial, but it was concluded in Angeles after all. A promotor fiscal was appointed ad hoc, and a defensor. The latter delayed the case greatly to bring in fresh evidence. It was passed or repassed from fiscal to defensor for argument and answer, and finally the alcalde pronounced sentence of two years in the presidio on circumstantial evidence, the want of proper medical care of the fatally injured girl being taken into account. On May 2d the sentence was read to the culprit in presence of the judge, fiscal, defensor, and two chief witnesses for want of a notary. All signed it, including the prisoner.

Mode of proceedings in the adultery case of Castañares and Herrera, Monterey, June and July 1836: The written arguments of each was presented to the alcalde of Monterey, in which place the parties resided. The alcalde ordered the argument of the one party to be presented to the other party for answer within a certain number of days. This order was signed by him and two others, one a secretary, and the other a regidor. The same order was submitted to the party who prepared the argument, and he signed his approval, the above trio signing as witnesses. This order, with the argument, was submitted to the party who had to answer; he signed his name in acknowledgment, and this was countersigned by the trio. The party who prepared the argument was notified of the acknowledgment, and signatures again affixed. The same formula was used in regard to the answer.

Diego Leyba was accused of having killed a cow belonging to Rafaela Serrano at San Dieguito. The suit was begun July 11, 1839, at San Dieguito by Osuña, alcalde of San Diego. The head of the cow

which had been buried by Leyba was dug up and found to bear the mark of Serrano. The examination of witnesses concluded July 15th. The results were sent July 16th to the prefect, Tapia, at Los Angeles. July 26th, the prefect sent back the papers, and informed Osuña that, according to article 181 of the law of March 20, 1837, he must forward the accused with sufficient guard, 'per cordillera,' from mission to mission to the first alcalde of Los Angeles, and also the papers. August 1st, Osuña obeyed this order. August 5th, Antonio Machado, senior regidor, in the absence of the alcalde, sent back the papers for some corrections in form, and ordered several witnesses to appear at Los Angeles. Two of the witnesses were found to have gone to Los Angeles, and another, an Indian alcalde, was sent up. August 9th, Osuña sent back the papers. Rafaela made a deposition August 7th that Leyba had a right to kill the cow. He was fined $5 for hiding the cow's 'remains,' the fine to go to the municipal fund. The papers were returned to the alcalde at San Diego. Two additional official communications between the prefect and the alcalde are given, dated November 2d and 14th. The whole record occupies about thirty pages of the records of San Diego. This almost parallels some cases occurring in English and American courts.

In the case of Surgeon Bale, accused in 1840 of disrespect of civil authorities, the judge arrested Bale, but released him, as he enjoyed the 'fuero militar.' The judge then laid the matter before the comandante de armas, who ordered the ayudante de la plaza to take cognizance as juez fiscal of the matter, which he proceeded to do, appointing a secretary for that purpose. When sworn, Bale placed his right hand on the pommel of his sword, and being asked if "bajo su palabra de honor prometia á la nacion decir verdad," answered, "Sí juro." The judge and secretary then went to Mrs Larkin's house to take her tes-

timony. They also went to Bale's house, he being there under arrest, in order to take his. Stokes, another witness, was summoned to appear through the civil authority. The sworn statement of the accused was taken. The judge then sent the papers to the comandante, who sent them to the comandante-general, who gave a decision to the effect that, although it was impossible to prove that the civil authorities were entitled to respect, yet they must be respected. This decision was sent back to the comandante for execution. The papers were then to be returned to the comandante-general, in order to be placed in the archives.

The wisdom of the Roman law-givers attracted the attention of the world, but it pales beside that of the California alcaldes. A man named Juan lodged a complaint that he had loaned Pedro a sum of money which the latter refused to pay, although he was rich in horses and cattle.

Pedro was summoned before the alcalde, when Juan stated the case, and appealed to Pedro for the truth of what he said, which was readily acknowledged.

"Then," said the alcalde, "since you owe this debt, why do you not pay it?"

"Because, señor," replied Pedro, "I have no money."

"But," interrupted Juan, "thou hast a flock, horses, oxen, and everything."

"Well said, Juan," exclaimed the alcalde; "and he shall sell them and pay the debt, or I will teach him what law is, and what is justice."

"Your worship is an honest and a wise man," said Juan with a bow.

Pedro looked puzzled, and after a moment remarked, "But, sir, a word by your leave;" then turning to Juan, continued, "Well, Juan, didst thou lend the money to me, or didst thou lend it to my oxen, or to my horses, or to my flock?"

"I lent it to you, Pedro."

"Thou sayest well; if thou didst lend the money to me, then of course I am responsible, and I must pay; but if thou didst lend it to my oxen, or to my horses, or to my flock, it is clear they are responsible, and they must pay." And he looked triumphantly at the alcalde.

The magistrate had listened attentively, then after a pause drew himself up and said with much gravity, "Pedro, thou art right, and thy property cannot be sold."

"And what then am I to do?" asked Juan.

"Wait," said Pedro, "till I get money to pay you."

"That is all that can be done according to law in the case," said the alcalde, and dismissed the parties.

The jurisdiction in civil suits of the comandantes militares, also in criminal cases not purely infractions of military discipline or violations of the military fuero, had by virtue of law ceased prior to 1832, although during Victoria's time these officers continued arbitrarily to exercise such powers.

This is what Hastings told the immigrants of 1843–6 in regard to proceedings in alcalde's courts, in California. One wishing to recover a demand applied to the alcalde, who instead of issuing a written summons, despatched a servant to the residence of the defendant, informing him that his attendance at the alcalde's office would be required on a certain day, to answer the complaint of the plaintiff; and that if he did not appear at the time and place designated, the alcalde would determine the case ex parte.

When the parties appeared, the alcalde interrogated the defendant, whereupon the latter proceeded to offer such excuses as might occur to him; or he would curse his opponent vociferously, declaring that he would not pay. The plaintiff would then take the floor, and reply to the defendant, or hurled back his abuse, answering his insults by stronger and more numerous insults, and

more vehement and profane cursing. If proceedings took the latter course, his honor had nothing to do but to weigh the insult and profanity, and give his judgment according to the preponderance; if the former course was adopted, the strength and validity of the excuses were weighed against the justness of the demand. Money, however, had more effect than pleading or oaths, and was usually resorted to by one party, or by both.

These reports of foreigners, however, who knew little or nothing of what they were saying, were to a great extent exaggerated and false. Justice then was plain and crude, but it differed not so much after all from justice now, which neither in America nor Europe, nor yet in Asia, is often found wholly unadulterated.

The old form of oath by officers on rendering accounts of public funds was still observed in 1836: "I certify and swear by God, our Lord, and the sign of the cross, that the amount of the foregoing account is faithfully and lawfully expended for the articles therein expressed." The oath of protestants was made 'por Dios y la biblia.' Catholics were sworn on a cross, and when none was at hand, the officer administering the same held up the right hand with thumb and forefinger crossed. In a certain matrimonial license, an officer testified by his word of honor, with his hand on his sword, and would be sworn in no other way. The padre says that therefore he was fain to accept the same.

The method of stamping the government seal on public documents at one time was by greasing the seal and holding it in the blaze of a candle until the soot served as ink, and then the impression was made by hand.

In justices' courts, the plaintiff was called the parte actora, and the defendant the parte demandada. According to the ordenanza, where several soldiers were tried jointly for the same crime of robbery, each was obliged to name a separate defensor.

It was the practice that persons called to act in judicial investigations as escribanos, or as testigos de asistencia, were sworn by the fiscal or juez comisionado, to a faithful discharge of their duties, one of which was to keep secret everything connected with the case.

No officer in any way concerned as a party in a case could act as fiscal or judge to investigate the same. In whatever stage the proceedings might be, so soon as he was named in any document or deposition as a witness or party interested, his functions as such fiscal had to cease.

In suits before jueces de paz, for less amount than $100, the judgment—el juicio—was verbal, without the necessity of hombres buenos, although sometimes these were brought in, for the recovery of $100 or upwards; or in grave cases of injury plaintiff and defendant each appeared with their hombres buenos. If the parties agreed, the case went no farther; in case of non-agreement, then testimony was taken, and a written judgment entered before a juez de primera instancia.

When creditors brought claims of less than ten dollars before Judge Castañares, he would turn to Ábrego, his clerk, and say, "Pay the claimants, so that I may not have to listen to their talk."

Abel Stearns was addressing the old burly, rough, but good-natured Alcalde Antonio Machado, with one foot on the round of a chair. The alcalde endured it for a while, and then exclaimed, "Señor, be kind enough to abandon the chair; this court objects to being addressed by counsel standing on one foot, like a crane."

The old Spanish proceeding of making prisoners kneel to hear their sentence when notified by the judge and escribano was practised in California, to judge from the proceeding of fiscal Alférez Sanchez with the Indian Luis. In this case, it seems that the prisoner had to kneel when notified of his acquittal—a more pertinent practice than the other.

Papel sellado, or stamped paper, was in Spanish

countries the source of considerable revenue. Deeds of sales of land, mortgages, notes—all documents relating to money value above a certain amount, powers of attorney, copies of marriage and baptism, nearly all kinds of contracts—had to be written on such paper. In a lawsuit, the costs ran up enormously by reason of the great number of 'pliegos' of stamped paper which the lawyer charged for.

Stamped paper was issued in periods of two years. That of the third class was worth two reales, and was sufficient for a power of attorney to collect soldiers' pay.

The stamped paper used in 1827—in one instance at least—bore the stamp of Carlos IV. for 1810 and 1811; that of Fernando VII. for 1814 and 1815; and the Mexican stamp for 1827 and 1828

The sentences in criminal cases were almost always to labor on public works. Most of the offenders were Indians, and the highest sentence in San Diego in 1835–6 was a year's labor for stealing a barrel of aguardiente.

When not employed on public works, prison labor was farmed out to private individuals. As there were no good jails, it was customary to flog some and fine others. Occasionally, culprits were imprisoned and worked in a chain-gang.

A case is cited of one Ramon Soto at San José, charged by Juan Meresia of having pawned a serape with him and then stealing it. The case was tried before John Burton, alcalde, who adjudged the defendant guilty, and ordered him to pay a fine of $5, besides $6 for the serape, and costs of court $1.75, or labor on the public works. On another occasion, Thomas Jones complained that Pedro Mesa had stolen his horse—the defendant was fined $5, "and $9 for saddling the horse; and costs of court, taxed at $4.75; $2 for the guard."

Pico, in 1845, ordered it published by bando that it was common to see delinquents set at liberty, which was a scandalous outrage on private interests, and the right of the public to have crime punished—vindicta

pública—and was probably owing to the want of energy on the part of the local authorities. The government proposed to put an end to it, and ordered the alcalde to see that crimes were punished in accordance with the laws.

In 1836 Governor Gutierrez informed the alcalde of Angeles that persons imprisoned for petty offences might go out and seek their food, others must be maintained at municipal expense. To prevent immorality and misery in prisons, the governor recommended workshops to be established in the chief California prisons by means of private contract which should yield something to the prisoners.

Juan Malarin complained to the judge of first instance that an Indian was sentenced to the chain-gang for having been drunk. The tribunal reproved the judge, expressing surprise at his conduct, the crime being one not subject to so severe a punishment.

To the president of the tribunal of justice, a commission appointed to visit the prisons of California reported in 1842: That the Monterey prison contained five persons, two de razon and three neophytes. The commission put the usual questions to the two, and they answered that from the time of their imprisonment they had been given no food; the authorities did not know how they were to subsist. One of them during the first days begged of certain persons, until the others at length gave him some food that was brought from their house. Often they asked for water, and were told there was no one to fetch it. From the situation of the prison the sun could not enter it; and there were other matters which the commission wished to mention, but there was no space for them in the report.

Similar questions to the neophytes elicited replies that they were sentenced to quarry stones for the jetty; they were taken out to work at 8 A. M. and stopped at 5 P. M; the only food they got in the twenty-four hours was a piece of raw meat at 9 A. M., and so small as to leave nothing for supper.

The commission then inspected the calabozo, and were surprised at the picture it presented. It was without any floor but the bare earth, and so wet that a stick would sink some distance into it. The walls were black, and so dark that an object could not be seen more than a yard off. There was neither light nor ventilation, except through two small skylights; it was very unhealthy, and the more so when many people had to sleep therein. They had to use a barrel as a privy, and the whole place was a sink-hole of filth. The commission severely denounced the condition of the prisons, and added that although criminals should be punished, they should still be afforded the accommodations and comforts that reason and humanity dictate. Signed by José Antonio Estudillo, Antonio María Osio, and José María Castañares.

In reply, José Fernandez, judge of first instance, concerning the state of the prisons, explains that the causes complained of arise from lack of funds to meet expenses. The prisoners can only be given meat sufficient for their subsistence. They are not, however, as has been represented, dying of hunger, or so wasted away as to be unable to work. The prison has no jailer, nor any patio for the prisoners to sun themselves in; and it has not been deemed prudent to take them from the prison and place them in the plaza under care of the troops, from which they could escape and no one be responsible. The meat is supplied to them raw, because there are not a sufficient number to pay for the cooking, neither is there a military escort to take them to a place of labor.

CHAPTER XX.

A VERY HEALTHY COUNTRY.

Lasst, Vater, genug seyn das grausame Spiel!—*Schiller.*

Said Charon to Mercury, to whom was due from the Styx River ferry-man certain money for boat-tackle, following Lucian: "I cannot give it you now, but if war or pestilence should send souls hither in paying numbers, you can make the amount and more by cheating each one a little in the passage-money." Considering that California never had a war, nor any pestilence to speak of, there seems to have been considerable sickness for such a very healthy country; and it is quite certain that Charon found business better after the introduction of civilization than before.

In physical appearance, the Californians were vastly superior to the people of the other Mexican states. Tall, muscular, and well favored, their complexion was neither sallow like that of some, nor swarthy as is the case of others. And they were probably as healthy and athletic as any people in the world.

These characteristics were theirs by inheritance; for in the instructions of the viceroy to Captain Rivera, it was ordered that the head of each family desiring to emigrate to California should be a hale country laborer, without blemish, physical or moral. Recruits for the presidios, selected with even greater care, were to be of not less than eighteen nor more than thirty years of age, at least two varas in height, and of healthy color and good presence, without marks of any kind on body or face.

Like Kentucky, Missouri, and all virgin lands where there are present no counteracting causes, California bred a fine race, notwithstanding the many race intermixtures. Says Bayard Taylor in 1846: "The Californians, as a race, are vastly superior to the Mexicans. They have larger frames, stronger muscle, and a fresh, ruddy complexion, entirely different from the sallow skins of the tierra caliente, or the swarthy features of those Bedouins of the west, the Sonorians. The families of pure Castilian blood resemble in features and build the descendants of the Valencians in Chile and Mexico, whose original physical superiority over the natives of the other provinces of Spain has not been obliterated by two hundred years of transplanting."

The first settlers were generally—with the exception of the governor, the missionaries, and a few of the officers, who were Spaniards—from Sonora, Sinaloa, and Nueva Vizcaya, and consequently of mixed race, those of pure Spanish blood being comparatively few.

The child of Spanish blood born in America is a *criollo;* the offspring of Spaniard and Indian, a *mestizo;* that of Spaniard and negro, a *mulato;* that of free negroes, a *moreno,* and of free mulatos, a *pardo;* that of negro and Indian, a *zambahigo, zambo,* or *cambujo;* that of Spaniard and mestizo, a *cuarteron;* that of Spaniard and mulato, a *lobo. Coyote* is a generic term applied, when human beings are referred to, to an Indian born in New Spain.

Even the non-commissioned officers were, to a considerable extent, of mixed lineage, and the wives of the soldiers were in many cases Indians. Single men on arriving in the country took to themselves wives from among the neophytes, in the absence of women of their own race, and their descendants continuing to intermarry, most of the *gente de razon,* or sentient beings—by which high-sounding designation these people of mixed lineage loved to distinguish themselves from their kinsmen among the neophytes and

the unconverted savages, even in the third generation—consisted of individuals of every conceivable gradation of mingled Spanish and Indian blood, at the same time taking great pride and comfort in considering themselves of pure Spanish descent.

Later, the class of immigrants from Mexico was, to a great extent, composed of men and women of mixed race. About 1830 there began to arrive Americans and Europeans, chiefly from Great Britain, who married women of the country; the mixture of races becoming in this way still more complicated, although the traces of Indian lineage gradually became less, until at the time of the American conquest they were scarcely perceptible.

The women of California were rather small; they were brunettes with fine black hair, good teeth, and generally well favored. They were remarkably fecund, and marrying as they did at an early age, at thirty a woman was generally the mother of five or six children, while families of twelve, or even twenty, were not uncommon, and in several instances this latter number was exceeded. In 1828 the births were to the deaths as three to one.

Why should it not be so? All else was fecund, while still the missionaries sang "and only man is vile." The mothers could usually count their children; with the fathers the task was more difficult. Some essayed to distinguish them all; others a part. Ignacio Vallejo counted 12 children; Joaquin Carrillo, 12; José de la Guerra, 10; José Argüello, 13; J. M. Pico, 9; Francisco Sepúlveda, 11; J. M. Ortega, 11; J. Bandini, 10; N. Berreyesa, 11; M. G. Vallejo, 12; Josefa Vallejo, 11; Fel. Soberanes, 10; J. A. Castro, 26. Juana Cota died leaving 500 descendants.

"A native was pointed out to me one day," says Taylor, "as the father of thirty-six children, twenty of whom were the product of his first marriage, and sixteen of his last. Another, who had been married twelve years, already counted as many heirs." Secun-

dino Robles got by one wife twenty-nine children. José María Martin Ortega was the oldest of twenty-one children, and himself the father of twenty-one. One of his sisters had twenty-two. The wife of J. A. Castro had twenty-six children; Mrs Hartnell had twenty-five. Lieutenant Wise met at Monterey a woman thirty-seven years old, the mother of nineteen children, and apparently able to have as many more. In the vicinity of Santa Bárbara were a couple of *gente del país* who in 1850 had seen before their eightieth year 105 children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. During the journey of the Híjar colonists to San Juan Bautista, one of the carts containing women and children was at a certain point upset; when righted, it was found that two more colonists had been added to the number, apparently as well as any of them. Since the conquest, the fecundity of women not native to the soil has been the subject of frequent remark. In 1848 there were born in Sonoma, then a hamlet consisting of some forty families, no less than nine pairs of twins and one set of triplets.

This prolificness was by every one attributed to the climate, or to the virtues of some particular spring. Women who for some years had borne no children on coming to California regained their fecundity, and those hitherto childless became fruitful.

When Mrs Benjamin Hayes, who was an invalid, came to Los Angeles in 1850, the native women expressed surprise that she had no children. "But never mind," they said in their kind-hearted efforts to comfort her, "California es muy fértil." And so the good woman soon found it to be.

But while the mixed race thus multiplied, the aboriginal lords of the land declined. Here as elsewhere those twin gifts of civilization to the red man, disease and distilled liquor, wrought their wonted ills; moreover, the Indian women, naturally not very fecund, sought to prevent childbirth by the use of the thorn-apple, this custom, perhaps, being also of comparatively recent introduction.

The Californians were moreover a long-lived people; well-authenticated cases of great longevity were not at all infrequent among the Indians as well as among those of mixed race. Many individuals reached the age of eighty or ninety, while the years of not a few have exceeded one hundred. Indeed, Father Martinez of San Miguel wrote that there were at that mission several Indian women of more than one hundred years of age. At Angeles Antonio Valdes died in 1859 at the age of ninety-two, and in 1858 Guadalupe Romero aged one hundred and fifteen. María Ignacia, an Indian woman, reached the age of ninety-six; Fernando and Plácido, Indians, were at the time of their death, respectively, one hundred and two and one hundred and thirty-seven years old. A short time before his decease, the latter had danced at a fandango. Crisóstomo Galindo was living in 1875 at the age of one hundred and three. María Marcelina Dominguez, on whose land the famous grape-vine of Santa Bárbara grew, died in 1865 aged one hundred and seven. Úrsula Madariaga, who was twelve years old when in 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from Mexico, died at Monterey in 1856. Justiniano Roxas, an Indian who died at Santa Cruz in 1875, was baptized at that mission in 1792; and in the entry of his baptism, it is noted by the officiating priest that he was then at least forty years of age. Eulal a Perez, who died in 1878, at the time of dictating her recollections in December 1877, laid claim to one hundred and thirty-nine years, but did not present any proofs. I saw her in 1874, and she certainly did not appear so aged. From my own observation, as well as from a careful consideration of the evidence, I am inclined to think that she was born not before 1760.

On the other hand, diseases of many kinds prevented a corresponding increase of population among the gente de razon, and ran riot among the neophytes. Of all these diseases, syphilis, in its many varied manifestations, was the most widely disseminated among

all classes and both races. It is impossible to determine whether or not in 1769 the evil already existed here; for it might well have been brought hither by the sailors of Cabrillo and Vizcaino; its existence, at some of the missions at least, dates from the arrival of Anza's expedition in 1776. The disease spread with frightful rapidity, and as early as 1805, syphilis, together with its legitimate offspring, scrofula and consumption, yearly caused the death of hundreds at the several missions, while the subsequent annual reports of the friars almost invariably give these diseases as the chief causes of death. "It is almost universal, both among Spaniards and Indians," says Langsdorff, "and occasions so much the greater devastation among them as they themselves resolutely reject all medical assistance for it." Rarely did a neophyte reach the age of sixteen without showing signs of the disease, while frequently the symptoms were present at birth, in such children as mothers did not, owing to their own diseased condition, abort. Many of the friars themselves, notably those of the college of Guadalupe, were contaminated, and many men of respectable position died of the effects of a disease by some considered incurable.

Other diseases, never entirely absent from the settlements and the missions, and frequently very fatal at the latter, were dysentery, catarrhal fevers, and pleurisy. These diseases, which seem to have been more prevalent at the beginning of the rainy season and just after the rains ceased, were aggravated by the want of cleanliness among the neophytes, as well as by their gluttony, added to a lack of care on the part of their ignorant associates, and the dangerously slight knowledge of medicine in almost all instances possessed by the friars, their only physicians.

Epidemic diseases, however, were not infrequent; and of these the most dreaded, although by no means the most fatal, was the small-pox, which on several occasions visited the country. In 1781 this disease is

said to have made its appearance among the children of the immigrants who came with Captain Rivera from Loreto. The party encamped about a league distant from the mission of San Gabriel, and remained there, presumably, until the disappearance of the symptoms, which, as they were confined to children, may have been like those of chicken-pox. Certainly the disease could not have been of an alarming type.

But early in 1798 the authorities were on the alert, and on the 9th of May the ship *Concepcion*, with several cases of small-pox on board, arrived at Santa Bárbara. The governor immediately ordered the vessel to be disinfected, and the passengers placed in quarantine for forty days. As the five sick persons recovered, and the infection did not spread, the commandant of the town, some three weeks after the vessel's arrival, in disregard of the governor's orders, released the passengers from quarantine. The governor was furious, and swore that should the disease gain footing in the country the commandant should hang for it, and that the representation which, signed by the friars and others who had landed from the ship as well as by the officers of the garrison, had been forwarded to the capital, would not suffice to shield him. Happily for all, the infection did not spread.

Early in May 1838, the small-pox, the appearance of which had been for months anticipated with dread, was brought from Ross to Sonoma by one Miramontes, a negro corporal of cavalry, and spread with frightful rapidity among the wild Indians, thousands of whom died. It is estimated that fully three fifths of the savage population of the Sacramento Valley were swept away. The infection does not seem to have spread south of Monterey, but everywhere it was very fatal among the Indians, while sparing the gente de razon.

Again, in May 1844, the same scourge made its appearance, brought from San Blas by the kanaka crew of the *California*. One man was put ashore at

Cape San Lúcas and died there; another died while the vessel lay at San Pedro, and a third died at sea before reaching Monterey. The other kanakas were nearly well when the schooner arrived at the latter place, and no one of her many passengers caught the infection. But the disease spread among the Indians at Monterey, it is said, from the clothing which Larkin, one of the passengers, gave to his servant to be washed. About one hundred Indians died, but only one person de razon. Considerable alarm was felt throughout the southern country, particularly at San Gabriel, owing to a venereal eruption, and at other places because of a kind of itch; but the disease was confined to Monterey.

A curious disease was that which afflicted many of the early missionaries. It was characterized by melancholy, nervous prostration, and finally perturbation of the intellect. In 1799 two insane friars were allowed to retire to their college; and within a few years previous to that time there had been several similar cases. Absence from the country invariably worked a cure.

As late as 1830 the Californians regarded consumption as contagious. When a person died of that disease, his clothing and effects were burned, and the walls of the room scraped and whitewashed. On one occasion, while governor Pablo Vicente de Sola ruled the Californians, a wealthy Spaniard died, leaving the whole of his property to the fondo piadoso de las Californias; but as he had been a consumptive, his furniture and clothing were consigned to the flames, and in the excitement the jewelry and money which he had willed to the fondo piadoso were lost or stolen. When the case was reported to Mexico, the president of the college of San Fernando, who had been made administrator of the property, began suit against the authorities of the then province of the Californias, from whom he claimed the full value of the property destroyed and stolen. The lawsuit lasted nearly twenty years,

and was finally decided against the priesthood in 1843 by Governor Micheltorena, who improved the opportunity for the purpose of giving to Bishop Garcia Diego, the first ecclesiastic who held that high office in this country, a lesson as to the loose manner in which the ministers of the altar attended to their duties.

In 1802, about the close of the rainy season, there appeared, notably at Monterey, La Soledad, and San Luis Obispo, an epidemic, of which the symptoms were a cough, pains in various parts of the body, and later fever, accompanied in the majority of cases by a stricture of the throat. This disease, very fatal at La Soledad but less so at other places, was attributed to a change of temperature, and in the opinion of ecclesiastics and laymen alike, yielded to prayer rather than to human remedies. It is a pity that all diseases will not yield to prayer, and death also, and all other infelicities; but how then would heaven be peopled?

Langsdorff heard of a disease at San José called the *latido*, which was confined to adults. It began by a pulsation in the lower belly, which constantly increased; pains were felt in that region, and in the neck, as though a string were drawn tightly over those parts; loss of appetite was attended by sickness and an indurated condition of the belly; cramps were frequent, and even in male patients hysterical affections. The sufferer might linger, but gradually wasted away and died. No satisfactory cause was assigned to this disease.

In 1819, no supplies having arrived from Mexico during a period of several months, a plague of lice came upon the troops at San Francisco, who were put to great shift for want of clothing, and were in consequence unable to keep themselves clean. Any one passing the door of the guard-house was immediately covered by these insects, for the wind carried them hither and thither. Bathing in the sea and boiling

their garments gave some relief, or rather a respite; but the annoyance continued until in 1820 trade with the Russians opened.

Toward the close of November 1832, an epidemic, the nature of which is not specified, appeared at Angeles, and although not fatal, was so prevalent that it was necessary to postpone for some three weeks a primary election ordered to be held on the first Sunday in December; for meanwhile not only were the four judges of election unable to serve, but scarcely a voter could leave his house. A person signing himself Trapper says that he was in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys in 1832, when they were crowded with Indians, and again in the following year, when a fearful visitation of remittent fever, more violent than any recorded in their traditions, had caused the almost utter annihilation of these people.

At the missions, and sometimes among the gente de razon, the greatest devastation was caused by the measles. In 1806 this disease, hitherto unknown in the country, raged for many months, and carried off the neophytes by scores. Almost all the pregnant women affected by it miscarried, and nearly all the children at the more northern missions died. The gente de razon who fell ill on this occasion almost invariably recovered, while the disease did not spread among the gentiles. In 1827–8, however, the havoc wrought by this disease was more wide-spread, though not as great. On this occasion many children de razon also were victims.

At the missions, a variety of causes contributed to a mortality among the Indians about this time, perhaps unequalled in any country. The following table of the death-rate among the neophytes, from the first occupation of the country until the secularization of the missions, has been carefully made up from the statistical tables printed in another part of this series:

Year	Ad'lts	Child.	Both	Year	Ad'lts	Child.	Both	Year	Ad'lts	Child.	Both
	%	%	%		%	%	%		%	%	%
1769	5.55	20.00	8.69	1791	5.84	10.00	7.39	1813	5.32	14.86	7.08
1770	6.12	14.28	7.21	1792	6.42	10.64	7.85	1814	5.43	13.15	6.82
1771	8.14	13.13	9.68	1793	3.99	12.77	6.77	1815	7.02	15.77	8.54
1772	8.00	12.95	9.48	1794	4.20	14.44	6.56	1816	6.10	16.00	8.28
1773	6.14	10.62	7.53	1795	5.18	19.44	8.44	1817	6.37	14.98	8.03
1774	7.00	8.87	7.64	1796	6.27	19.74	9.16	1818	6.28	15.40	8.06
1775	6.97	10.57	8.09	1797	4.97	14.15	7.05	1819	5.37	14.16	7.13
1776	4.72	6.13	5.17	1798	5.46	15.77	7.80	1820	5.56	12.67	6.98
1777	6.65	14.25	8.66	1799	5.15	26.84	9.65	1821	5.31	14.23	7.06
1778	6.22	10.38	7.52	1800	7.12	15.82	9.13	1822	6.17	17.46	8.39
1779	6.15	10.19	7.45	1801	7.02	14.63	8.87	1823	5.01	15.00	6.95
1780	5.23	9.12	6.60	1802	8.97	15.66	10.45	1824	5.81	11.18	6.87
1781	5.84	11.71	7.79	1803	5.71	15.46	7.84	1825	6.83	12.85	7.97
1782	4.44	10.04	6.31	1804	6.28	20.66	9.01	1826	5.70	9.55	6.57
1783	4.46	9.67	6.16	1805	5.53	16.09	7.61	1827	6.05	15.50	7.95
1784	4.24	7.12	5.10	1806	13.50	32.34	17.02	1828	7.17	21.37	9.87
1785	3.39	6.74	4.46	1807	5.91	14.01	7.54	1829	5.37	9.68	6.23
1786	5.20	9.26	6.55	1808	5.65	14.53	7.31	1830	4.18	7.54	4.79
1787	3.85	8.14	5.31	1809	4.96	14.74	6.76	1831	5.38	7.48	5.79
1788	5.03	9.41	6.67	1810	5.36	12.41	6.65	1832	7.10	7.76	7.23
1789	6.02	8.93	7.65	1811	5.92	15.57	7.64	1833	6.01	10.93	7.07
1790	8.18	7.97	8.09	1812	6.06	14.59	7.68	1834	5.02	9.37	5.98

For 66 years, average, adults 5.93%, children 13.29%, both 7.60%.

Men and women, even of a people so abject as were the Indians of California, born to a freedom for countless generations enjoyed by their kindred, cannot easily be reduced, without suffering by it, to a condition of quasi slavery, such as was in effect the lot of the mission neophytes, whose very children were something less than their kinsmen of the woods. Enfeebled also by unaccustomed labor and unwonted diet, at times insufficient, but not infrequently, because of their unbridled gluttony, excessive, as well as by inadequately ventilated and unclean sleeping apartments, they fell an easy prey to diseases more fatal than any hitherto known among them, and to which their naturally filthy personal habits and mode of living rendered them highly susceptible. Ignorance on the part of mothers, added to a want of proper care, at times becoming criminal inhumanity, tended to increase the mortality among children. Moreover, there was, throughout the entire country, a lamentable want of medical aid, especially at the missions, where there was available only the empiric skill of the

friars, or the equally dangerous practice of the native medicine-men. Among the neophytes there seems to have been a marked failure of female offspring, due to some natural law, or possibly, in great part, to the deliberate intention of infanticidal mothers. At all the missions, the number of males was excessive, and raids similar to that recorded in Roman history were encouraged by the ministers themselves for the purpose of supplying the needed wives. From the earliest times, the frightful mortality at the missions, especially those of the north, and notably San Francisco and Santa Clara, attracted the attention of the authorities, civil and ecclesiastic. The excess of deaths over births was always great, and, as I have said, the deficit was made good by conversions, sometimes by forcible abduction, among the neighboring free Indians.

It is true that a surgeon accompanied an early expedition to Monterey; but he became demented on arriving, and was unable even to put proper labels on the packages of medicines which had been brought for distribution to the different missions. Later there was a surgeon almost constantly under pay, as well as a phlebotomist, but they were attached to the Monterey presidial company, and rarely absented themselves from the capital, at times absolutely refusing to do so. Herewith I give a list of surgeons:

Name.	Rank.	Term of Service.	Pay.	Remarks.
Pedro Prat	Surgeon	1769–1771	.....	Demented in 1770; died in Mex.
Pedro Castan	Surgeon	1773–1774	.....	Ad interim.
José Davila	Surgeon	1774–1783	.....	Discharged.
Manuel Moreno	Surgeon	1785	.....	Ordered to Cal.; did not come.
Pedro Carbajal	Surgeon	1785–1787	.....	Acting at various times.
Pablo Soler	Surgeon	1791–1800	$840	Resigned.
José Castillo	Phlebotomist.	1792–1818	$360	
Juan de Dios Morelos	Surgeon	1800–1802	.....	Relieved.
Manuel Torres	Surgeon	1802–1803	$650	Resigned.
José María Benites	Surgeon	1803–1807	* $550	Exchanged with Quijano.
Manuel Quijano	Surgeon	1807–1824	$1,000	
J. Evan. Perez de Leon	Surgeon	1829	$1,500	
A. Gonz. del Castillo	Surgeon	1830	.....	Ordered to Cal.; did not come.
Manuel de Alva	Surgeon	1831–1840	$1,500	Retired on sick certificate.
Manuel Crespo	Phlebotomist.	1832	$360	
Edward Bale	Surgeon	1840–1843	$840	Resigned.
Faustino Moro		1844	$1,413	

* In 1804 was increased to $1,000 per annum. From 1771 until 1773, and again from 1783 to 1785 there was no surgeon in the service.

In 1804 the viceroy, in view of the alarming mortality at the missions, increased the pay of the surgeon, with the understanding that he should each year make a tour of the country for the purpose of sending to Mexico a report concerning the diseases of the gente de razon, as well as those of the neophytes, their causes and treatment. These orders were repeated in the following year, the bishop of Sonora also interesting himself in the matter, and Surgeon Benitez made a tour of inspection to the northward of Monterey, and to the southward as far as San Luis Obispo. The results of his observations he embodied in a long and able report. No other extended tour seems to have been made, either by him or by his successors; after two or three years, the custom appears to have fallen into abeyance, and was never revived by the Mexican government, except on one occasion. Indeed, with the single exception of Benitez, the surgeons appear to have possessed but little professional skill, while some of them lacked proper professional titles. No man of parts seemed to be willing to come to California, notwithstanding the government's offer of additional pay, while not even an increase of pay, amounting to more than fifty per cent, proved an inducement sufficient to retain competent men. These men, moreover, constantly complained of the denial of perquisites and privileges which they deemed their due.

Later, the country was still without medical men, and in 1829, Echeandía reported that there were none in the territory, unless two or three quacks might be so considered. Afterward, and previous to 1846, a limited number of quasi physicians, chiefly foreigners, practised at various places, and the surgeons of foreign war vessels were frequently called upon. Francisco Torres, a Mexican, was in practice at Monterey in 1835; John Marsh obtained a license to practise medicine at Angeles, February 25, 1836; Nicholas Den was practising at Santa Bárbara; Edward Bale, an Englishman, came before 1837; Robert Money, a

Scotchman, with no diploma or medical knowledge, practised medicine at Angeles in 1844. Hartnell, in a letter to Wyllie, 1844, says that a young Irish surgeon had just settled at Angeles, and that a surgeon for the troops was about to arrive from Mexico, but that there were no physicians or even apothecaries in the country. At Monterey, in March 1846, John Townsend and Andrés Castillero, the latter not a medical man, signed a certificate of ill health as 'profesores de medicina.' In June 1846, Francisco de la Guerra writes from Santa Bárbara to the governor, that for want of good medical men in the country he has been obliged to employ the surgeon of a British war vessel.

The results of the practice of the friars at their missions gave greater force to the time-honored custom of the Indians, who almost invariably preferred their own medicine-men; so that not infrequently the missionaries, with politic shrewdness, comprehending their own weakness, wisely abandoned their field to their more successful fellow-practitioners whenever the treatment consisted in the employment of simples, as was usually the case, severely punishing nevertheless all cases of sorcery that came within their knowledge.

As late as 1828 the corporal of the guard at Santa Inés reported to his commanding officer at Santa Bárbara that three of the neophytes of that mission made a practice of dancing in one of the houses of the ranchería, and of bringing thither those of their comrades who were dangerously sick; the latter being informed that each one who had danced should contribute beads or some other offering, in order that the dance might find favor in the eyes of the devil, and they in consequence be healed. The culprits were imprisoned on a charge of sorcery, and admitting the charge, were sentenced by their minister to be whipped and remanded to prison. The commandant ordering an investigation, it appeared that the dancing took place on two several occasions, and that the sorcery consisted in touching the sick with feathers as our priests touch

persons with holy water, the medicine-men meanwhile dancing. On the second occasion, some of the by-standers ridiculed the proceedings, and one of the prisoners threatened to bring about the death of the skeptics by means of a composition of herbs. The prisoners were kept closely confined for some fourteen months, when it was ordered by the commandant-general, to whom the matter had been referred, that in consideration of this fact, one of them should be released, while the others should, in the presence of the assembled neophytes, receive twenty-five blows each.

In certain cases, especially for the treatment of arrow-wounds, the gente de razon depended almost entirely upon the skill of their Indian dependents. These men, conscious of their power, at times giving their services only after much entreaty, cured or killed as it happened. Even as late as 1844 these Indian practitioners were in great demand, and were, no doubt, for the most part as good as any.

Drugs of various kinds for distribution among the missions were brought by the surgeon who accompanied the first expedition, and afterward a fresh supply was from time to time sent from Mexico; sometimes the stock on hand was excessive, but much more frequently there were scant supplies or none at all, while generally their quality was none of the best.

The remedies most in vogue were the simples which grew in every garden in the land. Upon these they depended rather than upon the drugs of which the use was not well understood. A decoction of borage leaves was very efficacious in catarrh, influenza, and the like. In 1814 a tree resembling the cinchona was found in abundance at Quiniado, near San Antonio; the bark was used as a febrifuge, but being sent to Spain for examination, was found not to contain quinine sufficient to make it valuable. For the itch, baths were given. The thermal waters of San Diego, Santa Bárbara, and San Juan Capistrano were frequently

resorted to. Until they saw the Spaniards use these baths the Indians would not do so; for having seen in them dead birds and the like, they feared their effect. The virtues attributed to the water of the spring called Polin have already been alluded to, and are also spoken of by Sanchez. In various diseases, mint was a favorite remedy. Plenty of vegetable food was recommended by Surgeon Benites. In 1802, after an epidemic had raged unchecked for three months at Monterey, prayer proved an effective remedy. In 1860 a clove of garlic, applied by Mrs Estudillo to the third finger of the left hand of Judge Hayes, while causing pain and raising a blister, cured the toothache. In 1817 Father Suñer had satisfied himself that the chief cause of death among the neophytes was the weaving of woollen garments, for the sweat of these people, being very viscid, was with difficulty washed from them, and that the remedy lay in the cultivation of hemp and flax. In 1823 Father Gil opined, with considerable reason, if the reports touching his own condition were true, that for *gálico* there was no other remedy than the providence of God. This opinion Father Abella supplemented by saying that the Indians did not care for their health, but like every son of Adam, pined for freedom and women. Bleeding was resorted to in cases of pleurisy.

The most extraordinary remedies are those mentioned in a little book called *Botica General de los Remedios Experimentados*, reprinted from the Cádiz edition, and published, in all seriousness, by M. G. Vallejo at Sonoma in 1838. Each remedy had been carefully tested by experience, many of them bringing to mind those of the Chinese pharmacopœia, while some appear to have been in vogue among birds. The date of the publication is a sufficient comment on the condition of medical science in California at that time. The last remedy of the list is not the least curious. It reads thus: For impaired eye-sight, do as the swallow does—bruise the leaves of swallow-wort and anoint the

eyes with the juice. For earache, fill the ears with 'orines propios calientes.' For constipation, imitate the ibis, and use a clyster of salt water. An agreeable remedy was a decoction of red wine and rosemary, which was prescribed for weakness, and was said to be very comforting, while as a wash, it preserved beauty and banished wrinkles. A glassful of sugar water, with the unimportant addition of a like quantity of aguardiente, whenever one felt inclined, gladdened the heart, purified the blood, was exceedingly good for the head and stomach, cleansed the spleen, and opened the appetite. The toothache was cured by carrying in the mouth the eye-tooth of a man, or that of a black dog. Cancer yielded to a wash distilled from wine in which rosemary leaves and flowers had been boiled. Pleurisy was cured by 'excremento del caballo reciente,' dissolved in wine, and well strained; and the same liquor taken internally aided difficult parturition. A remedy that should be recorded in letters of gold was the following: Take a radish cut in four pieces, and two drams of powdered broom seed; put them in half a pint of white wine to which a few drops of lime-juice had been added, and leave them there for twenty-four hours. This draught would dissolve a stone in the bladder, though it were as big as a lemon. Chicken stewed in wine cured catarrh, and eggs boiled in vinegar the dysentery. That the colic may never return, drink for several successive days a decoction of mint, and be bled at the wane of the moon in May, or drink daily some aguardiente with a fresh egg in it. For the bloody flux, use a clyster of the blood of a sucking pig. For kidney complaints, eat four ounces of fresh butter, and immediately afterward drink half a pint of white wine. Scorbutic tumors were dissolved by the application of cloths moistened in a liquor distilled from vipers. For erysipelas, sprinkle the face with the fresh blood of a black hen, and tie to the neck a twig of broom. For jaundice, eat radishes and sugar, and place over the

heart a poultice of the same in a cloth dyed with cochineal; this is also a cure for melancholy. For excessive vomiting apply to the pit of the stomach a cataplasm of roast pork and veal. Wash the swellings produced by chilblains with water in which sardines have been cooked. Powdered soot, sage, and salt, mixed with the white of an egg, and bound around the wrists, will prevent a continuance of fever and ague. Powdered mustard seed, well sifted and used as snuff—in moderation though, for the habit grows upon one—will enable one to comprehend more in an hour than others who do not know the remedy can in a day.

As may readily be supposed, no judicious system of treatment was possible among a rude people abhorring national cures, and whose diseases, when not inevitable, seemed almost to be sought. And as to the practitioners of medicine themselves, there seemed to be exercised but little supervision. In early times, military surgeons were by royal edict compelled to give immediate notice to the civil authorities of any case wherein their services were required. The first omission to do so was punished by a fine of twenty-five dollars; a second offence by a fine of double that amount, and banishment for two years to a distance of twenty leagues; a third transgression by a fine of one hundred dollars, and four years in the chain-gang. But this regulation fell into disuse. In fact, it seemed to be the general opinion that the use of medicines was injurious rather than useful, their abuse tending even to retard the desired increase of population. The alcalde of Santa Bárbara, in a report made to the governor, in July 1834, thought that the empirical practice of such physicians as were then in the country had shown that they were not only unnecessary, but prejudicial to the propagation of the human race.

As is to this day generally the case in Spanish America, to be of Anglo-Saxon race was tantamount to being a physician, and much evil was wrought in Califronia by American and British pretenders.

So crying an evil had the quackery of these men become, that in 1844 the governor decreed that any one pretending to practice medicine or surgery should, previous to receiving a license from an ayuntamiento or judge, produce documentary proof that he was what he claimed to be. The decree also regulated the price of the medicines furnished, and the amount of the fee which might be demanded. Disobedience was punished by fine, and continued transgression by expulsion from the place where the culprit resided.

From the earliest times the neophytes, seeing that the gente de razon possessed no knowledge even of the diseases introduced by themselves, manifested great repugnance to the treatment prescribed at the missions, and in these cases, refusing to submit thereto, held to their own traditional remedies in all complaints of which they had a knowledge. Their chief remedy for all ills was the temescal, to the use of which the most strenuous objection was made by the civil authorities, as well as the missionaries, who often ordered the temescales to be destroyed; but the Indians as frequently reconstructed them in out-of-the-way places, so that finally a compromise was effected, by which the neophytes were allowed to use the temescal in the presence of a watchman, who prevented the subsequent bathing in cold water. The friars also generally adopted the use of the simples employed by the Indians, from motives of policy, or because experience showed them that such remedies were really serviceable. In cases of arrow-wounds, the gente de razon gladly submitted to the Indian treatment.

José María Amador, a noted Indian-fighter, had during a certain expedition received four arrow-wounds, which were both dangerous and painful, and received treatment at the hands of an Indian, who brought from the woods a root, red in color and some eight inches long, called yerba de jarazo; another of about the same size, and although of a yellowish color, believed to be of the same family; and a third root which

was long, delicate, and fragile. After chewing the red root, the Indian applied it to the wounds, at the same time giving to Amador the third root, with orders to chew it and swallow the juice. He did so, and the blood flowed very freely from the wounds, which had been opened and enlarged by the application referred to. The Indian, with wooden pinchers, then removed the arrow-heads, which had remained in the flesh, an extremely painful operation, causing the wounded man to swoon. The yellow root was then applied as the yerba de jarazo had been. Amador was then carried to his home, and receiving no further treatment, was within a month well of his wounds, and entirely sound. Perhaps if left alone, he might have been well in a fortnight. Palomares, in like circumstances, experienced similar treatment at the hands of an Indian, who moreover, in order to aid in cleansing the wounds, sucked from them the coagulated blood.

Sanitary precautions were from time to time ordered by the home government, and later by the local authorities. In 1785 the viceregal government transmitted to Monterey twenty copies of a treatise on small-pox, which had been sent from Spain, and ordered their distribution among the people of California, and in 1797 the viceroy ordered that precautions against that disease, then prevailing in Oajaca, should be enforced.

These instructions were of the following tenor: Each settlement should have a pest-house at a sufficient distance from all dwellings, and taking into consideration the prevailing winds, to leeward. Immediate notice of any case of disease to be given to the nearest magistrate. Magistrates were to divide the settlements into districts, a strict quarantine to be maintained as to those infected. In the event of a pest-house being occupied, the atmosphere in its neighborhood was to be purified by means of bonfires. Letters from such a district were

to be disinfected with fumes of sulphur, and the mail-carrier was to wear linen clothing, which he should remove before entering a place not infected. When it had been found impossible to prevent infection by other means, then vaccination was to be resorted to. If the disease became general, charitable societies were to be formed. Those who died of small-pox were to be buried in retired places, and under no circumstances in the usual cemeteries. Prayers, the most efficacious of all remedies, were to be addressed to God, to his most holy mother, and to his saints, if haply all of them together might successfully cope with Satan in this matter. In case of any emergency, justices might for necessary expenses have recourse to the public funds. Finally, clergymen, magistrates, and others in authority were to adopt such further sanitary measures as under the circumstances should seem proper.

When in the year following the *Concepcion* brought the small-pox to California, these precautions were, to the extent that was necessary, adopted. Again, in 1840, the government sent instructions for the treatment of small-pox, which were put in practice four years later.

In June 1844, a committee of citizens requested the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles to issue a decree on the subject, and early in the following month the asked for action was taken. The number of watchmen was increased. These men were to see that water for drinking was clean; that only healthy cattle were slaughtered for food; that all offal was removed from the precincts of the town, and that meat was kept in well-ventilated places; that no tavern-keeper should permit the assemblage of drunkards and vagabonds, under penalty of five dollars for the first offence, and double that amount for the second, while for the third his place should be closed by the alcalde; that unripe fruit was not sold; that vessels arriving at San Pedro from infected places should be quarantined; that no infected person should come

within four leagues of the town, and that other persons coming from infected places should be detained at a like distance for three days, and compelled to wash their clothing; that citizens should be recommended to bathe frequently and keep their houses clean, to abstain from the use of chile and other stimulating food, and to thoroughly wash corned beef before cooking it; that all dwellings should be daily fumigated with sulphur or sprinkled with vinegar. This decree should be read at every dwelling in the place.

Early in 1805 the president of the missions received from the bishop of Sonora an intimation to the effect that the king had sent to New Spain an expedition under his physician, Balmis, for the purpose of introducing vaccination, and the friars were instructed to allay any unfounded prejudice against its use, but no vaccine matter was sent to California. In 1806 cow-pox appeared in the cattle, and inoculation was at first practised with considerable success, but exemption from danger soon produced carelessness. Vaccination proper does not seem to have been introduced until 1817, when some lymph was brought by a Spaniard named José Verdia, and a little later by the surgeon of a Russian war vessel. Again, in 1821, the surgeon of a Russian war vessel, the *Kutusoff*, presented the governor with some vaccine matter which he had brought from Lima; but it had lost its virtue. In 1823 orders were sent from Mexico that vaccine lymph should be properly preserved in vials, or that a constant succession of matter should at public expense be maintained in healthy children. This decree, however, seems to have been inoperative, and a few years later the governor ordered the commandants of the presidios to use every endeavor for the procurement of good matter, and wrote to the authorities of Tepic requesting that some might be sent to him. In 1829 the Russians, for the third time, acted a neighborly part, and left at San Diego and Monterey some vials of lymph, which proved a timely gift. In later

years there were periodical flutters of apprehension, as in 1840 and in 1844, regarding the small-pox, but there seems to have been no lack of vaccine matter.

Sanitary measures were taken also in 1833, when considerable alarm was felt lest cholera-morbus, which had appeared at Chiapas, should visit the territory. In December of that year the governor published a circular issued by the secretary of state, which advocated the wearing of a small plate or medal of copper next the skin as a guard against infection, and ordered that the precautions indicated by Surgeon Álva should be observed. Certain additional precautions were decreed by the governor himself. Cleanliness of houses, streets, and public buildings was made obligatory. Cemeteries were to be established when necessary. At the missions the friars were to see that the order was obeyed. No one was to be out of doors after eight o'clock at night, save in case of necessity; and those found at balls, or frequenting taverns and like resorts, should be condemned to four days' labor on the public works. Under a penalty of six dollars for disobedience, liquor could be sold only between the hours of eleven in the morning and three in the afternoon. Houses were to be fumigated, and bonfires lighted. Corpses were to be buried within twenty-four hours after death, but at the same time precautions against premature burial were to be observed. Graves were to be at least two varas and a half in depth. On the decease of a person, no tolling of bells was to be allowed, nor any other noisy demonstrations. The use of fat meats and watery vegetables was prohibited. In Monterey patients who had no facilities for being treated at home were to be removed to the hospital. At Los Angeles the ayuntamiento was directed to take the necessary steps. The following precautions were adopted at the presidios: Cleanliness was ordered; floors when swept were to be but slightly sprinkled; the men were to be well protected by clothing; the sale of liquor and fruit at or near the

barracks was prohibited; food was to be served in vessels of clay; the rations were to be of rice, beans, vermicelli, mutton, and veal; lime or charcoal to be thrown into the sinks; every night the quarters to be fumigated by burning a mixture of salt and vinegar; the men were warned against liquor and women.

In 1844, when similar alarm was felt, the commandant of Monterey caused some guns to be fired, thereby meriting a reproof from the governor, who thought that, as the cholera did not actually exist in the country, the precaution was needless. In 1847 the ayuntamiento of Angeles ordered, as a sanitary measure, that all offal should be burned.

Extraordinary sanitary precautions were practised at Monterey after the death of Commandant Sal in 1800. He died of phthisis, believed to be very infectious; and by direction of Surgeon Morelos, steps were taken to guard against any spreading of the disease. The roof, doors, and windows of the house in which he died were burned; the bricks of the floor were removed, and the surface of the walls was cut away. Four months after Sal's death the building was still in this condition. The greater part of the furniture and all clothing used by him were also burned.

This does not seem, however, to have been at all an exceptional case, for a few months later, two women having died of phthisis at Santa Bárbara, the governor directed that their clothing should be burned, the walls picked, the lock and key of the door cleansed by fire, and the places where they had slept fumigated.

From time to time quarantines were established for certain specific purposes. In 1781 Rivera's expedition from Loreto was compelled to remain for some time encamped at the distance of a league from the mission of San Gabriel, as it was feared that it might have brought small-pox from Lower California. In this case, there seems to have been no cause for alarm. In May 1797, thirty-four persons suffering from scurvy

landed from the *Princesa* at Santa Bárbara, and although this disease is neither contagious nor infectious, they were lodged in a building apart from others, and no intercourse with the inhabitants permitted. In the autumn of that year, orders were sent from Mexico requiring a quarantine to be established as to vessels infected with small-pox, and early in the following year the *Concepcion*, which with small-pox on board arrived at Santa Bárbara, was quarantined.

At the missions hospitals for the use of the neophytes were early established, but do not appear to have answered the purpose for which they were intended. Until 1833 there seem to have been no public hospitals in the country; but toward the close of that year, when it was feared that cholera morbus might become epidemic, the governor, in accordance with orders from Mexico, decreed that a provisional hospital should be established at Monterey at the expense of the general government. In 1837 the military hospital at Monterey was reorganized by a decree of the president. This hospital was rated as of the second class. Its director was to be the surgeon appointed in accordance with the law of 1828, who was to have two assistant practitioners; the number of nurses was to be proportionate to that of the beds occupied.

In May 1844, the small-pox was brought to Monterey. On the 28th the ayuntamiento determined to establish a hospital for poor patients. A board of health composed of prominent citizens met and drew up rules for its government, which the next day were submitted to a meeting, called by the governor, and composed of the ayuntamiento, the officers of the garrison, and the heads of families residing at the capital, by which they were approved. This board of health consisted of Larkin, Spence, Watson, and Osio, presided over by Serrano. A house in the outskirts was taken at a monthly rental of eight dollars. Any poor person was to be admitted, and food and medicine to

be distributed to those for whom there was no room. The care of sailors who might be admitted was to be paid for by the master of the vessel or the respective consul. Two nurses were appointed, and a corporal and four men were to give burial to such patients as should die. There being no physician, a committee was empowered to establish a rational mode of treatment. On motion of the governor, another committee was appointed to solicit pecuniary aid. The ayuntamiento resolved to pay for the lighting of the building, and to give boards and hides, no better material being available, for beds. A committee appointed at the meeting referred to collected funds. The government agreed to give $125 monthly during the continuance of the epidemic; Micheltorena individually gave twenty-five; the bishop, twenty-five; Larkin, five; and twenty-eight others from one to four dollars each —all on the same condition. The total monthly amount promised was $249. The residents of Monterey gave what bedding they were able to spare. This hospital was visited at least twice a day by a member of the board of health, and visits were also made by the governor and his wife. About this same time a hospital had been established at Angeles, but was soon found to be unnecessary.

In 1845 the general government decreed that two per cent of the net yield of fines imposed upon smugglers, and of the amounts accruing from the sale of smuggled goods that were confiscated, should be set aside for hospitals of charity.

After the death of an individual, whatever might have been his position, for a shroud the corpse was clothed in a Franciscan habit—of greater merit were it an old one of one of the padre missionaries. While the patient was dying, this was spread over him as a coverlet, for it was believed that thus the matter of indulgences would be facilitated. The relatives and friends of the dying man were, in great numbers, assembled in or near the house, and prayers were continuous.

Shortly after death the corpse was clothed in the Franciscan habit, and laid on the floor with a stone under the head, and with four candles about it. Then all the town, with few exceptions, were obliged to pay a visit to the corpse and take part in the prayers, which were continued at short intervals until the burial took place, being also accompanied with sundry mournful alabados shouted in chorus, which were alone sufficient to inspire melancholy.

The corpse was at the proper time placed on a table covered with a black cloth, which was borne by four persons, who were from time to time relieved. The priest and his acolytes preceded the corpse, and at certain distances paused in order to chant the proper portions of the ritual.

On reaching the church, the proper mass was said or sung, according to the sum which the family chose to spend. This ceremony concluded, the cortége proceeded, in the same order, to the cemetery, where the body was encoffined, the coffin having hitherto been carried on in the rear. The padre recited the final prayers for the dead, and the coffin was placed in the sepulchre. As the family of the deceased, as well as every one else, including women and children, accompanied the deceased to his grave, the weeping and lamenting was great.

When the head of a family died, its members, even those living at a distance, were obliged to take part in the obsequies. Occasionally, in order to await their arrival, the corpse was kept unburied for two or three days. The death of a small child was an occasion for rejoicing rather than one of mourning, and there was a ball, accompanied by eating and drinking, rockets, and the firing of muskets; for it was thought that the souls of young children went directly to heaven. The little corpse was dressed to represent an angel, usually the patron saint of the child.

José de Jesus Vallejo, dictating to Cerruti, says: "With reference to the appointment of Doctor Bale,

chief physician of the Californian army, I will say that those who criticised it showed bad taste, because the northern part of New California was continually exposed to the attacks of the Indians, and we had no other physician than the Indian Petronío, who cured his friends and killed his enemies. The scarcity of doctors among us was so great that, as far back as 1844, when near my estate, a soldier named Francisco Soto accidentally shot himself, I sent two Indians to Sonoma to escort Doctor Petronío to San José; but the proud infidel refused to accede to my request, and sent me word that he would not move one inch unless Castro should come in person to solicit his assistance. My emissaries returned to San José, reported to Castro what Petronío had said, and that officer without delay mounted his horse and rode to Sonoma to beg the Indian to come and cure his wounded soldier and relative. Petronío at first refused, but after a while he acceded to his petition, and returned with him to San José, where he restored his health to the wounded man by means of herbs whose virtue to him only was known."

Híjar states that when an adult died the body was placed on a table or on the ground, with four lights. There were fires outside—at which the watchers were eating and drinking brandy. Some remained with the dead telling their beads, who were relieved by others, so that the praying was kept up the whole night. In due time the body was placed in a coffin, and borne on the shoulders of men to the church. On placing the corpse in the grave, the priest took a handful of earth and threw it upon the coffin, an act which the nearest relatives, and then the friends, followed. The sexton thereupon filled up the grave.

If the family had means, an old robe was bought of the padres, at more than twice the price of a new one, and in this the body was enveloped. Under other circumstances, a robe of blue stuff was made. If poverty was extreme, the body was interred without

shroud or coffin. The responses of the padre over the body had to be paid for, hence the poor received no prayers.

The city of Los Angeles had constructed a cemetery at its own expense, and presented it to the church on the 2d of November, 1844, on condition that there should be no charge for burial from Angeles people. The bishop objected to a hampering clause, and claimed that the property fell to the church by the act of consecration. This was referred to the committee on police, which said that it considered it wrong to deprive an owner of his property merely because a religious rite is performed over it. The bishop's permission to erect the cemetery was not called for; it was a needed public measure. The ground and buildings having been erected by the Angeleans, they could fix a condition of exemption from tax. What had the church contributed?

The ayuntamiento of Monterey in 1835 appointed a commission to select a burial ground for foreigners separate from that for resident catholics. The alcalde Soberanes of Monterey one day received notice that there was a man lying dead in the house of Joaquin Gomez. The corpse was that of Hilario Ortiz, and the alcalde sent notice to Padre Real to bury it. The good father, learning that Ortiz died of excess of drink, ordered his carcass to be buried in the woods.

On 31st of July, 1839, the cemetery at Monterey was consecrated, having been in use since 1770. It was 60 varas square; the wall was built by the convicts, under the auspices of Alvarado, and the more immediate direction of Spence, who obtained permission to select a spot for his family, and improve it, and it should always be known as belonging to him.

The unventilated sleeping halls at the missions was one of the causes of the enormous death rate, and there were no remedies. One third of the population died in infancy, one third before puberty, the last third was left in bad health.

I saw a letter from J. Carrillo to José de la Guerra, informing him when his wife's funeral was to take place. On the margin of the letter was a narrow piece of black ribbon, fastened with a wafer, signifying that the writer was in mourning. Red and black are the colors of the Devil and Death; yet Death himself is white, and the Devil is not always so fiery red as he is painted.

CHAPTER XXI.

BANDITTI.

Three merry boys, and three merry boys,
And three merry boys are we,
As ever did sing in a hempen string
Under the gallows-tree.

—*Fletcher.*

There seems to be a prejudice in some quarters against the profession of highwayman. It is not enough that the knight of the road be well-bred, polite in his dealings with men, chivalrous to the fair sex, faithful to his associates in business, true to all his compacts with his customers, benevolent to the poor, pious and penitent on all stated church occasions, an affectionate husband, kind father, and useful member of society. It has become the custom of our refined and discriminating civilization, when such a person is caught to kill him; for which reason many good men have been kept out of the profession, and have in consequence fallen into evil ways.

This is all the more singular when there are throughout the land so many meaner kinds of thievery which people seem to think little of. It is meaner thievery to betray a trust in friendship or business; to cheat in one's dealings; to buy goods and not pay for them; to adulterate food, drink, or medicines; to filch a neighbor's good name; to blackmail for purposes of gain or to increase the circulation of a newspaper. It is meaner thievery to give or accept a bribe; to get control of the food supply and make the poor pay an exorbitant price for bread; to build a railroad with the people's money, and then run it

to further bleed the people, unjustly discriminating, buying off healthy competition, and closing all other avenues of approach. It is meaner thievery for manipulators of stocks to extract money from people's pockets through false representations and chicanery; or for lawyers to sell their services to defeat the ends of justice; or for administrators to defraud widows and orphans by means of the machinery of the probate court; or for a judge to be influenced by a desire for popularity or reëlection. Commerce, politics, and conventional society have their banditti, scourging all who fall within their reach; and while these go unhanged the punishment of the lesser villain should be light. There are a thousand worse kinds of wickedness than the highwayman's, which the law never thinks of touching or society of condemning. On the contrary, he who legally cheats, swindles, steals, or betrays a friend, and does it successfully, making sufficient money or fame thereby, is a good and great man, whom men praise and women adore. Beside many of our so-called respectable members of society the highway robber is a nobleman, as illustrated by the very pleasant fiction of Robin Hood, in his forest of Sherwood, who stole only from fat priests, peculating officials, and those avaricious money-grinds who preyed upon the weak under cover of the law, being too cowardly to take the risk of breaking it. And were it possible to-day to send out upon the king's highway, there to meet their victims and openly prosecute their callings, all those who thus legitimately cheat their neighbors by superior cunning and perverting the righteous action of the law, or who resort to the thousand grand and petty infamies common in the great and universal struggle for riches, there would not be enough of us left in town to fill a third rate church on Sunday.

But neither Joaquin Murieta nor Tiburcio Vazquez were Robin Hoods, though with six or eight centuries of historic truth-stretching and romancing they may

become such, and, indeed, to many a Pastoral Californian were such in their day. The deeds of highwaymen, as herein depicted, extend some time past the pastoral days proper; but they were largely composed of Hispano-Californians, and their adventures were to a great extent in southern California, though extending to the mines, which afforded them a rich field after the discovery of gold, and where, for the completion of the narrative, we are obliged to follow them. Nor with the advent of gold and American domination did the character and condition of southern California change from the old régime as rapidly as was the case in the northern regions.

Brigandage, when directed against that encroaching and heretical neighbor, the insolent gringo, was a chivalric ideal of the Mexican, and no less so of his Hispano-Californian fellow-citizen. It partook of the natures at once of political privateering, religious crusading, and race revenge. Pecuniarily it was the sharp practice of the stock operator, and the crushing injustice of the railway monopolist, combined.

The Californios, as the Hispano-Californians loved to call themselves, like the citizens of the other North-Mexican States, were peculiarly fitted for this vocation. In the first place, they felt certain of the needed sympathy of a considerable portion of those belonging to their race, which gave them assurance. They also entertained the idea, however erroneous, that by contributing a share of their ill-gotten gains to the church, their malefactions would be dealt with by its ministers as mere irregularities, or as venial sins easily washed away. The soul was not, therefore, in serious jeopardy. Bright eyes were not lacking to encourage deeds of valor and smile upon success, or shed tears of sorrow if reverses befell the objects of their admiration and love. A passionate fondness for display proved an important factor; pride lent a reckless daring; and superstition raised every fear of consequences into heroic stoicism. Unbridled passions

fed merciless severity, and no trammeled conscience tinged the mad enjoyment of illicit chase. Add to these, perfect horsemanship, the skilful use of arms, and an easy retreat, and we have players in this game of life and death unmatched by any place or people.

Some few of Anglo-Saxon lineage attempted the profession of highwayman in California, but their efforts proved failures. It is not their proper vocation. They lack the requisite qualifications; and then the burden of opprobrium presses too heavily upon them. In one sense they are not clever enough for classic villainy; in another sense they are too clever for it. Rather let their deeper cunning keep their indirections within the limits of law, and out of the duplicities of business bring wealth and honor. They with their wits are stronger; for with their wits they pipe for the law to dance, and play conventionalism against honorable ethics to the swelling of their purse. Before entering their career they weigh probabilities, never afterward stopping to time their speed toward the death goal. For their month or year of inglorious fame, and riches many or few, they give that which thousands give for twelve or twenty dollars a month without the glory, without even the ignominious fame of the robber, namely their life. In the case of the highway robber, in his infernal canonization, with the advocatus diaboli appearing on one side, and the advocatus dei on the other, we find the evil and the good in them not so unequally balanced as popular opinion inclines to pronounce. Highway robbery is bad, people say. It is better not to steal at all; but men will steal; all men will steal a little, and women, too, and children. At least there is something courageous in stopping a stage, two men against ten sometimes, as Falstaff would say; but in legalized stealing there is nothing manly, nothing but cowardice and meanness.

Let me introduce some of our most famous gentlemen of the road, surely as much entitled to a place

on the pages of history, as those who become famous robbers within the bounds of conventionality. First of all, as king of California cut-throats, stands the boy, Joaquin Murieta, the Fra Diavolo of El Dorado, a native of Sonora, Mexico, who came to California in 1849. He was but a few months more than twenty-one years of age when he died, and his brilliant career of crime occupied less than three years. What railway magnate can say as much? The terms brave, daring, able, faintly express his qualities. In the cañons of California he was what Napoleon was in the cities of Europe; and it is but fair to say that he as visibly displayed a high order of genius. Joaquin would have been no more out of place commanding at Toulon, than Bonaparte would have been scouring the Salinas plains.

Of medium height, and somewhat slender in figure, he was extremely active and athletic, and no less graceful in movement than handsome in person. A high forehead gave his features, which were not improved by prominent cheek-bones, an intellectual caste; large black eyes blazing with vindictive purpose, kindled with enthusiasm, or melting in tender affection, displayed the earnestness of his nature, while a well shaped mouth showed at once firmness and sensuality. Long flowing hair of glossy black fell on his shoulders, and on his upper lip was a thin silky moustache, as belonging to one who had never shaved. His manner was frank and cordial; his voice silvery and of generous utterance; and though so youthful in appearance there was that about him which made him both loved and feared, and which impressed friend and stranger alike with profound respect. It has been said that he lived in Los Angeles, and had a fair reputation up to 1852, when his brother-in-law was arraigned with some others for the murder of General Bean, and in his confession stated that the year before Murieta had joined him and others in a horse-stealing exploit, the horses

being retaken by a Tejon chief. Murieta on hearing this fled and became an outlaw and a terror.

Murieta had higher aims than mere revenge and pillage. His continuous conflicts with military and civil authorities, and armed populace, would in any other country in America have been dignified with the term revolution. He had been educated in the school of revolution in Mexico, where the line between rebel, robber, pillager, and patriot had been to a great extent obliterated. It is easy to see that he regarded himself rather as a champion of his country than as an outlaw.

Joaquin, when in his seventeenth year, became enamoured of the beautiful dark-eyed Rosita Félix, who was of Castilian descent, and sweet sixteen; she returned his passion with all the ardor of her nature. Her hard-grained old father on discovering this amour flew into a rage, and would have vented it upon the boy had he not taken to flight. Rosita followed her lover to the northern wilderness, assisted him in his efforts at honest living, attended him through all the perils of his unlawful achievements, and finally, when death so early severed them, returned to the land of her childhood, and under the roof of his parents mourned her well-beloved through long dreary years. Besides Rosita there were many other female members of this unholy fraternity who waited on their lords with loving hearts. Carmelita, a voluptuous beauty, the fascinating Reyes Félix won from a packer, and, bringing her on his horse behind him into camp one evening, dropped her in the midst of his associates with the laconic introduction "there is my wife." And when later Briseis goes, Achilles weeps, but not for Briseis; rage wrings from him tears.

Rosita had left a little brother at her home in Sonora, Reyes Félix, who, when the fame of the dashing brigand reached his ear, burned with romantic passion to join him. Not long afterward his father died, and the liberated boy, then fifteen years of age,

immediately sought the robber chief, and became one of his most devoted followers. But alas! the vigilants of Los Angeles finally rewarded his merits by hanging him.

One monster there was in Joaquin's band, Manuel García by name, though commonly known as Three-fingered Jack, from having had one finger shot off during Mexico's war with the United States. Probably he was the most sanguinary of them all; his reputation was no less conspicuous for cruelty than for bravery; cruel men are not usually the most courageous. He was as rugged in features as he was large and powerful in frame, and was so ferocious in his appearance that few of his associates enjoyed his society. His disposition was as different from the frank generosity of Joaquin, as was his repulsive form from the lithe grace of his master. To gratify his love of human butchery he chose the most prolific source, and adopted as a specialty of the profession what was known as sticking Chinamen. How he delighted in seeing them scatter, as with a whoop he, always well attended, dashed among them! What fun it was to catch them and cut their throats! Some times he shot the contents of his pistol into them, but that was too tame; Jack loved to see the flowing crimson, and a knife was the only weapon for that. So expert by practice he became—catching them by the tail and with a peculiar twist of his own invention throwing up the chin so as to present an unobstructed mark—that out of every ten, he used to boast, not more than five escaped. If there were more than ten, of course the proportion was against him.

Yet in all this, García added little to the reputation achieved while Joaquin was yet at school in Sonora. As far back as 1846 we find him at the head of a band between Sonora and Bodega with the two Americans, Cowie and Fowler, stripped and bound to a tree, while García and his associates were torturing

them by throwing knives at their bodies as at a target. It is even said that as this pastime became tiresome he resorted to other outrages too horrid and indecent for recital.

The daring Claudio was at one time the associate of Joaquin, and at another captain of his own company, scattering terror along the foothills. The year 1852 rang with his renown. Of all those who delighted in daring, and who remorselessly washed away obstructions with blood, none were more forward than Captain Claudio. He was the lean and restless Cassius of the band. Thirty-five years of age, slight but vigorous in physical construction, with a lively play of passion behind his dusky features, was the cautious Claudio. That he was brave was undisputable, but yet more prominent were his faculties for scheming. With consummate cunning he could both plan and execute. Never did scoundrel more fittingly wear the garb of honest man than Captain Claudio, when there was a consideration. Beneath the versatile exterior, however, the deeper current of his nature flowed without a ripple, and its burden was hate, revenge. So much had Captain Claudio to be forgiven; and yet he never forgot or forgave!

Pedro Gonzalez was prominent in Joaquin's association as an expert horse-thief; and where a constant supply of fresh and fast horses was of such vital importance, he proved an invaluable adjunct. He did not delight in human blood like García, nor was he a good counsellor such as Valenzuela, nor yet so dashing and daring as Claudio; but besides his talents in the acquisition of fine horses, he was a skilful spy; and so we may write him down, *sine invidia*, a most worshipful robber.

Almost a counterpart of the chieftain, though much older than his leader, was a prominent member of his band, called also, sometimes, Joaquin, but never, unless by mistake, Murieta. He was known also as Carrillo, Botiller, and other *aliases*. His true name was Joa-

quin Valenzuela. It was this similarity in name and person, as much as any other circumstance, which gave to Murieta a reputation well-nigh supernatural, in the minds of some, for ubiquity.

It was unaccountable how one person appeared so often in different places at the same time; and when Murieta's death was announced, there were those who with great pertinacity insisted that he was yet alive. Valenzuela had served an apprenticeship at brigandage in Mexico, under Jarcinta, a famous guerrilla chief, who had in former years been a friar, and a Carlist in Spain. His experience, added to his remarkable ability, gave him a prominent place in the government of the organization, and important expeditions were often entrusted to his leadership.

Glance now at a robber-hunter. Harry Love was a law-abiding desperado. Here is a sugar-plum for him Harry delighted to kill wild men and wild beasts. He was a killer of the Cœur de Lion order; a tall, straight, Black Knight figure, with bright burning eyes, and long glassy ringlets falling over his shoulders. He used to wear a sword given him by a Spanish count whom he had rescued from the savages, so it was said; and the way and walk of him were knightly as of ancient cavalier. Savages he had butchered until the business afforded him no further pleasure. He thought now he would like to kill Joaquin Murieta. Harry greatly enjoyed slaying human beings, but he did not like so well to be hanged for it; so he asked the legislature at Sacramento if he might go out and kill Joaquin. The lawmakers gave him permission; and, as doughty as Theseus on his first journey to Athens, he set out.

Tomás María Carrillo, a soldier of the lately disbanded Californian army, headed a ruffian gang, and Andrés Armijo, another. The country between Soledad and San Miguel in 1849 was infested by

roving bands of Sonorans and Californians, who sacked ranchos, and waylaid travellers. The power of the alcaldes—the Mexican system still existing—backed by the provisional government under General Riley, was utterly inadequate to meet the present emergency.

Salomon Pico,—whose near companions, Cecileo Mesa and William Otis held prominent positions,—was captain of a well-organized and formidable band of malefactors roaming round Monterey during the spring of 1851. Little fear had Captain Pico of capture, in a region where the friends of his youth, and of his numerous relatives dwelt, and where, indeed, the very adobes of the ancient capitol trembled at the mention of his name. Among the rancheros, there were, however, foes, as well as friends. From the latter he received voluntary aid; from the former he took what he pleased of their goods. Nevertheless, but for treachery, the inept town's people never would have dared to assail him. The Escobar rancho, situated six miles from Monterey, was then in charge of an American named Josiah Swain, whose death Salomon Pico and his company had decided upon. But one of the band who would take no part in the proposed murder, fled to Monterey, exposed his confederates, and directed the citizens to their capture. This was about the middle of April 1851. Of the five brought into town, three, Pico, Mesa, and Otis, were tried by the people and sentenced to be hanged, but were rescued by the authorities. The fate of Otis is given elsewhere. Mesa was discharged. Pico was bailed out, and he escaped from the country. He finally went to live in Lower California, near our frontier, and some years after for his share in some political squabble, was shot by order of local authority.

Doctor Thomas J. Bell, from Alabama, by profession physician, miner, gambler, and robber-captain, was by far the most intelligent, accomplished, and kind-hearted American gentleman who ever took the

road in California. He flourished in the region of the San Joaquin, and north of it, during the summer of 1856. As compared with Joaquin he was older, more intellectual, more humane, and fitted better to thieve within the limits of the law; the Sonoran chief was of keener instincts, quicker movements, and possessed of far greater administrative ability.

Second only in name and achievements to Joaquin Murieta, in the history of California highwaymen, stands Tiburcio Vazquez; but except in skill of horsemanship, and dexterity in catching and killing men, one was the opposite of the other. Joaquin was of gentle blood, and as handsome, and gay, and chivalrous as any youthful knight-errant; Vazquez was a hybrid, half Indian, coarse, treacherous, brutish. His boyhood was spent in taming wild mustangs, cutting flesh with bowie-knives, and shooting, dancing the bolero and fandango, and betraying young damsels. Indeed, he was a bedeviled Don Juan at love. Repulsive monster though he was, the dear creatures could not help following him.

Tiburcio with difficulty finds an excuse for taking up the hatchet. "The Americans came in and elbowed me at the dance," he complains. "They drew after them the prettiest girls, so I killed them." Obtaining his mother's blessing, and commending himself to the protection of the saints, he set out upon his pious purpose.

There were twenty years and more between the reigns of Joaquin and Tiburcio, though there were twenty years intervening between Tiburcio's first murder and his last. To realize how the boyish heart of Vazquez burned within him as he heard ringing the praises of the matchless Joaquin, we have only to note the circumstance that almost within the year after Joaquin's exit, Tiburcio slew his first man. It was a brave beginning; Tiburcio was then at the tender age of fifteen. Could he but see Joaquin after that, as his eyes had previously been permitted to

feast themselves on the shining face, the graceful form, and the glittering adornments of the great leader, perhaps Joaquin might deign to take him by the hand, and smile on him encouragement.

Tiburcio's most devoted follower was his cousin, Leiva, and most devotedly he stole Leiva's wife. Yet Leiva remained true to him. What was a wife beside glory and friendship? Poltes, king of Thrace, thought it hard for Menelaus to lose a wife; yet probably Paris wanted one, he said, when applied to for assistance to recover the fair Helen. This king was more accommodating, if possible, than Leiva, for to preserve peace and good-fellowship he proposed to give his own wives, of whom he had two, one to Menelaus and one to Paris, and so all should be content. Rosalía was the name of Leiva's stolen wife. She loved Leiva well enough, but who could resist Captain Vazquez, the adored of all, he who never sighed to señorita or señora in vain, the fleet of foot, the untiring dancer, the fearless rider, the bold brigand. Who so pleasing to her woman's eye, so gratifying to her woman's pride? All articles standing on shop shelf, or glittering as personal adornment among the multitude, are his, and hers, whenever he chooses to take them. Since the time when Camilla, attracted by the brilliant accoutrement of the priest, Chlorus, chased him round the battle-field until a Tuscan spear laid her lifeless, full many a woman has sacrified herself to ornament.

Captain Juan Soto, mustang stealer, and tutor to the apt scholar Tiburcio, and who subsequently served under his pupil, was a dashing horseman, who could hide behind his horse at full speed. Soto was a favorite with the ladies. Brave deeds make dark eyes sparkle. Then the horses he stole! The brass steed of Cambuscan, which in one day would carry its rider to any spot of earth by simply whispering the name of the place in its ear and turning a pin, was scarcely more fleet of foot.

Captain Sanate, with Moreno acting as lieutenant, roamed round Los Angeles. Sanate with his entire company attended unbidden a ball once given in Los Angeles. Dashing up to the house, some stood guard while others entered, robbed the men, danced with the women whether they would or no, ate the supper, drank the wine, and with a polite adieu vanished. Lucifer was alive in them; after attending this pleasure-party, they plundered some houses and captured a bevy of señoritas, which raised the town. The marshal pursuing, Sanate shot him dead.

Moreno was a traitor. The night of the stolen dance he had secured, among other plunder, a valuable watch. A reward of $1,500 having been offered for Sanate's head, Moreno shot him, killed Bulvia, who had detected him, and carting both bodies to the jailer at Los Angeles, told a story of heroic daring, how he had been taken captive, and how he had killed his captors and carted them thither. Moreno was the idol of the hour; the brigands were such a bother. Unfortunately, he showed the stolen watch to a jeweller, who recognized it, and Moreno was sent to San Quentin for fourteen years. The authorities deemed the $1,500 sufficient payment for the murder, without the further expense of a hanging.

Clodomiro Chavez was the tool of Vazquez. Before he knew the bandit chief, he lived an honest life in the vicinity of San Juan, where his younger days were spent. Shortly before the Tres Pinos tragedy, he was in the service of Estanislao Hernandez. Seduced by Vazquez, it soon was his ambition to be a robber chief. But he lacked the qualities of his master. Physically he was a splendid specimen of a man, being over six feet in height, weighing 250 pounds, and yet as lithe and strong as a tiger. His qualifications, for the career of a leader of banditti stopped here.

Vazquez was cunning and reckless, and had always ready, conviviality for his comrades, money for those in want, and a smile for everybody. His personal

magnetism and influence over others was something wonderful. Chavez, on the other hand, was intellectually dull, with a cold-blooded, lymphatic temperament, repelling rather than inviting friendship. Followers joined Vazquez because they could not stay away from him. Chavez' band was composed of those who became robbers from necessity, and not because they loved their leader. Chavez was killed near Texas Hill, in Arizona, in November 1875, $2,000 having been offered for his head.

In the manuscripts of J. J. Vallejo and others, I find mentioned a Mexican Fra Diavolo, Vicente Gomez, who toward the close of the Mexican war for independence, commanded a band of guerrilleros in the service of the republic. And of such were hundreds. This man was noted for the savagery of his instincts. The Spaniard who fell into his clutches was castrated; this practice gaining for Gomez the title of El Capador, which was invariably appended to his name. The victim was then usually sewn up in a fresh ox hide placed in the sun, and left to perish, attended by the most horrible sufferings, caused by the contraction of the hide as it dried up. Spanish women met a still more horrible fate. The inhumanities of the monster shocked even his ruffian followers, who, incited thereto by their queridas, remonstrated against such sanguinary measures.

"Sanguinary!" exclaimed Gomez. "You surely do not call me sanguinary. Show me the man who, with as artistic torturings as mine, puts out life with less bloodshed." Gomez, for having taken part in a rebellion, was sent by the Mexican government as an exile to the Californias, and was shot dead by a lieutenant named Ramirez, who, pleading that the deed had been accidental, was acquitted at his trial. Gomez conducted himself quietly while in California.

The unsettled condition of society in California, the abundance of money, the amount of travel, mostly

by treasure-laden miners, on the lonely roads of the mountains and plains, the herds of fine horses grazing everywhere within easy reach of the robber, and finally, the soft and genial climate of the country, rendered possible, developed, and conduced to the prosperity of the guild of highwaymen, who had for their field of operations a territory quite as extensive, and as rich in booty and stirring hazard as was the Spanish Main to the dreaded buccaneers, self-styled the Brotherhood of the Coast.

Having briefly alluded to the chief men who won for themselves a name in the career of crime, I will now proceed to relate some of the exploits of him who deservedly stood head and shoulders over all other knights of the road in California, if not, indeed, superior to the most famous leaders of highwaymen recorded in the annals of other countries.

Joaquin Murieta, the terror of the Stanislaus, has a history, which though crimson with murder, abounds in dramatic interest. He was a Mexican of good blood, as I have said, born in the department of Sonora, and received an ordinary education in the schools of his native country. In his youth he is said to have been mild, affectionate, and genial in disposition, the pet of the maestro, and a favorite among his fellows of the play-ground. Yet, while acknowledging the pulpy sweetness of his boyhood, it is safe to presume that there was a dash of bandit blood in the veins of Joaquin, which was eventually to fire his heart with the madness for an outlaw life. As Joaquin and his Rosita reached the new El Dorado, the first flash of the great gold fever was then spreading over its wild ranges. In the memorable spring of 1850 we find him engaged as an honest miner among the Stanislaus placers, where he had a rich claim, and was fast amassing a competency, when, one evening, a party of some half dozen American desperadoes swaggered into his little cabin where with Rosita he was resting after a hard day's work.

"You don't know, I suppose, that greasers are not allowed to take gold from American ground," began the leader insolently.

"If you mean that I have no right to my claim, in obtaining which I have conformed to all the laws of the district, I certainly did not know it," answered Joaquin with quiet dignity.

"Well, you may know it now. And you have got to go; so vamouse, git, and that instanter, and take that trumpery with you," jerking his thumb toward Rosita. "The women if anything are worse than the men."

Joaquin stepped forward with clinched hand, while the hot blood mantled his face: "I will leave these parts if such be your wish, but speak one word against that woman, and though you were ten times an American, you shall rue it."

Scarcely were these words uttered when another of the party reached over and struck Joaquin a severe blow in the face. The latter sprang for his bowie-knife, which he had thrown upon the bed on returning from his work, when Rosita, instinct with the danger such rashness threatened, threw herself before him, and seizing him in her arms, frantically held him. For the intruders to thrust aside the woman and strike the unarmed man senseless was the work of a moment. When Joaquin awoke to consciousness, it was to find Rosita prostrate, her face buried in her clothes, sobbing hysterically. Then he knew the worst.

Fleeing from his outraged home on the Stanislaus, Joaquin and his devoted companion sought refuge on a modest little rancho, hid away in the rugged seclusion of the Calaveras mountains. His dream of peace was soon broken, however, by the sudden apparition of two bearded missionaries, whose monosyllabic warning, "Git!" threw down his hopes and household gods once more into the dust. The hapless twain were driven out from the shadows of Calaveras, and

once more became fugitives in the land. We next find Joaquin working as a miner at Murphy Diggings; but luck was against him in the placers, and he finally assumed the gay and remunerative occupation of monte-dealer, a department of industry at the time deemed respectable, even for Americans, not a few of them being thorough adepts in the art of "lay-outs," and both swift and relentless in catching their customers "in the door."

The new vocation was well-suited to the suave young Sonorense, and fortune for awhile seemed to befriend him, the uncoined gold of the miners rolling into his ever thickening purse. But his pathway was destined to blush with redder hues than rosy fortune wears. While riding into town a horse that he had borrowed from a half-brother of his who lived on a rancho near by, he was accosted by an American claiming the animal to have been stolen from him. Murieta pleaded that it was not his, but borrowed. This, however, availed him not. Indeed, it seems that the claim was a well-founded one, and Murieta was charged with the theft, the penalty whereof was death. A half-drunken crowd soon gathered around, and Murieta's protestations of innocence, and offers of money for a respite until witnesses could be forthcoming to prove the truth of his statement, were disregarded. He was pulled down from the saddle, and amid cries of "kill the thief! hang the greaser!" they hurriedly carried him to the rancho of his brother, whom they summarily launched into eternity from the branch of a neighboring tree. Joaquin was stripped, bound to the same tree, and flogged. While the heavy lash was lacerating his back, a demoniac expression appeared upon his face; he looked around and stamped the features of each of his persecutors on the tablets of his memory. When the executioners had finished their work, they departed, leaving him with his dead. It was then that Joaquin Murieta registered his oath of vengeance which he so

relentlessly kept, rarely sparing even the innocent. From that hour he was the implacable foe of every American, and even of every being that bore the resemblance of a gringo. Lucifer had him now for his own.

Words have been put in Murieta's lips to the effect that he had at one time felt a great admiration for Americans and their institutions; and only after experiencing unjust persecution and brutality at their hands, had the scales fallen from his eyes, and a deadly hatred seized him. To avenge the wrongs inflicted on himself and his countrymen, who were constantly kicked, and cuffed, and robbed, was now the purpose of his life. To kill, destroy, marking his swift trail with blood, was now his dream; for every stripe that had been laid upon his yet unhealed back ten Yankee lives should be forfeited, and these ruffianly Anglo-Saxons be made to understand that the free citizens of the sister republic had not wholly sunk their origin, nor lost their manhood. Letting all this pass, however, the fact stands that not long after the infliction of the flogging, an American was found dead near Murphy Diggings, literally hacked to pieces with a knife. The body turned out to be that of one of those who had flogged Joaquin, and hanged his brother. Suspicion was not long at fault reaching the author of the bloody act. Other murders followed in swift succession, robbing being one of the incidents of each case. It then began to be whispered that the young victim of Yankee brutality was wreaking his vengeance. Joaquin's bloody deeds were in everybody's mind, and his name became a terror. Within a few months the dashing boy was at the head of an organized band of highwaymen, which ravaged the country in every direction. This band consisted sometimes of twenty, and at other times of as many as eighty. The boy leader gave proof every day of possessing a peculiar genius for controlling the most accomplished scoundrels that had ever congregated in christendom. He was their

master; his word was their law, and woe betide him who dared to disobey, while to break faith with a fellow-robber was quick death. A member of the band, perforated by four bullets, was captured in February 1853, at Los Muertos, near Los Angeles, brought to San Andreas, tried, and hanged by the people. He was but an humble member of the profession, and when he saw that death was certain, he was induced to talk a little. He said that no member of the fraternity was much respected who had not killed his man, and each ranked in importance according to the number that he had slain. This was something as it is in the army. Every member was bound under most solemn oaths, first, to obey his superiors. Disobedience was punished with death. There was hardly one chance in a hundred that a traitor could escape; for it was the duty and pleasure of the betrayed whose lives were jeopardized by the treachery to hunt and slay the informer. It was well understood by all, even the stupidest of them, that good faith unto one another, union and discipline, were essential as well to their personal safety as to pecuniary success. This completeness of organization, coupled with the awful power wielded by the leader, enabled the band during nearly three years to carry on its operations, and its boyish chief to flit between towns and country, flipping his fingers in the face of police and people, while throughout the length and breadth of the Californian valley, from Shasta to Tulare, and along the coast line of missions the country was wailing its dead and ringing with rewards. The modus operandi to accomplish the purposes of the organization was as follows: Each subaltern was restricted to certain limits beyond which he dare not step. He had to be at all times ready to receive an order from any captain or lieutenant of the band. His eyes and ears were to be always open, and his mouth closed; passing events were to be narrowly observed, such as the yield of the various mining claims, the drift of

the gold dust, where a company kept their money, or certain Chinamen had hidden theirs. It was, moreover, his duty to shelter and protect any of the brotherhood needing his assistance; to warn them of danger, and provide horses and aid to escape; and generally, to assist them in all their undertakings.

Joaquin was always splendidly mounted; in fact much of his success depended on his horses. It was the special business of a certain portion of the brotherhood to keep the company well supplied with the best horses in the country. There were, also, members living in towns, and among the peaceable inhabitants, pursuing honest occupations, who were spies, and kept the officers of the band advised of matters they were desirous of knowing.

To relate the hundred of incidents in which Joaquin and his chief captains and lieutenants personally displayed their skill and courage, would occupy more space than I can devote to the matter. I will, however, narrate some of the most daring deeds of the young leader.

In 1851 while sojourning in a secluded part of San José, he attended a fandango, where he became involved in a fracas, for which he was arrested and fined $12 by the magistrate. Being in charge of Deputy Sheriff Clark, who was not aware of his being the robber chief, he invited the latter to go with him to his house for the money. Clark had become obnoxious to Murieta for his vigorous pursuit of the band. On reaching an unfrequented place the robber suddenly turned upon the officer, and with a smile said, "Accept the compliments of Joaquin," and drove his jewelled poignard to the hilt in his breast. In the autumn of the same year Murieta and his band were at the Sonoran camp near Marysville, where they committed a number of robberies, and five murders, every one of the murdered men bearing on his neck the fatal mark of the flying noose. All had been lassoed, and dragged at the saddle bow by the lariat. In the wild region west

of the white pyramid of Shasta, the band roamed many months engaged in horse-stealing, with now and then a murder. Once while two of the band were galloping near the town of Hamilton, an elk rushed past them hotly pursued by a beautiful girl mounted on a fine steed. She hurled her lasso at the animal and secured it, only to find herself in her turn held fast by the lariats of the two banditti. Her terror was distracting. She implored them not to harm her, but little did they care for her entreaties. There was only one voice on earth which they would heed, and that came unexpectedly as if from another world. "Restore that girl to her horse instantly." It was Joaquin who spoke.

One evening not long afterward, Joaquin was sitting at a monte table in a small town on the Feather river, when an American boastfully offered to bet $500 that he would kill the scoundrel Joaquin the first time he met him. Carried away by one of his dare-devil impulses, Joaquin sprang upon the table, and thrusting his pistol in the man's face cried, "I take the bet; Joaquin is before you;" then tossing the corner of his serape over his shoulder, he jumped down, strode out of the room, mounted his horse and rode away with some of his henchmen at his heels.

In the spring of 1852 Murieta drove 300 stolen horses through southern California into Sonora. On his return after a few weeks, he was quartered at the Arroyo de Cantúa, situated between the Coast Range and the Tulare lake. It is possible that it was just previous to this that they sojourned for a while in Los Angeles and vicinity. Riding with some of his men toward San Luis Gonzaga, and his purse being light, Murieta, after the manner of Robin Hood, resolved to rob the first man that came along. The victim happened to be a young fellow named Albert Ruddle, who was driving a wagon loaded with groceries. Joaquin requested the loan of what money he had, promising to return it at an early opportunity.

Ruddle made a movement as if to draw a weapon. He was told to keep quiet or he would be killed, but as he persisted, Joaquin with a muttered imprecation, slashed him across the neck with his knife, almost severing the head from the body. After rifling the dead man's pockets the robbers rode off.

While in Los Angeles for a few days, he heard that Deputy Sheriff Wilson of Santa Bárbara was on his trail, with the avowed intention of taking him dead or alive. He got up a sham fight between two Indians in front of the hotel were Wilson was staying. The latter came out to see the fight, when Joaquin rode swiftly to him, and hissing his own terrible name in his ear, drove a bullet through his head and drove away.

Riding one day alone toward the town of Los Hornitos, the chief met young Joe Lake, a playmate of his boyhood. In the course of their conversation Joaquin revealed his present mode of living, and said, "Joe, you are the only American whose good opinion I crave. Believe me my friend, I was driven to this by hellish wrongs." "Why don't you leave the country, and abandon your criminal life?" answered Joe. "Too late, Joe, I must die now as I live, pistol in hand. Do not betray me; do not divulge having met me here. If you do, I shall be very sorry," significantly tapping the stock of his revolver. Lake deemed it his duty to appraise the authorities of Murieta's presence, and the usual persecution began. The next morning a portly ranchero came up to Lake, and saying, "You betrayed me, Joe!" plunged a knife into his breast, and rode away unharmed.

One evening Joaquin rode into a camp where about 25 miners were at supper, and sitting sideways on his horse entered into conversation with them. It so happened that a man who knew him by sight soon after came from the creek, and on seeing him called out, "That is Joaquin, why, in the name of God don't you kill him?" Putting spurs to his horse with one bound he cleared the camp and dashed down the

cañon. Finding his way blocked there he returned toward the camp, to avail himself of a narrow coyote trail around the brow of a precipice that overhung the awful depths of the cañon below. A shower of bullets greeted his reappearance, but none touched him, as he dashed up and along that dizzy path, waving his dagger and shouting defiance.

In the early part of March, 1853, Joaquin, unattended, visited a large Mexican camp on Burns creek, about twenty miles from the town of Mariposa. He presented the appearance of a dashing cavalier, with plumed sombrero, gold laced cloak, and gayly caparisoned steed, as he slowly rode down the principal thoroughfare of the camp, tinkling his spurs to the measures of some lively fandango, and was the cynosure of many admiring glances from the eyes of the señoritas. Passing in front of a saloon he called for a drink, and was just lifting it to his lips, when an American, one of two who were standing together and had recognized him, drew his revolver and fired a shot that cut the plume of the brigand's hat. The drink was never taken, but Joaquin, after having wounded one of the Americans in the arm and the other in the abdomen, galloped away without a scratch.

Later in the same month, Murieta and three or four of his men robbed a Chinese camp at Rich gulch, not far from San Andreas, of about $10,000, leaving three dead and five wounded. The next morning they entered another Chinese camp at the foot of the mountains, gashed the throats of three of the Chinamen, mortally wounded five others, and carried off some $3,000 in gold. They next visited several other Chinese camps, all of which they desolated, the cries of their victims being heard at long distances. Finding themselves pursued by a party of Americans, they calmly continued their devastation, until the pursuers were within half a mile of them, when they mounted their steeds, and rode away with the speed of the wind.

On one occasion, Murieta riding leisurely in disguise through Stockton, he saw the hand-bills offering $1,000 for his capture. Taking from his pocket a pencil, he wrote on the margin beneath one of them, "I will give $5,000. Joaquin," and quietly rode away.

One night a cattle-dealer, whose name was Cocariouris, was camping with one companion on the San Joaquin, when they were visited by several Mexicans, splendidly mounted and gaily attired, who asked for supper and a place to sleep. Their occupation being quite evident, they were treated with much politeness, and their requests promptly complied with. In the morning the robber was cordially greeted by the cattle dealer:

"And how does Señor Joaquin this morning?"

"You know me, then," replied the robber.

"I knew you the moment I saw you," said Cocariouris.

"And why did you not kill me last night when I slept, and secure the reward?" demanded Joaquin.

"I do not like to kill men; I do not care for the reward," replied the host. "Besides, you never injured me; you asked for food; if every man deserving to be hanged went supperless, there would be many an empty chair at more tables than mine."

"True," replied Joaquin, meditatively, "and I will see that you lose nothing by your broad philosophy."

Cocariouris was often on the road with large herds of stock, not one head of which was ever, to his knowledge, touched by any of Murieta's band.

The audacity of this chief, united to his celerity of movement, at a time when the country had no communication by railway or telegraph, enabled him and his men to effect the most remarkable escapes, as we have seen. He would show himself now here, now there, like an impish apparition which vanished at the approach of danger.

In February 1853, Joaquin and his band swept

through Calaveras, robbing and slaughtering as they went. Again was a reward of a $1,000 offered by the governor for his capture. The people of Mokelumne Hill and elsewhere were indignant at the smallness of the amount, when they themselves had spent many thousands in their fruitless attempts. The scourge continued, and gloom overspread the foothills.

One evening in April 1853, shortly before Joaquin's death, three men rode up to the house of a rancho on the Salinas plains and demanded refreshments for themselves and their horses, which were readily and politely served. After supper they informed their host that they were from the upper country on their way to Sonora to buy cattle. Their spokesman being asked if they had seen or heard of the famous Joaquin, he replied, "I am that Joaquin, and no man shall take me alive." He then gave his oft-repeated narrative of the wrongs which had been inflicted on him and his. In the morning, after paying for the night's lodging and refreshments, Joaquin and his companions departed southward, as he had said, but only went as far as the region of San Luis Obispo and Santa Bárbara, and the cattle they took they seldom paid for. Murieta's movements were now very closely watched, and it was thought that his destination was Lower California.

I have merely referred to a few of the doings of this famous band of marauders, or a portion of it under the immediate direction of Murieta in person. But it should be borne in mind that the excellently organized fraternity was often divided, and under his several lieutenants, García, Claudio, Ruiz, and others, bore the terror of their chief's name simultaneously in widely different directions. Their operations became so repeated and destructive, extending meanwhile over such a great extent of country, that no community felt safe.

At last, the people throughout the state were aroused to the importance of suppressing this over-

whelming evil. For three years this bloody work had been going on—a long time in that rushing epoch —and it was a reflection on the manhood of California that the robbers should go so long uncaught. At length, on the 17th of May, 1853, the legislature of California passed an act authorizing Harry Love to bring his mountaineer's experience, bravery, and tested nerve into action, with a well-organized and equipped body of twenty mounted rangers, to hunt the marauders down. Love was soon in the field, and lost no time in getting upon the track of the brigands.

Poor Joaquin! Love encompassed him without and within. For his girl, Antonia la Molinera, who went about with him dressed in men's clothes, proved false, having run away with a traitorous member of the band, Pancho Daniel. Murieta swore he would kill both of them; and Antonia when she heard of it, and knowing him so well, and realizing that her life was not safe for a moment as long as he was at liberty, resolved to betray him into the hands of justice.

Murieta sent first Vergara to kill her, but Vergara proved false, and let the girl live, abandoning the banditti, and going to work on the rancho of Palos Verdes, where was later Wilmington. Murieta sent another member of his band to bring back Vergara, but a few days thereafter the messenger was found murdered in the street in Los Angeles. Likewise, others of Joaquin's girls were giving him trouble. Thus discord was in the camp, men proving traitorous and women false, which shows that the life of a robber is not always a happy one.

Stealthily enough Harry Love with his fierce eyes and flowing hair, followed upon the trail of Joaquin, spying upon him by night, and keeping under close cover by day, thirsting for the blood-money, thirsting both for the blood and the money, eager to slay the slayer and rob the robber.

Thus the toils which must inevitably sooner or later end such a career were closing round Joaquin. In the latter part of July, with eight of his rangers, Love came upon a party of Mexicans in camp near the Tejon pass. Six of them were seated round a small fire, where preparations for breakfast were going forward, while the seventh, he of the slender figure, and graceful limbs, and large black eyes, and long black hair, a perfect Apollo, richly dressed, blooming in the pride of health and manly beauty, was washing down a superb bay horse, at a little distance from the fire, with some water which he held in a pan. Joaquin was unknown to the rangers, who dashed into the camp before they were discovered, and succeeded in cutting the robbers off from their horses. Captain Love rode up to the one standing by his horse, and enquired whither they were going.

"To Los Angeles," the chief replied.

Turning to one of the others, the captain put the same question when an entirely different answer was returned. Joaquin bit his lip and spoke up angrily, "I command here; address yourself to me." He then moved a few steps toward the fire, around which lay the saddles, blankets, and arms of the party. He was ordered to stop, and when he did not heed, Love cocked his revolver upon him and told him to stand or he would shoot. The chief tossed his hair back scornfully while his eyes blazed with the lightnings of his wrath, and stepping backward he stood again by the side of his handsome steed, his jewelled hand resting lightly on its mane. Three-Fingered Jack stood a little distance away, fully armed and waiting for his chief. At this critical moment Lieutenant Byrnes, with whom Joaquin was well acquainted, moved up, and Joaquin realizing that the game was up, called out to his followers to save themselves the best they could, and threw himself upon the back of his charger without saddle or bridle, and sped down the mountain like a tempest. He leaped his horse

over a precipice, when he fell, but was on his feet again in a moment, and remounting, the daring rider dashed on. Close at his heels came the rangers, firing as they rode, and soon the gallant steed, struck in the side, fell to the earth, and Joaquin ran on afoot. Three balls had pierced his body, when he turned with a lifted hand toward his pursuers, and called out: "It is enough; the work is down,"— reeled, fell upon his right arm, and, sinking slowly down before his pursuers, gave up the ghost without a groan.

Three-Fingered Jack, cornered, fought like a tiger, but the end was at hand. And so with others of the company. Claudio had fallen some time before. The bandits, now left without an efficient leader, and admonished by the swift and sorrowful fate of Joaquin, broke up the organization, and stole away from the theatre of their crimes. For purposes of identification, the head of Joaquin, and the mutilated hand of Three-Fingered Jack, were severed from the bodies, and, preserved in spirits, were brought to San Francisco in August 1853, by Black and Nuttall, two of Harry Love's rangers. The head was placed on exhibition, as the following notice, which appeared in the papers of the city on the 18th of August, and for several days following, will show: "Joaquin's Head! is to be seen at King's, corner of Halleck and Sansome streets. Admission one dollar." Then followed certificates of persons who had known Joaquin, as to the identity of the head. No money was recovered, though one of the prisoners declared that Jack had thrown away a heavy purse of gold during the chase. It is probable that others did the same, as the heavy operations of the band must have kept them well supplied with dust and coin. The growth, after death, of the hair on the head of Joaquin, and the fingernails of Jack's hand, caused quite a sensation among those not accustomed to such phenomena.

The number of murders committed by Joaquin and

his men during the comparatively brief period in which they were abroad is truly astonishing. They were particularly hard on the Chinamen, literally strewing the highways with their carcasses, like slaughtered pigs, and robbing them at every turn. Several renegade Americans were among the robbers who won the respect of the bandit chief by deeds as bloody and heartless as ever stained the annals of human wrong.

Claudio, as I have said, met his fate some time before the tragic scene at the Tejon pass. In the early part of 1853, attended by six of his men, Claudio was ravaging the country between Salinas and Monterey, robbing and slaying with a reckless hand. One Cocks, a justice of the peace at Salinas, and, withal a fearless man, summoned a party of eight and started in pursuit of the brigands. On the Salinas river, near Cooper's crossing, stood the adobe cabin of a man named Balder, whose reputation was very bad. Cocks and his party surrounded this house at night, and there, as they expected, found the robbers. A watch dog gave the alarm; but the Americans had already dismounted, and taking off their spurs, rushed in close to the walls. There was but one thing to do, for Claudio was not the kind of villain tamely to die in a kennel; bidding his men to follow, he threw the door open, and boldly led the way into the darkness, firing as he went. Unfortunately for the bandit he ran into the arms of Squire Cocks, who, being a powerful and determined man, held him with a grip of steel, until the robber dropping his revolver, exclaimed, "Estoy dado, señor; no tengo armas." I surrender sir: I have no arms. The lie was scarcely spoken when something was seen to glitter in the hand of Claudio. It was a murderous dirk which he had drawn from his legging; but a bullet from the pistol of an American stretched him lifeless before he could use it. With a single exception the brigands were all shot dead in the fight that ensued; the one making his escape being wounded, and was captured

next day. He was sent to San Quentin for a term of years and afterward hanged.

Second only to Joaquin Murieta's band during the earlier days of highway robbery in California was that of Tom Bell, or Thomas J. Bell, as he subscribed his name. He was a native of Alabama, where he received a medical education, came to California in 1850, and at first worked honestly enough as a miner, but finally took to gambling. Having unsuccessfully wooed the fickle goddess at the card-table, he became desperate, and going out upon the highway, he took her by the throat. Bell was six feet high, lithe, sinewy, sanguine in temperament, and quick in action; of a sandy complexion, with a light blue eye, which, though ordinarily mild, would, when aroused by opposition, blaze with the intensity of his wrath. He had six or eight followers, and in the summer of 1856 they roamed the foothills from the Yubas to Granite city. He was kind-hearted and magnanimous for a robber and murderer, and sometimes disgraced his calling by acts that proved him to be possessed of a human heart.

A traveller carrying a large sum of money was one afternoon riding along a shady mountain road that led down to the valley, beguiled, maybe, by beautiful visions of the far-off home to which he was returning, and was just throwing back his head to attack the high part of "The Girl I Left behind Me," a plaintive melody he had been devotedly whistling for half an hour, when he heard the clatter of horses' feet on the road behind him. Turning in his saddle, he saw three horsemen galloping rapidly after him, some fifty yards away, one of whom called to him to stop. Realizing the true character and import of the invitation, the traveller put spurs to his horse, and soon pursuers and pursued were racing like the wind down the mountain. A shot from Bell's pistol struck the fugitive in the leg, and brought him down. Having re-

lieved the man of his money, instead of despatching him with a knife, or leaving him to die in the road, of hemorrhage, the bandit doctor proceeded skilfully and tenderly to take up the severed artery, and bind the wound. Just as he was finishing, he heard a wagon passing on the road, and directed one of his men to wait upon the teamster. This was promptly done, the astonished individual brought to a stand, and disencumbered of his money. A bed was then hastily made in the bottom of the wagon, the wounded man placed upon it, and the driver told to proceed, but to drive slowly and avoid the ruts. In answer to the request of the traveller to tie his horse to the wagon, Bell declined, but promised to turn it loose at that spot after stripping it of its gear, which he did.

A singular tragedy occurred in connection with the attempted recapture of three of Bell's band who had escaped from the Nevada jail. Just after dark, on the night of the 3d of November, 1856, the sheriff received intelligence that the highwaymen lay concealed in a cabin at Gold Flat. Taking with him four men, the sheriff set out to effect a capture. Crossing a dark ravine on his way, he found four horses tied, and suspecting something wrong, he determined to wait there until the owners, whom he believed to be robbers, should make their appearance. Presently the sheriff heard a noise in the bushes near by.

"Who's there?" he called out.

"Move, and I'll shoot you," was the reply.

Instantly there came a shot from the darkness, then two other shots, which were quickly returned by the sheriff's party. The sheriff was killed at the first fire, and one of his men mortally wounded. The men in the thicket then rushed up, and to the horror of all present learned that they had been firing on friends. It appears that two parties, each unknown to the other, had started out at the same time, from different places, in search of the robbers, who were even then not far distant, when this calamitous encounter occurred.

Five of Tom Bell's band were captured and lodged in Calaveras jail about the first of October. Bell was at that time of the party, but made his escape. In order to throw the officers off the scent, one of the confederates reported that his chief was at a spot 200 miles distant, which ruse gave him time to escape. Bell, however, was caught and executed on the upper San Joaquin the 4th of October, 1856.

Holcombe valley, in August 1851, was infested by a band of desperadoes, having as their leader one Johnson. They stole from Bear Valley all the milch cows and beef cattle, also horses, and whatever they wanted. One day Johnson entered a clothing store, made several purchases, received his bill, and then ordered the storekeeper to receipt it. This he refused to do until he had received the money; whereupon Johnson drew his revolver, and told him that he should not only receipt the bill but give him five dollars besides. The storekeeper complied, but had the fellow arrested. The robber submitted to a trial, partly for the fun of it, as he had his fellows in the court-room and openly defied the law. It all did not avail him much, however, for he met a tragic death soon after. On election day there was a general fight in Holcombe valley, in which Johnson took a hand. He knocked an American down, and drawing his revolver was about to use it when officer St John shot him. The wound proved fatal within a few hours.

In 1851, Jim Irvin passed via Angeles to Mexico with a band of twenty-five or thirty desperadoes. They stopped at Coyote rancho, where Ricardo was in charge, and bound him, compelling a surrender of the best horses, food, etc. Ricardo complied; but on being released next morning he got a band of Cahuilas to join him in an ambush, whence they slaughtered every one of the robbers. The Indians remained in ambush, while Ricardo rushed forward and became the avenger of his own wrongs. Ricardo was no robber or gambler, but an honest fellow who loved fighting.

In 1851–3 there were more desperadoes in Los Angeles than in any place on the coast. All bad characters driven from the mines went there to be near the Mexican border if forced to move farther; and Mexican outlaws stopped in the city or vicinity on coming to the mines. The two sets met and fought, using knife or bullet on the least provocation, the Mexican preferring the knife, at close quarters. It was a common question in the morning: "Well, how many were killed last night?" The average mortality from fights and assassinations in 1853 was one a day. In this year California showed a greater number of murders than all the United States besides, and a greater number in Angeles than in all the rest of California. Sheriffs and marshals were killed at pleasure; and at one time the office of sheriff, worth $10,000 a year, went a begging. Two had been killed within the year.

Crooked-nose Smith had killed his half dozen men in the upper country before he came to Angeles, and here he promised not to kill any one, but did shoot a gambler the day before leaving, pleading that he must keep his hand in. Cherokee Bob had killed six Chilenos in one fight, coming out riddled and slashed from the conflict. Ricardo Urives, a noted fighter, was beset by a crowd in Calle de los Negros, the lowest locality in Los Angeles. He fought his way out with revolver and bowie knife although shot, stoned, and slashed all over. At the end of the street he gained his horse and rode back to the spot where first attacked to fire his last shot. Armed with the empty revolver he scattered the people and returned to be bandaged. He had three bullet wounds, and was stabbed in many places. He then rode up and down the main street for an hour, daring the police to arrest him, and then trotted off to his sisters' rancho.

One of the Smiths was arrested at San Gabriel and tried by a hastily constituted lynch-court for

some crime. The sentence was instant hanging; but at the final moment a man interfered and he was given up to the constable. The lynch-court again met and resolved to save expense by a quick but fair trial. The mob compelled the jailer to surrender the keys, and Smith was released from the pine log to which he and a number of others had been chained. Nothing could be proved against him, and the committee reported accordingly to the mob, asking what was to be done. A fellow rose to propose fifty lashes, but this was voted down. Immediately after, another man proposed eighty-five lashes, and the surrender of Smith to the military as a deserter. This was unanimously carried.

At the same time a Mexican was brought in for stabbing a pie-vender, and sentenced at first to hanging, but finally to eighty-five lashes. On his plea that he was no thief, but a man of honor, he was allowed to receive his lashes first. Smith now pleaded that as an American he should not be lashed by an Indian. A purse of sixteen dollars was accordingly made up for a white whipper. A young man, a new arrival, accepted the task, and did it with a will. Meanwhile the gamblers became incensed against a man who would do such service for money, and seizing the whipper they began to toss him in a blanket till he finally came down so hard that he broke his neck, as was believed at the time. He was restored in a drug store, and paid his hard-earned sixteen dollars for the treatment.

Jack Powers, the lord among the 400 gamblers of Angeles, and owning a rancho, hounds, and horses, became involved, and was to be ejected by the sheriff. Escaping an attempt to arrest him at Santa Bárbara, Jack seized the only piece of artillery in the town and marched with his friends to his rancho. Sheriff Twiss pursued, but was defeated with the loss of two or three persons. Jack reached his rancho, fortified it, and mounted a stove-pipe from his kitchen as a cannon,

defying the sheriff, who was at last obliged to raise the siege. This was in January 1853. For a long time afterward, Jack would be attended by a troop of retainers, who assured his freedom from arrest. He finally went away to Arizona, and died upon a rancho he had there.

There had been a party of malefactors in Los Angeles region known as the Manilas, numbering about thirteen, among whom were Pancho Daniel, after he left Murieta, Juan Flores, Espinosa, Andrés Fontes, Chino Varelas, then only a boy, One-eyed Piguinino, and Faustino García. Flores and some others had escaped from the state's prison. One day the party started in pursuit of a man who was going in a wagon from Los Angeles to San Juan Capistrano. Fortunately for the man they missed him on the road; but the robbers continued their way to Capistrano. They visited the shop of one Michael Kraszewski, a Russian-Pole, wounded the owner's assistant, plundered the shop, and carried away the goods on two horses, and promised to return soon, which they did the next day. They robbed the shop of George Flughardt, whom they murdered, and threw into the street what they did not care to take away with them. After that they made a second visit to Kraszewski's place, robbing it, and throwing out many things. They also took horses and mules wherever they found them. This affair lasted till about two in the morning. Two Americans, whom the robbers demanded of John Forster to kill them, with Forster's aid escaped, and reported the matter at Los Angeles. All this was toward the end of December 1856. Sheriff Barton came with a party of six men, though he had been warned on the way not to go farther with so small a force. About 16 or 18 miles from San Juan, Barton at the head of four men—the other two being from 50 to 100 yards behind—going along on the road behind a knoll, was

attacked by the highwaymen, the two men who were behind ran away, gave information at José Sepúlveda's rancho, and pursued their way to Los Angeles. Barton and his four men were killed. The murderers returned to San Juan, where they talked bravely, saying that they belonged to an organization of five hundred, and that the same night the principal houses of Los Angeles had been plundered, one of them being that of W. Childs, whose safe had been broken open. They stayed some hours, took provisions out of the shop of a Portuguese without paying for them, and departed. Another party started under Tomás Sanchez, from Los Angeles, against the malefactors, and saw them, but they did not come to blows. Andrés Pico also came out with another party of native Californians. Both parties hotly pursued the robbers. Flores and two others were caught in a narrow cañon. Juan Cartabo and another were finally taken and strung up on the spot now known as the Cañada de la Horca. Flores managed to get away, the other two were taken to Santa Ana, to the house of Teodosio Yorva, tied, laid down on the ground, and watched; but they escaped. After that a continual search was kept up by the people until Flores was recaptured, and taken to the jail from which he was removed only to be hanged. The rest of the Manilas were captured at different places and killed, excepting the Chino Varelas, who was spared on account of his youth; and one who escaped to Lower California, and was killed there in some political émeute. The chief men of the Manilas had been Pancho Daniel and Flores. The former rarely showed himself except during the night. When Barton was killed a boot was found with a pistol hole through its leg, which was recognized as Daniel's. It was proved against him afterward in Los Angeles, and made part of the evidence which led to his being hanged. The Manilas had a countersign. They were accustomed to post guards who challenged per-

sons approaching. "Quien Vive?" the answer being "Isla," alluding, probably, to San Quentin, which the Mexicans and Californians often called La Isla. The second challenge was "Qué gente?" and the answer, "Manila."

The occurrences at San Juan Capistrano were related to me together with many details by Kraszewski himself. For events in Los Angeles I have placed faith on the narrative of Antonio Franco Coronel, one of the investigating committee in the matter of General Bean's murder. Much credit was due to Sheriff Tomás Sanchez for clearing the country of criminals. Being a man of ample means, and of great popularity among the Californians, he not only took an active part personally in the persecution, but had all the time at his command a force of men supported by himself, which he kept in constant motion. Those were difficult times, and Mexicans and Californians would have fared badly, because they were all unjustly suspected of sympathizing with the banditti, and even of rendering them aid. Fortunately, a young American lawyer, of ability and uprightness, Joseph Brent, who was esteemed by the whole community, acted as the mediator of the native Californians, and his wise counsels and offices averted many difficulties.

In August 1858, a rumor was set afloat in San Diego to the effect that the town was to be attacked and pillaged by the horde of fugitive marauders and outlaws who had taken refuge on the southern border from the storm that had been raised against them in Alta California. The week of the annual feast at San Luis Rey was designated as the time when the bold attempt was to be made, and, on investigation, the report being found to be based on reliable data, the wildest excitement prevailed in the town. A meeting was called at the armory of the San Diego Guards, and measures taken to protect the town, which were kept up for many nights, but the attack was never made. The incident, however, aptly illus-

trates the anarchical condition of affairs in certain portions of the state at that time.

Two years after the fall of Joaquin Murieta, Tiburcio Vazquez began his career of crime. He was born at Monterey in 1839, and received a fair English education. He was of mixed Indian and Mexican blood, bold and cruel, alert and cautious. One night in 1854, young Vazquez attended a fandango in Monterey, and became involved in a quarrel with another Mexican about one of the girls in the room. A constable interfered to quiet the disturbance, when Vazquez stabbed him to the heart. He became an outlaw for a time, but the matter was misrepresented to the court, and the excitement blew over. In 1857, he was convicted of horse-stealing, and sentenced to the state prison. He escaped from San Quentin in June 1859, but was again convicted of horse-stealing the August following, and returned. Both terms expired in 1863, August 13th, and Vazquez walked forth a free but not a reformed man. In the latter part of 1864, an Italian butcher was murdered and robbed at Enriquita. Vazquez acted as interpreter at the coroner's inquest. It was afterward discovered that he and a Mexican, named Faustino Lorenzana, had committed the deed; but they had in the mean while disappeared from that district.

In 1865, Vazquez eloped with a young daughter of a ranchero living near the base of Mount Diablo, and took the road for Livermore. Her father overtook them, however, early next day, and a pistol fight began. Vazquez received a shot in the arm, and fled, while the daughter, also wounded, was left swooning in her father's arms.

In 1867, for stealing cattle in Sonoma county, Vazquez was again thrust into San Quentin, whence he was discharged June 4, 1870. In the following autumn he united himself with two others, Procopio, or Red-handed Dick, and Juan Soto, and together they ravaged the counties of Santa Clara, Monterey, Fresno,

and Alameda, stages being robbed, ranchos plundered, and horses run off, in swift and startling succession. Juan Soto was soon afterward shot dead in a hand-to-hand battle with Sheriff Morse of Alameda, and the others fled to Mexico, but in a short time returned to San Francisco, where Procopio was arrested. Vazquez then, in company with two or three other desperadoes, selected Cantúa cañon, a narrow defile in the mountains near the New Idria mines, as his retreat, and thence descended upon the neighboring regions. They stopped the Visalia stage near Soap lake, robbed the passengers of everything, tied them, and laid them on their backs in a field, and drove the stage round the point of a hill, out of the view of passing teams. They then robbed three or four teamsters on the road to Hollister, and later the same day, Vazquez, being alone, stopped and robbed Thomas McMahon, later a leading merchant of Hollister, of $750 in gold.

These outrages stirred up the country, and the constable of Santa Cruz, following hotly on the trail of Vazquez, overtook him, and a fight took place, in which both were severely wounded. After he was shot, Vazquez rode sixty miles to his hiding-place in Cantúa cañon, and nearly died from loss of blood.

Weary of small game, Vazquez conceived the project of robbing a railway pay-car. Associating with him a few determined men, he selected a point between Gilroy and San José, and began to tear up the track. They were rather slow in their work, and the train, ten minutes ahead of time, came down upon them before they were ready, whereupon they scattered themselves.

About 7 o'clock in the evening of August 26, 1873, two Mexicans, from the direction of the New Idria mines, rode up to Snyder's store at Tres Pinos, and dismounting entered, and engaged the clerk, John Utzerath, in conversation. Presently, five others rode up and dismounted. Three of them, one being Vazquez, remained outside, while the four others en-

tered the store, levelled their pistols at the inmates, six or seven in number, and compelled them to lie down on the floor, in which position they were tied, and robbed. The brigands then ransacked the store, taking all the cash, and considerable clothing, provisions, and tobacco. While these things were transpiring within, Vazquez was holding a bloody carnival without. A Portuguese sheep-herder, who had just put up his flock, was entering the store, unconscious of what was going on, when Vazquez ordered him to stop. Not understanding him, he paid no attention to the command, whereupon Vazquez fired upon him, the ball taking effect in his mouth, causing him to fall, and as he attempted to rise, the robber fired again, killing him outright. Haley, a teamster who was on the road, was ordered to lie down, and on attempting to discuss the question, was knocked senseless by a blow from Vazquez' pistol, in which condition he remained for some time. George Redford, a teamster, was attending to his team, which stood in front of the store, when the shooting began. Vazquez ordered him to lie down, but the poor fellow, being quite deaf, could only understand that he was in danger, turned and ran toward the stable, but was shot dead by Vazquez before he had reached the door. Scherrer, a blacksmith, was out in the road when the affair began, and ran toward Davidson's hotel, near the store. A shot from Vazquez' pistol whistled over his head as he gained the building, and rushed on up stairs. Davidson, his wife, and brother-in-law, were in the hotel, and Mrs Davidson coming forward to close the door, one of the robbers called out, "Close the door and keep it closed, and you shall not be harmed." She had nearly complied, when Vazquez rushed up and fired through the door, the shot passing through the heart of Mr Davidson, and he fell dead into the arms of his wife. Having finished their work of murder and pillage, the robbers took seven horses from the stable, and escaped to the mountains.

One night in December, Vazquez, with eight native Californians, two Americans, and a negro, tied their horses on the bank of the river opposite Kingston, Fresno county, crossed a bridge on foot, and took possess on of a hotel and two stores on the main street. They bound and robbed thirty-five men, in addition to the hotel and stores, getting a considerable booty, and having successfully given battle to the citizens, who had collected under arms, made good their escape.

The sheriffs of half a dozen counties then began to camp on the trail of the robber, and it was not long before the hitherto lucky villain was in the grasp of the law. On the 14th of May, 1874, the plan for his capture having been perfected with the utmost secrecy and skill, a party of eight men under the leadership of a sheriff's officer, suddenly made a descent on the house of Greek George, near Los Angeles, where Vazquez was known to be, and surprised him at the dinner table. He had disencumbered himself of his arms, four revolvers and a Henry rifle, and was in no condition to face his foes. Leaping through a back window with the agility of a cat, Vazquez stood for a moment undecided, rushed for his horse, but was struck by a rifle ball. Turning, he was struck again; and thus shot after shot told him that his game of life was played to the end, whereupon he threw up his hands, walked toward his captors, the blood streaming from his wounds, and said, with a faint smile:

"Boys you have done well; I have been a damned fool." He was hanged at San José on the 19th of March, 1875.

Santo Sotelo, half brother of Chico Lugo, and companion of José Tapia, the last of a band infesting southern California for a year previous, was caught in July 1877. After the capture and conviction of Lugo and Tapia, Sotelo was left alone. He was tracked to a cañon in the San Bernardino mountains. To escape detection he shaved his face of its shaggy

beard. The capture of Sotelo was in this wise: While riding near Lake Elizabeth, a young Californian, Rafael Lopez, saw in the distance a horse tied to some bushes. Approaching cautiously he discovered the figure of a man prostrate upon the ground under the shade of a tree, tranquilly smoking a cigarette. Young Lopez recognized the robber instantly, and determined upon his capture. Fastening his horse he crept stealthily up behind the tree until he almost stood over Sotelo, when he placed the muzzle of a pistol in his face and ordered him to keep quiet, which the robber did not fail to do. Alone Lopez then performed the difficult and dangerous feat of binding and bringing to justice the outlaw.

But not to Joaquin, Bell, and Vazquez belong all the honors of Californian brigandage. Dropping back into more exclusively pastoral times, we find that second only to the Mexicans was the aboriginal highwayman, who to become a first-class robber must be civilized. An Indian of San Francisco, christianized under the name of Pomponio, was in 1823 the terror of the shore and bay, from Santa Cruz to Sonoma. The natives he robbed of their women, and the missions of their goods. He killed *ad libitum*, the assassination of his fellow savages being his special delight. Pomponio was chief of quite a band. One of his lieutenants was Gonzalo, a neophyte of Carmelo, and a man of extraordinary determination. In one of his raids Gonzalo was captured, and confined at Carmelo in irons, with a heavy ring round each ankle, and both rings secured to a post in such a manner that he could not extricate himself, though his hands were free. He well knew that death or some terrible punishment awaited him. I have it on good authority, incredible as it may appear, that while the guard was asleep, Gonzalo deliberately drew his knife which had not been taken from him, and cut off both of his heels, so as to slip his feet out of the rings, and thus

effected his escape. History records no instance of greater coolness and nerve than this of the San Francisco bandit savage. Finally, after a long career of crime, once, while hotly pursued, Gonzalo's horse fell with him and broke his leg. Through the assistance of Pomponio he escaped capture, but he soon saw that his time on earth was drawing to a close. He was anxious now to achieve heaven, though in the heaven of the highwayman where all steal, the question might arise who were there to be robbed, and if it was heaven to the victims? However this might be, he was as determined now to have heaven, as ever he had been to cut a throat; so he asked Pomponio to summon a confessor. But Pomponio objected to confessions upon principle, especially where something not to his benefit might be said. So instead of going for a priest he ran his lance through his comrade, thus saving much needless trouble.

Another of his lieutenants, Baltasar, from the Soledad mission, being mortally wounded near Santa Cruz, begged Pomponio to hasten with him to the church, where he might receive spiritual aid. Him likewise Pomponio killed and burned. A native wood chopper in the Santa Clara forest he burned upon his own wood-pile. Pomponio once took a son of Reyes Berreyesa into the woods to kill him; but the bandit's companions begged for the boy's life and saved it. The chief could not, however, refrain from stripping and beating the boy, and sending him naked to his father with the message to come and catch Pomponio if he was a man. Pomponio was finally captured, and shot at Monterey the 6th of February, 1824.

A little later we find the Indian robber Yóscolo, a neophyte of Santa Clara, and his brother Julian, both chiefs of robber bands, and famous before 1843. They were the terror even of professional horse-thieves, whom they often attacked and slew, driving off their booty. Sexgil was another noted robber-chief of

this epoch. The brothers, Yóscolo and Julian, remained united till 1843, when the former was killed and beheaded in Sierra Azul de Santa Clara by five Spaniards. Julian badly wounded, escaped with the band, for which good fortune they were indebted to the roughness of the ground. Shortly after Julian and Sexgil were pardoned by the government on condition of their extirpating the horse thieves with which this region was infested; but proving worse in their depredations than the thieves they were sent to catch, they were finally transported to Mexico as convicts.

Domingo Hernandez made killing foreigners a specialty. He was born at Monterey, and in 1842 was a cavalry soldier. Of medium stature, bronze complexion, with large head and broad shoulders, he was at once active and strong. His mouth was enormous, and the teeth set wide apart, so that however horrible might be his frown, his laugh was worse. In 1846 he deserted from Torres' force, and with Capistrano Lopez and others went to Natividad and engaged in stealing cattle. This Capistrano Lopez was quite notorious. During the revolution of 1845 against Micheltorena, a soldier was despatched by the general with despatches from San Fernando to Monterey, who, on his return, was waylaid on the edge of the woods opposite David Spence's rancho, by Capistrano Lopez and his party, robbed of $800 in Mexican gold which the general's wife had placed in charge of the soldier to take to her husband, and murdered. The body was left unburied, and the bones were still on the spot in 1848. If Californian accounts are true, Lopez had been a traitor to his country before the Americans seized it. They say that when Frémont was entrenched on the Gavilan, where a large Californian force under Castro was on the point of assailing him, Lopez was sent to spy his movements. He then visited the American camp

and advised Frémont of Castro's plan, which service was rewarded with six Mexican doubloons. Frémont and his men that night slipped away. Another time, in the latter part of 1846, when the American consel, Larkin, was a prisoner at San Luis Obispo, in the hands of Francisco Rico, who held him as a hostage, Lopez, with two others, Chavez and Espinosa, plotted to kill Rico and José Antonio de la Guerra, and rescue Larkin. Rico escaped in the night. I have the particulars of this affair from Rico himself.

Hidden by the Cuesta de los Pinacates, Hernandez and his fellow-bandits would shoot passengers whom they imagined carried valuables. If any one escaped, he was waylaid a second time at the mouth of the cañada. The bodies of the victims were left unburied, and the horses allowed to go with their saddles on, for the robbers did not want any tale-telling trumpery.

Hernandez was at last captured, tried by Judge Serrano and a jury at Monterey, and sentenced to be hanged. A number of sympathizers from among the Bear party men and the volunteers having made some demonstrations toward rescuing the prisoner, the judge obtained from General Kearny a guard of thirty men, under Captain Burton, to be present at the execution. There was nothing present for the purpose but a well rope, which broke, letting fall the prisoner to the ground. This was regarded by the Californians present, who had never seen any executions by the rope, as the will of God, and they shouted, "Viva Nuestra Señora del Refugio." The perplexed judge, from whom I have a full account of this affair, after a short conference with Captain Burton and the priest, resolved to take the prisoner back to the jail, where he left him unguarded in the room that had served him as capilla. Both judge and priest gave Hernandez no little good advice as to the way he should live, and sympathizers made up a purse for him. That same night the fellow slipped off, and on the following day some one complained to the judge that Hernandez

had but a while before been gambling with him in the custom-house corridor, and the villain having lost, he pounded the winner and took away the money.

Hernandez continued his criminal career on the Soledad road. He boasted of the way he used to kill travellers who had the appearance of foreigners. He would ask the victim for a cigar, or a light, and pretending to be occupied with the cigar, he would let the traveller advance a few steps, and then shoot him from behind. He said that he would never spare a foreigner, and had a string of foreigners' ears fastened to his saddle-bow. Another artistic way he had of murdering was by striking a knife half a yard long into the shoulder blades of a traveller as he passed him. He enjoyed the victim's agonies, and would kill without expectation of obtaining any booty. Hernandez at last came back to his former haunts at Natividad, and to the rancho de las Aromas. He often visited San Francisco, in disguise, and under an assumed name. At Santa Cruz, he and his associate in crime, Capistrano Lopez, were captured and hanged by the people. Thus ended the career of these two monsters.

Francisco Hernandez, a brother of Domingo, was a lazy, drunken gambler, cattle-thief, and bad character generally. His exploits were about the cañada del Gavilan, in the centre of well-stocked ranchos. The cattle he stampeded and rounded up afterward he slaughtered; the hides he sold to dishonest dealers, of whom there were too many at hand at Monterey and San Juan Bautista. He would in gambling become so absorbed in the play as to forget his horse, which would remain tied to a fence for hours, and even days, without food or water, if others did not provide for it. Once he took his wife and children to Vallecitos, and left them in charge of his brother Agustin. After many months of absence on his criminal pursuits, he came back when he was not expected. His wife was enceinte. Agustin rushed out, revolver

in hand, and ordered him to leave without dismounting, as he was no longer recognized as her husband, having neglected to provide for her during so many months. Leaving the premises, Francisco joined the Daniel band of highwaymen at New Idria, descending to Los Angeles, and disappeared. Some think he was slain by his personal enemies, and others that he was hanged by vigilants. His wife, in later years, became eager to abandon Agustin, of whose mode of living she knew not, but suspected his complicity with Tiburcio Vazquez in some murders and other criminal acts.

Juana Hernandez, the wife of a drunken vagabond living on the Calabazas laguna, came to Monterey in 1843, and became the mistress of Alférez Marquez, one among the worst of the officers in Micheltorena's famous battalion of cholos. Some time afterward her husband died, and it was suspected that she and her paramour had poisoned him. In fact, both she and Marquez committed themselves, and revealed the plot before Judge Serrano. The revolution against Micheltorena having broken out in 1845, and martial law being proclaimed, the two escaped. Marquez went south, and later departed for Mexico, where he was for a time a school-master at Hermosillo, and afterward lighthouse-keeper at Mazatlan. Juana, who had returned to her rancho, while drunk was burned to death, and was buried at Santa Cruz.

In 1875, on the 4th of December, six Mexicans of Chavez' band entered the store of the brothers Gaskill, and robbed it, first killing L. H. Gaskill. Teodoro Vazquez tried to murder the brother, but was shot dead himself. After some more bloody work on both sides, the storekeepers hid themselves, and the house was plundered; the robbers afterward rode off toward Fort Yuma, killing Alphonse Leclaire and Antonio L. Sosa, and committing wanton depredations as they went. Three of the bandits only were able to travel. One was killed, and two were badly wounded. These

two the sheriff easily arrested, but on the next day the people took them from his hands and hanged them.

In 1877, there was a nest of horse-thieves, Mexicans and Californians, just above Los Baños, over the divide in Merced county. One night in September, several horses were stolen from the rancho of Hugh French. Several stockmen, with a deputy sheriff, went in pursuit, and found Nacho Ávila, a notorious robber, at the door of a cabin. Being allowed to put on his coat, boots, and hat, the desperado suddenly fired upon the man nearest him, and wounded him, though not fatally. The robber was soon riddled, and finally a shot-gun brought him down dead.

It is understood that Anastasio García acted for a time, during the period of hostilities between the Californians and Americans, as a spy of the latter, about the region of San Juan Bautista, and was well paid for his service. Later, he waylaid and murdered a Mr Wall, on the Guadalupe rancho. Upon the news reaching Monterey, a brother of the murdered man, late in the afternoon, came with a number of Americans and Californians, among whom was Captain Joaquin de la Torre, to the assassin's hut, where they found him in company with his wife. Torre approached the hut, and demanded that he should come out, but was answered, "Go away, Joaquin, I have no trouble with you." But the captain insisting, the door was suddenly opened, and both men fired their revolvers simultaneously. Torre's bullet struck the woman's arm, but that of García had entered Torre's chest, who fell to the ground dead. The assassin rushed out, and was met by Wall. Some fighting ensued, but the assassin succeeded in escaping into the Sauzal woods near the hut. After further misdoing, he was caught and hanged.

Stage robberies have been frequent throughout the entire Pacific slope. The express treasure-box was

the prize usually sought, though passengers were generally relieved of their valuables at the same time. As a rule, life was never taken, except in case of resistance. It was a common occurrence on the stage lines of Nevada, Idaho, and Montana in 1863, and subsequently, at some lonely place in the road for a company of three or four armed and mounted men to dash up to the stage, stop the horses, cover the driver with a gun, and order the passengers to throw up their hands, when one or two of the bandits would 'go through' them.

In 1855, banditti, commanded by Francisco García, with his assistants, Indian Juan, Blas Angelino, and Sebastian Flores, infested the Santa Clara mountains. After accumulating considerable plunder, Indian Juan desired to retire from active service, when the others refused to part with him, or to give him his share of the spoils. He threatened to bring suit against them, but his threat cost him his life, as García and Angelino shot him. In 1856, Flores became dissatisfied, and delivering himself to the authorities, turned state's evidence, thus causing the arrest of his commander, García, and his companion, Angelino. The latter was executed, but García effected his escape, continued his career of crime farther south. Seventeen years later, he was arrested and tried at San José for the murder of Indian Juan, Flores being a witness against him, but the evidence not being deemed sufficient, he was acquitted.

I will mention a few stage robberies as illustrative of the traffic. On the 12th of August, 1856, the Comptonville coach, full of passengers, at the crossing of Dry creek, before reaching Marysville, was stopped by six mounted highwaymen, who demanded the surrender of valuables. The passengers refused, and a fight ensued, about forty shots being fired. The stage was riddled, and a number of the passengers were seriously wounded, but the robbers, whose leader was Tom Bell, were driven away, and failed to capture

the ten thousand dollars in gold-dust which was on board the stage.

On the Geiger grade, three miles from Virginia city, the stage was robbed of $7,000 by six men with Henry rifles. The treasure-safe was blown open, shivering the body of the stage by the explosion. Six days previous $9,000 had been taken from the stage between San Juan and Nevada by three masked men, who blew open the treasure-safe. One of them took from a passenger his loaded revolver, removed the caps, and returned it to the owner; no attempt was made to rob the passengers. This was at half-past four o'clock in the morning. Immediately the news reached Nevada. Sheriff Gentry with six men started out, and by noon the three robbers were killed and the money recovered.

Port Neuf cañon in Idaho, some thirty miles south of Fort Hall, was a favorite spot of banditti roaming the Montana and Utah road. For two years succeeding the opening of the mines of Idaho and Montana this was the rendezvous of road agents. Through the cañon the road in places was walled with thick brush, and the whole region round seemed designed by the devil as the retreat of his special providence. Leisurely along up the cañon came the stage one day in the middle of July 1865, when from the thick brush was heard the command to halt; and on the instant a human form with sooty face stood before the leaders. Six other human forms with sooty faces bearing shot guns in their hands then took their station round the stage. The passengers were brave, but bravery here was of no avail. After some fumbling two or three of them pointed their pistols out of the stage window and fired. As a matter of course the robbers poured a volley of buckshot from their guns into the coach. One of the passengers instantly sank dead; three others were killed in springing from the stage; two escaped into the bushes; the driver was wounded. There was a large amount of treasure

aboard, estimated by some at seventy thousand dollars this being one of the main lines of travel between the new mines and the settlements. Doubtless the passengers desired to keep their money. Some of them would have liked to retain their lives even at the loss of their gold. The foolish firing of two or three brought destruction on all, two only 'at great peril and subsequent hardship' escaping with their lives. The robbers taking from the dead men the treasure which they would have preferred to take from them while living, went their way. Travellers through a robber infested country should either take an escort strong enough to fight, or submit with grace to have their pockets emptied, that is to say, if with their money they do not wish to lose their lives. Sooty souls with sooty faces bearing buckshot-loaded guns in their hands do not gather in a quiet cañon round a stage containing seventy thousand dollars either to sing love songs to the moon, or to be frightened from their purpose by a half dozen passengers, or to stand and be shot at by them.

Stage-drivers, as a class, we find honest, sober, and trust-worthy; but now and then I am obliged to write one down a villain. Such a one was Frank Williams, hanged by the people of Montana in December 1865, for complicity in a Port Neuf cañon robbery. It seems that Williams drove his load into ambush; and being suspected, he was narrowly watched while at Salt Lake city, where he was seen to spend money freely, scattering several thousand dollars about the town when it was well known that he had nothing but his wages honestly to draw from.

He was finally arrested at Godfrey's station, between Denver and Julesburg. At first he was so overwhelmed that he could scarcely speak; afterward he confessed, giving the names of his confederates, fifteen in all.

In November 1865, the overland stage was robbed near Virginia city, in Six Mile cañon below the Gould

and Curry mill. There the driver found the road blockaded with some old sluice boxes and a broken wagon. Five masked men appeared and pointing three shot guns and two revolvers at the nine passengers, ordered all hands up, which mandate was with alacrity obeyed. The express box and pockets of the passengers were then emptied of their treasures, which yielded the robbers about five hundred dollars each; all were obliged to contribute save one, a woman, whom the highwaymen would not disturb.

The Indians rifled one of Hill Beachy's stages on the Humboldt and Idaho road the 9th of November, 1866. This year was remarkable for stage robberies. Both Marker's and Lotta's stages were stopped on the 8th of May; and the same day a like outrage was perpetrated between Nevada and San Juan. In this latter adventure the only occupants of the coach were Chinese, and the banditti reposed such confidence in the driver that when he gave his word that the treasure-box was empty, they did not blow it open. On the Rough and Ready road within one mile of Grass Valley H. J. Teal was attacked by highwaymen, and several shots exchanged. This neighborhood seemed literally alive with them, or doubtless it was one band committing numerous depredations. The 8th of December, a Chinaman was robbed on the Colfax road; the two above mentioned the next day; the 10th one Humphrey was robbed near the South Yuba bridge where Cooper and Kyle were killed and plundered a short time before; on the 9th a Chinaman was robbed on the trail between Little York and Bear river; and six Chinamen were attacked by highwaymen near Bear river on the 13th. In this last encounter the celestials resisted, killed two of the robbers, and drove away the rest. If throughout the coast there had been proportionate activity, a volume would soon be filled with the record.

Two express boxes were on the Boisé stage passing Point Neuf cañon one day in May 1868, one contain-

ing $1,800 and the other $10,000. Near their favorite retreat three masked highwaymen appeared and ordered the driver as usual to throw off the box. Jehu dropped the one containing the lesser amount and went his way with the other. From one passenger they obtained $850 in coin. Another with $300 in currency in his pocket swore so stoutly that he had no money that he was permitted to go unsearched.

S. Austin, stage-driver, tells the following story: "I commenced driving stage for John Hailey on the 15th of October 1867, from Umatilla to Meacham's summit of the Blue mountains. I continued driving on the route until the 14th of November the same year, when I was transferred to the mountain route from Meacham's to Union town, east side of Grand Rond valley. I had driven but a few trips when I met several of these parties now arrested, and became satisfied in my own mind from the manner in which they conducted themselves that they were getting a livelihood by unlawful means. From this time I commenced watching every move they made, and did all I could when meeting them to make them believe that I was friendly toward them. On the 16th of June 1868, J. F. Wheeler arrived in La Grande, in pursuit, as he said, of two thieves en route for Portland, representing himself as Deputy United States marshal from Boisé city.

"On the 15th of June 1868, I quit driving for a short vacation, and on the 17th went on a visit to Walla Walla. The second day after my arrival there I found Dr La Burr and wife. I had been acquainted with these people some nine or ten years, having first met them when they lived near Rock Point, on Rogue river, southern Oregon. I was anxious to have a private conversation with La Burr, and so took advantage of the first chance. I went with him to a watch and jewelry store, where he sold between $400 and $500 worth of dust, he stating to the storekeeper that it came from a camp near Shasta

mines—giving it a name which I knew to be false, as there was no such place in that section of country. Before he had got the money for his dust I walked out of the store, and I again met him as usual. In the course of our talk he asked me if I had quit driving. I told him that I had not quit entirely, but that I expected to soon; that I had been in the country nearly eighteen years and always worked for every dollar I got, and that I had become tired of hard work, and intended soon to resort to some other means of making a living. He then asked me if I thought of taking unfair means to make a raise. I answered that I did. He then wanted to know if I was really getting desperate, and I told him that I was satisfied that the boys knew enough, and if they would only give me a few points I would soon be all right. Whereupon he told me to ask John—meaning J. F. Wheeler—when he came up, for a few points, and he was satisfied that he would give them to me, as he liked me very much.

"I then left him, and on the 28th of June, 1868, I again took charge of my stock. And on the same evening of my arrival at La Grande, I learned from Melvin Bailey that Wheeler came up the trip before I returned, and had gone to Dr La Burr's, his brother-in-law. Next morning I crossed over the mountain as usual, and on my return next day I met Wheeler in La Grande. After supper we took a walk round town, when he commenced talking of the conversation I had had with Dr La Burr at Walla Walla. He told me then that he wanted me to go in with them and become one of the band. I told him that was what I was on, but I did not like to go in with a man if he could not stand up to the work. He said I need not be alarmed, for he had been in some tight places, and that he would be true to me to the last. I then accepted of the position, and was considered as belonging to the band.

"During the talk he told me he had taken part in

a great many highway robberies; he was one of the band that robbed Wells, Fargo, & Co. near Virginia City, in the spring of '67, and in Montana in the fall of '67, and committed several other robberies of less importance. He then told me that his business down was to pick out a place to rob Wells, Fargo, & Co.'s express in the Blue mountains, and that the place they had chosen was a mile on the road from Pelican station towards Meacham's. He was going direct home to Boisé city, and would send the boys right down; and that they would be there in two weeks at furthest; reporting themselves one at a time at Dr La Burr's rancho in the valley, when he would tell them that I was one of the band. The last thing he said as we parted was: 'Be careful, Doc., and look out that everything goes right.' I told him I would do so. Melvin Bailey, who was barkeeper at 'Our House' in La Grande, informed me from time to time of the arrival of the boys at La Burr's rancho; who had all, four in number, arrived there by the 25th of July, Dave Johnson, having a lame back when he arrived at the rancho, got another man by the same name to take his place. The band, now composed of George Savage, John Billings, Tom Corey, and Johnson, left the rancho and secreted themselves in the mountains near to the place that Wheeler had chosen for the robbery.

"About this time there was a great deal of travelling on the road, and a great many camping over night near the place that had been selected, so that they were compelled to change the place to two miles farther on toward Meacham's. Having learned, as I believed, what was necessary, I sent for Wells, Fargo & Co's division agent, Charles Woodward, and made him acquainted with all the facts. I suggested that the best way would be to let them go ahead with the robbery, and afterward go quietly to work and arrest the whole band, which course of action was agreed upon. On the 2d day of August, at about five

o'clock in the morning, I saw some four or five dead limbs lying across the road, and as the stage passed over them, causing them to snap and break, the robbers, at this signal, jumped from their hiding places, and before I could put my foot on the brake, I was looking down the muzzle of a double-barreled shotgun, within six feet of me. The robbers cried out 'halt!' each one repeating it, which I did. They then ordered the messenger, J. Sheppard, to throw up his hands, which he did; then they told him to throw his gun down. He said he did not have his gun. They told him the third time to throw it down, and also remarked that they would not tell him again, when I reached over and took his gun and threw it to one side of the road. They then ordered the messenger to get down, and the passengers, of whom there were three, to get out of the stage, and marched them, with their hands above their heads, to about twenty yards in front of the team, where two of the robbers stood guard over them.

"I remained in my seat. One of the robbers told me to throw out the treasure-box, and then to throw out everything in the boot, which I did. I next heard them at work breaking open the treasure-box in the rear of the stage, and as I knew there was nothing but rocks in it—Woodward took the treasure out at Uniontown—I was afraid that they might suspect that I had given some information, and if they did, I had concluded my time had come; but, as luck would have it, they did not suspect anything was wrong. They then opened the mail, and the passengers' baggage, and took such things as they considered valuable. Next, they went through the passengers' pockets. After this I heard one of them remark that 'this was the damnedest, poorest crowd he had ever struck.' They then took my leaders from me, and ordered me to drive up and let the passengers get in, when they ordered all aboard and for me to drive on, and that no one should look back.

We had proceeded more than half a mile before any of them spoke, when one of them observed that he felt a little hungry.

"From information that I gave, John Billings and Melvin Bailey were arrested at Walla Walla on the 26th of August. On the night of the 27th and morning of the 28th, in Grand Rond valley, Dr La Burr, McFay, Dave Johnson, James Wheeler, and Johnson, were arrested. On the evening of the 29th I arrived at Boisé city, and on the morning of the 30th I found there was no one of the party there but John Wheeler. As soon as an opportunity offered I took him out to the edge of the town to have a private talk. I informed him that Billings and an old friend of mine had robbed the Warren's express, forty-five miles out from Lewiston, and that they had killed the expressman, and broke a merchant's thigh who was with him and attempted to escape; that they got $12,000 in treasure, and carried it about twenty miles and cached it in a cliff of rocks, that they had come back to Walla Walla valley, and were now at work in the harvest field.

"This story I told for the purpose of finding out where the rest of the party were, and it was entirely without foundation. I then asked him where the rest of the boys were, and he told me they had gone to Silver City to make a raid on Beachey's safe; that they would do it soon if they had not already. He then got to talking about Billings, and he said that he blamed Billings for being too fast; that if it had not been for him Welch would not have been killed in the Lemhi robbery last fall. I asked him if he saw Welch killed. He said he did; that he was the tall one they spoke of being among the robbers. About ten minutes after this conversation with me he was arrested and taken to prison by parties who came with me from Umatilla for that purpose. In a short time we were on our way to Silver City in pursuit of the rest of the robbers. We here arrested three,

George Savage, Goodwin, and one young man whose name I do not know, and brought them down to Boisé, where we got Wheeler, and continued on our journey. When within a mile or two of La Grande, it being very dark and rainy, Savage and Wheeler made good their escape from the stage. We continued on to town, and purchased horses and started in pursuit of the fugitives. On the second day, about two o'clock, we captured Wheeler within about three miles of La Burr's house. All the other prisoners arrived safe in Portland; Corey and Savage being the only two of the band at large."

On the Elko road in September 1868 eight masked men armed with Henry rifles, shotguns, and pistols, near Cold Creek station, called to the stage driver to stop and dismount.

"Take the horses by the bits then," said Faulks, for such was his name. "I have a frisky team to-night." The robbers complied with this reasonable request, as horses were not to be brought to a stand by guns. Next the driver was told to unhitch and take charge of his team. Two of the five passengers were women, who were politely assured by the chief of the band that they should not be molested.

"If we are attacked, it will be about here," remarked Mr Bichard to Shadrock Davis, the stage-agent, by whom he was seated on the box, with a slug-loaded shot-gun across his lap. It was on the Fort Yuma road, in November 1869, and the place was a ravine near Pilot Knob. Scarcely was the sentence uttered, when from the darkness the word "halt!" was heard, and two men appeared before the leaders. Bichard raised his gun and snapped the cap, but the charge did not explode. He then fired the other barrel, when one of the robbers cried, "My God, I am shot!" and fell dead. Other banditti now came up, and a skirmish with the passengers, who were prepared for them, followed. Finally the robbers were driven off, after they had killed one of the horses. Three of

them were subsequently captured. The desert is a bad place for banditti. Water and provisions are scarce, and the places for obtaining them are wide apart, so that if the attempt prove unsuccessful, their capture is almost certain. In this instance, one of them came into a station rather than die upon the desert.

On Wednesday night, the 20th of October, 1869, the moon shone brightly as the stage trundled out of Angeles on the Santa Bárbara road. Seven passengers were inside; Cliff was the driver, and beside him sat the ex-postal agent and correspondent of the San Francisco *Times*. Quarter past six was the hour of departure, and the occupants of the coach were not yet comfortably seated when, reaching a point about a mile from the outskirts of the city, four men, wearing masks of black cloth, with eye-holes, and tied round the neck, stepped forward from the road-side, where they had been sitting. Two of them caught the leaders by the reins, and a third, apparently chief of the band, rushed up to the wheel, and presenting a pistol, in a clear, authoritative, but not unpleasant, voice, cried, "Hold up there; put down that brake!" The driver obeyed.

"Keep your horses quiet; let that gentleman beside you throw out the express boxes, and there will be no trouble." Then turning to the ex-postal man, he said, "Now, hurry up that express matter." Slowly the ex-postal man drew out one of the boxes, and dropped it upon the road.

"The other box, and be quick about it." This was not spoken in a harsh or ungentlemanly tone, but there was that quiet, self-possessed determination in the voice that put an immediate end to the ex-postal man's meditations, and the second box lay beside the first. The ex-postal man, thinking his work done, now took his seat, when another order came.

"Get down, and step to the rear of the coach." This was spoken in a most affable manner, as though

discipline now secured, the speaker could afford to be pleasant. At the spot indicated stood the fourth robber, joined by one from the front.

"Have you any fire-arms?" he demanded of the ex-postal man, his new acquaintance.

"Yes," was the reply, drawing from his breast a pistol. Proceeding to the stage door, the chief addressed one of the passengers.

"Step out, sir; you have a belt, I believe," and thereupon took from him one thousand dollars in money and a derringer. The passenger was placed close to the ex-postal man, face to face, their noses almost touching. The other passengers were then ordered out, their money and valuables taken from them, after which they were arranged in pairs, in position similar to the first. About two thousand five hundred dollars in all was thus secured, when the chief robber ordered the passengers in, and said to Cliff, "Drive on, now, and be sure you don't come back."

Often, on both the northern and southern overland stage routes, the stations were attacked, the inmates killed, the houses robbed, and the stock driven off. The following is but one of scores of like occurrences. On Christmas eve, in 1870, three Mexicans rode up to the Mission Camp station on the Tucson road, thirty-six miles east of Arizona city, killed the inmates, three men and one woman, rifled the premises, and starting off were soon over the line into Sonora.

It is not often we find a whole hotel seized by banditti, as happened in the case of the Hoffman House, at Firebaugh's ferry, the 26th of February, 1873. It was after supper, when the guests were seated round the fire chatting and smoking, that there suddenly appeared in their midst a band of armed men, who ordered every one present to prostrate himself upon the floor, face downward, if he did not wish the assistance of a bullet in the operation. All were humbly obedient, and the work of plunder was quietly performed—so quietly, indeed, that the landlord, who was absent

at the time, knew nothing of it until he returned. On entering the door, he found his nose in uncomfortable proximity to the barrel of a six-shooter, and taking the hint, he immediately handed the bandit treasurer the key to his strong-box. Meanwhile the Visalia stage arrived, the driver of which, with all the passengers, were soon laid beside the other live corpses. And all this for $400 in money and $200 in clothing. Of the marauding party, one was French and the others Spanish. It hardly paid.

Quite an artistic piece of work was done on the eastward-bound train from Verdi the 4th of November, 1870. As the train was moving from the station, five armed men jumped aboard the express-car, and took possession of the train. The engineer was directed to stop at a stone-quarry four miles west of Reno. There the robbers were joined by three confederates, and $42,000 in gold were taken; $80,000 in silver were left strewn about the car floor, being too cumbersome to carry. This illustrates the disadvantage of a metallic currency, and speaks volumes for the demonetization of silver. During the robbery, the passenger cars were uncoupled from the others, and placed under guard. Their purpose accomplished, the robbers ordered the engineer to take them one mile farther, and there drop them, which being done, they struck out with their booty toward Washoe and Virginia city, and the rifled train proceeded on its way.

Arrived at Reno the alarm was given. The telegraph wires had been cut by the robbers, but they were quickly rejoined and soon the lightning was carrying the intelligence in every direction. Large rewards were offered by the express and railroad companies. Scouting parties were sent out from Reno, and detectives employed at San Francisco, Sacramento, and Virginia. The first arrest was that of Charles Roberts, keeper of the hotel in Antelope valley, whose house was known to be a rendezvous for desperadoes. To save himself Roberts made such

exposition as led to the capture of others. Tilton Cockerill was taken into custody at the hotel. Sol. Jones was arrested as he was entering Clover valley, in Plumas county, by a scouting party, and soon fancied his interest lay in conducting his captors to the spot where he and Cockerill had planted their share of the plunder, some $7,000 or $8,000. One by one the robbers were nearly all captured, and much of the treasure recovered. The name of the ring leader was J. Davis, formerly a mine superintendent at Virginia city, Nevada.

About this time an eastward bound passenger train was robbed on the Union Pacific road. Big Springs, Nebraska, was a lonely telegraph station, 162 miles east of Cheyenne, at which the train stopped when signaled to do so. The train was due at 10.48 P. M. About half past nine on the night of the 18th of September, 1877, thirteen masked men rode up to the station, cut the wires, demolished the telegraph instruments, and securing Barnhart, the keeper, ordered him to put out the red light, and give the signal that orders there awaited the train.

Barnhart obeyed. Obedience is a cardinal virtue in this region, and one very generally practised when gentlemen of the road command. Barnhart did not want to die. The railway was not his religion; besides, thirty dollars a month wages did not include martyrdom. It is well enough to talk to poor men about being faithful, and dying at their post; but, how faithful are rich men? how much sacrifice of self for others may we look for from a railway president or express manager? The train arrived on time and stopped. The engineer and fireman were soon secured, and a guard stationed at each door. The conductor on coming out upon the platform found his head between two revolvers. He was ordered to throw up his hands, which command he failed not to obey. From the express car was then taken $65,000 in coin and some in currency, and the passengers were

relieved of their money, watches, tickets, and other valuables. The arrival of a freight train put the robbers out a little, and hastened their departure. They mounted their horses and rode northward, leaving $300,000 unmolested in the through-safe, which having a combination lock they had not time to force open.

Before leaving the train the robbers had thrown water on the engine fires, but after they had gone the engineer quickly kindled them with the waste tallow. George Vroman was the name of this engineer, and he manifested more presence of mind, and bravery, than any of the others. As the train slackened, after shutting off steam and reversing his engine in answer to the signal, a voice called out, "Come down out of that," and a shot whizzed past his ear. Vroman sprang through the window of the cab, ran along the footboard, climbed over the boiler, and hid behind the dome. There he was discovered and placed under guard. When ordered to empty the water tanks he pretended to obey, but evaded the order, so that he was ready to move on very soon after the departure of the robbers.

Charles Miller, the express messenger, told a most doleful story. Never should he forget that horrible night, he said. As the train neared the captured station he was wakened from a pleasant sleep by the agent's private signal. He arose and looked out of the window, saw the red light, and opened his door. The robbers sprang in, and covering him with their weapons, broke open the way-safe and took from it some $400 in currency.

They then directed their attention to the combination through-safe, which was fastened to the iron-work of the car, under the messenger's folding berth, and whose combination was known only to the agents at Ogden, Cheyenne, and Omaha. The thieves examined it attentively, while one of them thrusting his cocked pistol in Miller's face ordered him to open it.

"I cannot open it," said Miller instinctively pushing aside the dangerous iron.

"You will, will you?" exclaimed the robber jamming the weapon into Miller's face and cutting his upper lip so that the blood flowed freely. This practice with the cocked pistol was continued for some time, until his head was badly bruised, when other terrorism was resorted to, as shoving him down upon the floor and jerking him up, throwing him over a chair, and like unpleasurable gymnastics. The messenger protested he could not open the safe, and begged for mercy, until at last, overcome with pain, he implored the thieves to kill him and have done with it. The conductor, hearing the messenger's cries, assured the robbers that it was utterly beyond his power to open the safe, and explained to them how it was, so as finally to convince them. The arrival of the freight train before mentioned put a stop to further proceedings. As Miller's tormentor turned from him to take his final departure, he placed his revolver against his head and hissed,—"You dirty whelp; if I thought you knew that combination I would blow your brains out."

After a detention of an hour, the cut wires were lapped, the alarm was given, and the train moved on. The railway and express companies offered $5,000 each for the capture of the robbers and the recovery of the money. The robbers were pursued, and within a week, two of them were overtaken between Denver and Wallace. Showing fight they were killed, and $20,000 of the stolen money was recovered.

But this is wandering far from our pastoral highwaymen. The examples here given, however, show quite a stride of progress in the profession, from the roadwork of the dashing Murieta and Vazquez to robbing railway trains beside the wires speeding lightning intelligence!

CHAPTER XXII.

FOUNDING OF THE GREAT METROPOLIS.

Sed itum est in viscera terral;
Quasque recondiderat, Stygüsque admoverat umbris,
Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum.

—*Ovid.*

We have elsewhere seen how civilization on the shores of San Francisco bay had its beginning; it was also during the days of Pastoral California that the foundations of the future metropolis were here laid. It was here upon the border of Yerba Buena cove that the quiet hold on men of the pastoral period was rudely snapped asunder by the first great throes of progress incident to the gold-digging era; and it is here, more properly than elsewhere, that we should take our leave of the old-time régime, and introduce the new. It is here, more plainly than elsewhere, that we see coming from over the shimmering sea, from the far western embrace of sky and ocean, the golden, glittering light of the setting sun, which marks the passing hence of the golden age; on the morrow begins the age of gold!

Civilization was a long time in coming hither. The highest enlightenment of reason was not quick to complete its circuit round the globe. It should not be forgotten that Pastoral California, vegetating between the points of time 1769 and 1848, was the beginning of the end of man's intellectual encompassment of the earth. Nor would it appear unnatural, that after a westward glance at the seemingly limitless ocean, the mind should turn backward to dwell for a moment

on the ways by which this supreme achievement had wrought itself out.

From the Armenian Garden, following orthodox mythology, or from the Bactrian as the Germans have it; from Ethiopia, Egypt, or Arabia; from the rich and beautiful valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, or from the Gobi desert; from Babylon's tower-top, or from the mounts of Caucasas, Altai, or Atlas —from the primordial centres of population, the hypothetical cradle of the human race, wherever or whatever these may have been, thence men primeval looked to the east and to the west, and taking upon them their several rôles they began their march of centuries, which was to end only on their reaching the ends of the earth. On every side of this geographical centre—so runs the tale—primeval waters covered the earth, and as these waters receded the limits of terrestrial life were extended, and the race dispersed; yet some say that there was no one common primordial centre at all, but that every region sufficiently favored by nature had its own centre of population, thus making men everywhere products of the soil.

However this may have been, certain it is that European civilization was, for many ages, confined to narrow central limits within the temperate zone, and that beyond these limits, as beyond the limits of the knowable of every age and every belief, were the realms of fancy, inhospitable climes, and supernatural domains filled with creatures of the imagination, uncouth monsters and beautiful fairies, seraphs and hobgoblins, angels and devils. Jove reigned on Mount Olympus, and Pluto presided over the infernal regions; meanwhile this earth was measured and mapped, the stars were told, and the track of the sun marked out as it made its daily circuit over the heads and before the eyes of men. Opinion was no less dogmatic then than now.

Strabo, the Greek geographer, undertook to define the boundaries of the then known world; after him

the Roman, Pomponius Mela, and later still the Alexandrian, Ptolemy, who embodied in his system all the knowledge of his predecessors, and whose works with their twenty and more revisions were the standard text-books for thirteen centuries—that is to say from the second to the fifteenth. Ptolemy's world embraced little more than the shores of the Mediterranean, those of the Persian gulf and the Red sea. Northward was a belt of cold, and southward a belt of heat—a frigid and a fiery zone, that no man might inhabit, nor even so much as pass through. Nevertheless, somehow in due time men were crowded through or over these frost and fire walls, willingly or unwillingly it may have been, forced to the north and to the south, and were bleached and blackened thereby; but contemporaneous wise men apparently knew little of it; nor of these barbaric migrations, forced or otherwise, have I here anything to say. It is sufficient to know that in those days, to men of science and philosophy, the world, which was the true cosmos or universe, had ends and sides, and top and bottom; to the east and to the west were the ends, on the north and on the south were the sides; and these sides, as before said, were impenetrable walls, a wall of frost and a wall of fire. Heaven was above and hell beneath; and being unable in the flesh to attain the one, and unwilling to explore the other, there was no help for these ancients but to remain cooped up within some thirty or forty degrees of latitude, and from their aboriginal centre slowly to mark out for themselves paths to the eastward, and to the westward. And this they did; and after certain centuries reached the earth's end—that toward the east on the shores of the China sea being a veritable end, that toward the west on the shores of what they called the Sea of Darkness, a hypothetical or imaginary and mistaken end. True, long before Ptolemy, Plato had peopled Atlantis, and the learned Alexandrian geographer knew of the Fortunate Isles, now

called the Canaries, lying some distance out in this sea of darkness, and made them his western limit or first meridian; which, indeed, save as a nucleus of poetic myths, seems at that time to have been their only use. But for several thousand years it was thought that the ends of the earth had been reached, that they were separated only by the sea of darkness, and that they were no great distance apart. Even the daring Genoese himself died in this belief, supposing that he had only crossed over from one end of the earth to the other.

Later, notwithstanding the sea of darkness with its real perils and its fabulous monsters, the leaven of progress working in compressed humanity, caused European civilization to burst its boundaries, and a farther west was found; first, from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, by way of Scandinavia to Iceland, and Greenland, and Helluland, and Vinland, as recorded in the sagas of the northmen; and then again in the fifteenth century, when, after a refreshing mediæval slumber, mankind awoke and heard the very winds and waves of the dark sea crying for investigation, whispering of rich realms beyond, of lands and gold and slaves; then it was when this beyond would no longer rest quietly undiscovered, that Isabella of Spain and the Genoese navigator entered into a little speculation, if so be they might thereby control a hemisphere between them. Strangely enough these tardy adventurers found the New World already peopled; whence they tried to tell but could not. The fathers gazed upon naked red-painted men and women, then rushed to holy writ and cried Behold the scattered tribes of Israel! Philosophers examined tawny skin and lank hair and astutely considered form and features; then some said they were Phœnicians, others Egyptians, Scandinavians, Africans, Chinese, Japanese, until the whole eastern hemisphere was ransacked to find a father for the Americans.

But the end was not yet. The Spaniards by sailing west had reached no new western earth's end, but only, as they supposed, the old east end. Instead of journeying eastward overland through India, or following the newer route of Prince Henry round the cape of Good Hope, they had cut across from end to end, and distanced Portugal and England, and all the world. But alas for the geography of Ptolemy, for the careful calculations of Columbus, for the measurings of worlds unknown, and of seas unsailed! So are fading gradually all the lines and angles of every admeasurement of every beyond! The globe was larger by one third than the fifteenth century measure; nevertheless, as the Genoese surmised, sailing far enough in that direction would bring him in some way around to the other end. That is to say, but for America, which lay stretched out in mid ocean almost from pole to pole, and until every foot of it was surveyed, European navigators did not cease their attempts to find a passage through, and but for a mutinous crew that clamored loudly for land, Columbus might have reached India, might by sailing west have found the east; nay, he was sure he had found it, for he called the country India West, the people Indians, and straightway set about looking for the Grand Khan and the magnificent cities of Marco Polo. Cuba he knew to be Zipangu, that is to say Japan, and he made his seamen swear that they had touched the coast of Asia. But swearing that it was so, and dying in that belief, did not make it so; it was much the same, however, to the unconscious navigators who sailed to and fro as among the Islands of the Blessed, fancying themselves meanwhile well-nigh at their antipodes.

The first Spaniard to touch the continent of North America was the adventurous notary of Triana, Rodrigo de Bastidas, who sailed along the shores of Darien in 1501; but not until Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, in 1513; crossed the Darien isthmus, and stood upon

the border of the broad Pacific, was the ultimate of this western earth's end attained. Entering the water, he stood there knee deep in brine, ranting to the winds and waves, claiming sovereignty over half the world, talking to nations beneath his feet, to multitudes of savage islanders, talking to Kamtchatka, to China, to Australia, and to the two Americas, ten thousand miles of western seaboard, talking to the old other earth's end, talking westward to the east, hailing across half a hemisphere of ocean old-time migrators from the opposite direction. And, indeed, he was the first from the Gobi desert thus privileged so to talk.

Next the licentiate, Gaspar de Espinosa, explored the shores of this new South Sea one hundred leagues northwestwardly, and after him Gil Gonzalez, a little farther; then Hernan Cortés, with his keen-scented band, despoiled Montezuma the Second of his Mexican empire, and afterward surveyed the gulf of Cortés, now California, taking possession of all the lands he could hold on every side; Pascual de Andagoya sailed southward from Panamá, and was followed by Francisco Pizarro, who vied successfully with all his brethren in avarice and cruelty; Nuño de Guzman penetrated northward from the city of Mexico, and Cabeza de Vaca crossed from Florida to Sinaloa. Ulloa, Coronado, and Mendoza took possession of the seven cities of Cíbola, now New Mexico, and the country round about; hundreds of priests and pilferers, for the love of God and the love of gold, spread out in every direction; zealous fathers, Jesuit, Dominican, and Franciscan, ready to lay down their lives for souls, planted a line of missions, at intervals of fifteen leagues or thereabouts, nearly a thousand miles in extent, stretching from Cape St Lucas through the two Californias to San Francisco bay—a marvel of missionary enterprise unexampled in the annals of the church; Cabrillo and the English pirate, Drake, sailed northward along the shores of California; Monaldo and Juan de Fuca

voyaged to the imaginary strait of Anian, and Captain Cook, Bodega y Quadra, Maurelle, and Arteaga continued the survey of the coast to Mount St Elias and beyond; French and English fur-hunters crossed from Hudson bay and the Mississippi river, and the Russians from Kamtchatka—and the finding of the western earth's end was complete.

What then? Six thousand, or sixty thousand, years had been consumed in this journey from the Gobi desert to San Francisco, distant apart scarce half the earth's circumference along the line of the thirty-seventh parallel straight as the bird flies. True, other men, somehow, from somewhere, had found their way thither before Vasco Nuñez; but they were not of this fold, they entered not by the gate, they were civilization's black sheep, not of Christ but of Belial, not children of God but children of the devil. Besides which, they occupied too much land—more than they could properly account for to their maker, or to his vicegerent of St Peter's, and had more gold than was good for naked wild men keeping no bank account. So the orthodox Gobi desert men turned to and killed them off, theoretically, because God had made a mistake after building America in putting them there, practically because they wanted their lands themselves. Hence, as a recorded beginning at either extremity of this ten thousand miles of thirty-seventh parallel, we have the origin of a race and the end of a race, a cradle and a grave. Strange that puritan, priest, and plunderer should join hands in an unholy crusade on men whose only crime against their despoilers was in being what God had made them, and enjoying what God had given them. And look at the flimsy attempt at justification by civilization for such diabolicalism. "Better be in hell than unbaptized," cried Zumárraga and his confréres, and straightway millions were slaughtered for the meek and lowly Christ. "Castilians were not made for work," said Cortés to his companions; "why should we labor with

our hands for that which we can more easily win with our swords?"—so other millions were reduced to slavery, and made to plant maize, and dig for gold. Even our latter-day jurists write in their books, "Barbarous nations have no right to hold large tracts of uncultivated lands needful to overcrowded civilization"; and yet the civilized gentleman may have his ten or twenty thousand acres of forest or park while as many fenced-out paupers starve. Why have savages not the rights of civilized men? Why may they not enjoy their heritage, and unfold after their fashion? Did the almighty make the world cultivated, and man civilized, or gave he rights to one over another? Say, rather, that savagism has not the might to hold its lands; or better still, say nothing about it, and let myterious progress have its way. Of a truth, the Gobi desert men made of this western earth's end a rare slaughter-house when they had found it. There was no escape for the poor unbaptized; Vasco Nuñez with wet feet rang out their requiem from the shores of Panamá bay, and the end of their thousand or ten thousand ages of unwritten history is at hand. Whence they came and why, what they left accomplished, and whither they have gone, who shall say?

Truly may we declare the finding of this western earth's end to be accomplished. There is no more left of this little world within the walls of frost and fire, no more unoccupied temperate zone, no more of God's government lands fit for a white man to live on, which may be had for the clearing of it. The former littleness of man and the greatness of his surroundings may now be contrasted with the present greatness of man and the littleness of his surroundings; for thus were occupied six thousand, or sixty thousand, years in accomplishing a ten thousand miles' journey, which may now be made between moons.

Now, with the western earth's end found, and its aboriginal occupants comfortably put to rest, what is civilization going to do about it? It is well enough

to look back through history that we may learn what others have done under like conditions, but nowhere do we find the conditions; nowhere in the annals of our race do we find a society or a civilization similarly conditioned to that of the Pacific states of North America to-day. No other part of America or of the globe was so settled. Never before was one half the world discovered, seized, and appropriated by the other half; never before were the native races of so vast an area annihilated by their conquerors; never before have all the civilized and semi-civilized nations of the globe combined their energies to form a new creation. Many nations have been subdued, annihilated by other nations; many colonies have been planted in various parts, at various times, by various peoples, but never before did all the world unite for purposes of colonization and settlement. The colonies founded by Carthaginians and Phœnicians on the shores of the Mediterranean, and later those of Greece and Rome in Asia, Africa, and other parts of Europe, were simply one with the mother country, having no life, or nationality, or individuality, and though they lived to be a thousand years old, so long as the mother was strong enough, or until she died, she nursed them. Europe partitioned among her nations the two Americas, and yet the recipients were not satisfied. Each was keenly jealous of all the others, constantly fearful lest some part of their sometimes unknown territory should be infringed on, or that some straggling merchant or trapper should carry away some of their gold, or peltries, or slaves. Even Isabella of Castile, a devoted spouse and high-minded woman, would not allow her husband's subjects the same New World privileges as her own; indeed, for some time after its discovery, none but Castillians might go to the Indies without special license. All this, however, is now at an end; colonization was well enough in its way, but like superstition, and war, and despotism, and bigotry, —all at certain epochs essential to human progress,—

this latter-day civilization of ours wants none of them.

The world has become so small of late, and its several parts brought into such nearness of relationship, that there is no more room for colonization; and those superannuated societies, those old offspring that still cling to their mother's apron-string would do well, for both parent and child, to sever the connection as soon as possible. Were Canada to assume a manly independence, and become a vital actuality, land would not be worth twice as much on one side of the Niagara river as on the other.

California is no colony, nor in the ordinary acceptation of the term, has it ever been. It has been and is what no other part of the world ever has been or will be. It is a spot reserved by providence for the solution of the grandest problem incident to humanity. It is the last parcel of temperate zone, kept fresh by nature for the planting of a new empire, whereunto all the nations of the earth, with all their combined mechanical contrivances and mental activities, are contributing of their energies. It is the special domain of the new social science, where social evolution may find freest play, where, stripped of many of the old-time prejudices, men think for themselves, and where the survival of the fittest in the world's art, industry, science, literature, and opinion is sure to prevail. Into its lap are emptied the world's storehouse of knowledge, the accumulation of all human experiences. Latest born of nations, all nations assemble at the birth. At once the frontier and terminus of progress, it stands out in bold, infantile bigness. Essentially cosmopolitan, both theoretically and instinctively, it belongs to no polity, sect, or creed, but to humanity; any citizen of the world may, in a short time—too short a time—become its citizen, made one with its people and its interests. Nominally joined to a confederation of states, with which it is in hearty sympathy, and from which it hopes never to be called upon to separate, really it does much as it pleases, and

feels the pulsations of prosperities and panics on the other side of the continent only in a faint degree.

And as with California, so with the rest. Few parts of the world present such unique and varied interests as this western coast of North America. Few parts of the world ever so drew on every other part; like the prevailing winds and oceanic currents along its borders, the intelligence and industries of all nations flow thereto. Few parts of the world, in regard to its natural products, were ever so drawn upon by every other part; grain from valleys and table-lands, and gold from rich gulches and metal-veined sierras, the one giving life to man, and the other to commerce, under some one of their several influences penetrate the remotest channels of human intercourse. Besides this, there are numberless correlative cords of greater or lesser tension—cords of remembrance, that draw the wanderer ever toward his early home; oppugnant cords of ambition, avarice, which at the first were improving industries, laudable activities, and praiseworthy enterprise, but which later stiffen into shackles, fossilizing the features, and steeling the heart, and drawing the victim ever farther and farther from the redeeming memories of a purer life; cords of intertwined affections, not without overstretchings, and sometimes snappings, but which will not be wholly put aside or uprooted; cords of prejudice, of patriotism, of fanaticism, of numberless loves and hates, radiating hence as from a common centre to the farthest corners of christendom and pagandom.

Now, without attempting the rôle of prophet, standing here by Yerba Buena cove, on the site of the future metropolis, there are some things connected with the future of this Pacific domain which, in the ordinary course of human events, may with some degree of certainty be anticipated. For example, we may claim for our Pacific empire, whether it be composed of one nation or of several, a unity found in no other territory of equal importance and extent on the globe.

First, the boundaries of this territory are well defined; not imaginary, nor hypothetically drawn, but fixed and determined as walls of adamant, and by nature herself. On the one side is the continental axis, in the form of a series of continuous, irregularly-terraced mountain ranges, which, as a mountain system, without including that of South America, rightly belonging to it, is the longest and broadest line of elevated surface on the earth. And if this Rocky mountain chain be not protection or impediment enough, there is yet another higher, more sharply-defined, and precipitous parallel range, with a nomenclature beginning at the north with the Alaskan mountains, continued by the Cascade range, the Sierra Nevada, and finally subsiding toward the southern extremity of Lower California—an inner wall, giving to the country its climate, and to the people their character; checking the moisture-laden currents from the Japan sea, wringing from the clouds their fertilizing dew, and throwing it back upon the western slope; meanwhile checking somewhat the arid Rocky mountain air, that sometimes sweeps down from the treeless steppes and elevated plains to the eastward; walling in warmth and humidity, and walling out cold and dryness, thus giving to the Pacific coast a higher average temperature, and toward the north, where the Japan currents first strike the continent, a moister climate, than that of corresponding eastern latitudes. On the other side is a common oceanic highway, inviting to free intercourse. This two-fold influence, the one barring out contiguous nations while walling in the states of the Pacific, the other bringing into nearness the inhabitants of the whole seaboard, and letting light in from all the world, will shape the destiny of our future empire.

Though continental, this western strip of Pacific seaboard is essentially oceanic. There will be little need here of fighting for an outlet to pent up industries. Our whole domain fronts on the world's largest

maritime thoroughfare. As this planet is laid out and constructed, we have a first-class location. Measured from the mouth of the Mackenzie river, along the border of the Arctic Ocean westward to Bering strait, thence southward along the Pacific to Panamá, across the Isthmus, and northward along the gulf shores to Rio del Norte, and seven thousand miles of travel will scarcely complete the circuit.

But how stands the matter in regard to the southern portion of our Pacific territory, where the continent narrows down to a succession of isthmuses, the last of which, obnoxious to commerce—all the more tantalizing by reason of its insignificance—is but a mere thread, holding together the two continents. What elements of unity are here? what affinity can exist between this and the region to the northward? Surely Mexico and Central America should form an exception to the rule. There is no spot on earth so central, none so easily accessible to every other spot, as this same string of isthmuses. Its shores are washed by the two mightiest of oceans; it is equally convenient to both sides of the two Americas, to Europe, to Asia, to Africa, and to Australia. It is the natural pivot upon which the commerce of the world should turn; the balance of trade should be always in its favor. It should be the common fair-ground of nations for the interchange of the world's knowledges; of arts, of industries, and of science; of merchandise, money, and mind. Besides its magnificent central situation, with the eyes of all continents and great islands ever upon it, its interior is one of the most lovely and favorable retreats for man. There, indeed, the primitive races of America attained their highest culture. Descending from the north, the Rocky mountain chain as it enters the hot and humid air of the tropics, rises into cooler and more healthful regions, and flattens out in a broad plateau, or series of plateaux, delightful for the abode of man, where reigns perpetual spring, and fruits and flowers

never cease to come and go,—a happy Absynian Valley, fit for Plato's Republic, or More's Utopia.

What, then, prevents this fair domain from asserting its sovereignty, and becoming the new Venice? Simply this: it is walled up, shut in on every side but one, and that opening to the north and into the temperate zone of our Pacific territory. Lest this fair land should play the wanton with less favored spots, nature surrounds her borders with a miasmatic *tierra caliente*, which renders the occupation of her shores impossible to any but the acclimated. So deadly is the influence on Europeans of the swampy exhalations from the border-lands of Mexico and Central America, that the oft-repeated attempts to found there large cities has in every instance proved a disastrous failure. From the earliest times of which we have any knowledge, the aboriginal inhabitants of the highlands could not live upon the sea-coast. Now, Mexican merchants, of European origin, doing business in the seaport towns, often have their residence in the hills or mountains back, visiting their places of business at intervals, and hastening back at the earliest possible moment. I might cite twenty examples where the Spaniards have attempted to plant cities on either side of this land, and failed, at a cost of more than twice as many thousand lives,—instance Veragua, Santa María de la Antigua, Portobello, old Panamá, Espiritu Santo, and the like. Hence it is that the only safe and natural pathway for the occupants of Mexican and Central American plateaux is northward along their table-lands, and into the more northerly part of our Pacific States domain. Let him who does not see the natural oneness of this region, put two or three lines of railways from Alaska to the isthmus of Panamá so that intercommunication, that prime element of progress, can be free and easily accomplished, and the sceptic will not have long to wait for results.

With a general average climate cold enough to

stimulate to industry, but not so cold as to make comfort depend on the entire product of man's labor; warm enough to invite to refining leisure, but not so hot as to enervate or sap the energies of body or mind; with rain enough to warrant, for the most part, an abundant harvest but not sufficient—except along the borders of the aforesaid southern part, insignificant in area as compared to the whole—to produce a redundant or uncontrollable vegetation, here are all the elements and stimulants of high culture. Indeed, that the advanced civilization of the Aztecs, Mayas, and Quichés, of the southern table-lands, was not likewise found in the equally favorable parts to the northward, must be attributed, not to soil or climate, but to unknown incidental or extrinsic causes, to wars and social convulsions, to the turnings and over-turnings of the long unrecorded past. So far as we can now see, there is nothing here to prevent man from being master, nothing to prevent the complete subordination of nature, and the complete development of mankind in perpetual unfoldings. Although extending almost from pole to equator, intersecting nearly all the northern latitudes, there are fewer extremes of climate in what may be termed the habitable portions of the Pacific States than one at the first glance would suppose. And this freedom from extremes I hold to be the fundamental element of progress, of perfect living, and happy dying; this freedom is a freedom from the greatest curse humanity is heir to, from indeed the only evil, the impersonation of all evil,—extremes of opinion, of action; extremes in religion, in polity, and in society. Nature herself teaches us the lesson; our very mother earth for the highest perfecting of her children must be moderate, neither too much gentleness nor too much harshness, neither sterility nor redundancy, neither bleak hills and barren plains, lest the people starve, nor an undue or superabundant vegetation, lest man

be overwhelmed, and swallowed up by it; for in either case how shall he obtain the mastery over material things, still less over ignorance and superstition?

Along the shores of the Arctic ocean and the strait of Bering, the Eskimo, for three-fourths of the year, dozes torpidly in his den, and must forever so doze, unless his climate changes. His three months of nightless summer are an insufficient compensation for his three months of sunless winter, and the six months of glimmering twilight. The lowlands of Central America, under a vertical sun, which lifts unceasingly the waters from either ocean, and pours them on the land, covering the swampy soil with a dense damp foliage of hot-house growth and decay, generating disease and death, is a fitter home for noxious reptiles and wild beasts than for civilized man. A fringe of cold and heat at either end, and on the side dryness; for besides the ill-fated hyperborean and tropical man, the root and reptile-eating cave-dweller of the Great Basin, between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky mountains, are equally unfortunate. There alternate barren hills and treeless plains and rainless seas of sand, which afford cold comfort for man and beast. Thus we find the seat of our imperial domain well-nigh circumscribed by ill-favored elements, while one of the fairest portions of earth lies within, basking before the broad Pacific sea. At either end and on the western side are the extremes, cold and heat, and dryness, and these and all other extremes men do well everywhere to shun—but the ill-favored borders as compared to the territory enclosed is insignificant both in area and importance. At the extreme north and south rain falls often and abundantly, while the portion intermediate is watered alternately—the northern part in the so-called winter months, and the southern part in the summer. It were easy to show, likewise, that in the scarcity of great navigable rivers, railways and the ocean will direct traffic, making one place almost as accessible as

another, throwing all into contiguity with less provincialism and clanship than are found in older societies.

In the geological formation of the Pacific domain, nature's convulsive throes are everywhere manifest. Its origin is igneous rather than aqueous; fire is the architect of its hills, and in place of large rivers, and inland seas, and broad prairies that characterize the eastern slope, there are mighty mountain ranges thrown into sunlight from below, and covered with volcanic peaks which stand like plutonic smoke-stacks all along the seaboard from Saint Elias to Nicaragua, while the seething Geyser-chaldrons, and innumerable thermal and sulphuric springs that form the safety-valves of subterranean laboratories, give warning that the underlying forge-fires are not yet wholly extinguished. Even the hazy morning air, resting on green hill or more distant purple sierra, betokens its peculiar creation.

In the absence of many extensive harbors in near proximity to each other, population and commerce will be concentrated; there will be fewer large cities on the western than there are on the eastern coast. The principal indentations of the western coast are the open bay of Panamá, the smaller parts of Nicoya and Fonseca, the great gulf of California, the bays of San Diego and San Francisco, the mouth of the Columbia river, and the sounds in the vicinity of Vancouver, Queen Charlotte and Kadiak islands. As if to make amends for the scarcity of good harbors along the shore line of their vast navigable waters, midway between its hot and cold extremes was fashioned one, which in its formation, betokens the most skilful art and fairest handiwork.

Such were the paths by which the Gobi desert men found their way to this western earth's end, and made ready to plant a new Babylon at Yerba Buena cove. Climates come and go; on the same spot of

earth we see geologic evidences of vast periods,—now of Arctic winter, and now of tropical summer. That which was once sea is now land, and where seas once rolled mountains now point their summits heavenward. So it is with men in their hopes and fears, their beliefs and blind imaginings, their hot desires, and mad ambitions.

Innumerable as are the secrets of the universe, they reveal themselves to man but slowly. So it was when cizilization crept from primeval centers seeking new channels like the melted snow sent by the all-awakening sun down from the mountain top upon the arid plain. Cautiously the clouded intellect peeps from old-time surroundings over the sea of darkness out into the savage wilderness beyond the limits of the advancing light.

Why our old teachers, so eager here to make us understand, should be so backward to enlighten us when they get to heaven and know as they are known, none can tell. When in 1769 the Franciscan fathers went forth to spy out the land northward from San Diego bay, they marked the places favorable to their missions, and from the calendar of saints and angels drew names to tell the several spots. Now, Padre Junípero, history relates, was deeply solicitous that the patron of his order, thrice blessed St Francis, should have due recognition in the bestowal of names, to which honor the saint himself seemed indifferent, for never a day and a bay would he give them together. In vain the padre president besought God and asked the virgin's aid. Then he urged the matter upon the visitador general, Galvez, who bluntly replied, "If our seraphic father, Saint Francis of Assisi, would have his name to signalize some station on these shores, let him show us a good haven."

So when the little band under Father Crespí, after wearily plodding along an unbroken sea-coast from San Diego, first stood upon the highlands overlooking a broad placid lake-like and well-nigh land-locked

sheet, fringed with verdure, dotted with green isles, and filled with noisy water-fowls, and riotous seals and sea-lions, while over the glittering waters the soft sweet hazy Californian air cast its peculiar charm, "Surely," they said, "this must be the bay of San Francisco." And so it was called. Planned by no niggardly architect, sculptured by no bungling hand, broad and deep like a highland loch, with well rounded borders, and sentinel islands, and massive portals, with bays within bays, and stretching altogether sixty miles in length, averaging six miles in width, with a shore line of two hundred and seventy miles or thereabouts, San Francisco bay is unsurpassed in beauty and utility by any the sun shines upon. Into it flow the San Joaquin and Sacramento, floating seaward the wondrous mineral and agricultural wealth of their valleys, while between two cliffs, less than a mile asunder, is the only channel communicating with the ocean, the Golden Gate, which opens to the world California's treasures. Here on a peninsula which separates the waters of the bay from those of the sea are now being laid the foundations of a mighty metropolis, the queen city of this coast, while stretching out two thousand miles to the north, and two thousand miles to the south, lies the western world's end, ready and waiting for the great problem which is to be worked out by the bringing together, and heaping up, of human experiences, a fair and chosen spot whereon man may achieve his ultmate endeavor.

On the northern end of the peninsula, about half way between the Golden Gate and Clark Point, and three miles northwest of what was subsequently called Yerba Buena cove where first the present city of San Francisco began to grow, at a little indentation of the shore, was planted, in the year 1776, the presidio of San Francisco, and on a rocky eminence, at the narrowest point of the Golden Gate, a fort. The miniature bay in front of it where all vessels then

anchored was called the port of San Francisco, and the mission, which was established some four miles away over the sand-hills toward the south, on a little gulf—or lake the father called it—that ran up from the bay, was at first called the mission of San Francisco, but afterward was often termed the mission of Dolores. There was then no town. A few so-called settlers congregated about the presidio, or took up their residence at the mission; but all the peninsula, bay, mission, presidio, and settlement were known only by the name of San Francisco. Yerba Buena cove was more sheltered than the port of the presidio, so that vessels often lay at anchor there for greater safety. It was likewise nearer to the mission, and a better landing for that point. Roads ran from Yerba Buena to the mission and to the presidio, and from the presidio to the fort, and to the mission.

The first marriage celebrated in the church of the presidio of San Francisco was on the 28th of November, 1776, between Francisco Antonio Cordero, a soldier of the Monterey company, and Juana Francisca Pinto, daughter of Pablo Pinto, a soldier of the presidial company of San Francisco. Cordero was born in Loreto, Lower California, and his bride in the city of Sinaloa. Father Palou performed the marriage ceremony. The next marriage was that of José Francisco Sinova, a soldier from Spain, and María Gertrúdis Bohorques, of Sinaloa.

On the tenth day of August previous, Palou had baptized the first white child born in the presidio of San Francisco, Francisco Soto, a son of the soldier Ignacio Soto and his wife María Bárbaro de Lugo. The first person buried in the presidio church was Manuela Luz Muñoz.

On the testimony of Juan Salvio Pacheco, who came from Monterey in 1810 as a soldier in the military company assigned to the presidio in San Francisco, the first of the adobe buildings at the fort were then built, and others in process of construction.

All were finished when he left the service fifteen years later. Mission Dolores was built before he arrived. At that time, when Mexico was throwing off the yoke of Spain, the finances of the government were in a sad state, and loyalty was purchased by the soldier at the price of his wages. The soldiers of the presidio were faithful to Spain; Spain had not wherewith to pay them; consequently for ten years they were penniless.

The origin of the name of Yerba Buena is as follows: Between what was later Clark and Rincon points, there was a cove or crescent at the head of which, where later was the junction of Montgomery and Sacramento streets, was a little laguna, lake, or arm of the bay, on whose borders grew a kind of mint, the seeds of which were supposed to have been accidently dropped there by the sailors who used to land in this cove long before there was any human habitation. The people prized the herb for its medicinal properties, and gathered and dried it for family use.

Echeandía, the jefe-político and comandante general, visited this place in 1827. Leaving mission Santa Clara on the morning of May 20th, he reached the presidio of San Francisco at three o'clock the same day. There *su senoria* was received by the officers Ignacio Martinez and José Sanchez amid a salvo of artillery, and the ringing of bells. He passed the night in the quarters prepared for him, at the break of day mounted his horse and reviewed the troops, expressing his pleasure at their proficiency, and his sorrow that such brave fellows should be in so ragged a condition and look so care-worn. Addressing his secretary, Zamorano, he directed that two hundred dollars should be delivered to the habilitado of the company wherewith to purchase clothing for such well-deserving veterans. The jefe next visited Yerba Buena, ascended one of the seven hills, later known as Telegraph hill, which overlooked the place, and

carried away by the enthusiasm evoked by the magnificent scene before him, exclaimed, "How beautiful! How wonderful! Mexico does not know what a jewel she possesses here." While at the presidio Echeandía, who was an engineer officer, spent several days drawing plans for the building of forts near the entrance of the bay, taking note also of the islands of Alcatraz and Angeles as points of defence.

When ready to return Echeandía made a speech to the garrison of the presidio, praising the men for the good services they had done to the cause of civilization, and assured them that he would consider it a high honor to lead them to the field of glory. In conclusion he said "Your officers have made me aware of one fact that you are displeased because the government of Mexico has sent criminals to settle in the country that during so many years you have defended with unequal bravery. I recognize the justice of your complaints; and you may rest assured that I will spare no efforts to induce the government of Mexico to change its purpose of colonizing California with convicts."

One night during the year 1840, a panther, which had been observed for several days prowling about the settlement, seized and carried off an Indian boy eight years old from the yard of Mr Leese, where now is the corner of Clay and Dupont streets. The boy was not rescued, nor ever afterward seen. During the same year Captain Phelps whose ship, the *Alert*, owned by Bryant, Sturgis & Co. of Boston, then lay at Yerba Buena, sent his second officer with a boat's crew to cut firewood at Rincon point. Placing the firkin containing their provisions in the fork of a tree the sailors went to work. At noon, on going for their dinner, they found a female grizzly bear and her cubs posted round the firkin cooly discussing its contents. Not relishing the air and manner of the matron, the sailors beat a hasty retreat, and rushing down to the beach made for the ship as fast as possible. This

scene occurred not far from where was placed Folsom street wharf.

In 1834, General José Figueroa, the chief civil authority of California, in accord with the wishes of the people of San Francisco presidio, who were unwilling to continue longer under military authority, directed that a popular election should be held for a municipal corporation. Sub-lieutenant M. G. Vallejo, then comandante of the place, was ordered to remove the presidial or cavalry company to Sonoma, and ample powers were given him to form a colony there.

Figueroa was next asked to permit Yerba Buena to trade with foreign vessels, which hitherto had been prohibited, the law requiring that vessels should lay almost under the guns of the fort. This had been the practice from the earliest days of the presidio, although duties had been paid on ships and cargoes at the custom-house of Monterey, and vessels came to San Francisco under special license. General Figueroa, being always desirous of promoting the advancement of California, decreed that the fondeadero, or the anchoring-ground, of Yerba Buena—so called for a long time past—should be thereafter the trading place or port, open to foreign vessels which had entered their cargoes at the Monterey custom-house, this privilege being also extended to whaling ships. Pedro del Castillo, an old resident, was then appointed a receiver of public revenue.

The alcalde, Francisco Sanchez, being satisfied that the Yerba Buena anchorage was likely to attain great importance from these concessions, petitioned Figueroa to transfer and found the municipality of San Francisco at the mission of San Francisco de Asis, or Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The former was the legitimate name of the mission, and on Saint Francis' day, October 4th, was yearly celebrated by the inhabitants and missionaries with feasts and rejoicing: the latter was looked upon as a patroness of the mission, and the people used to shorten the name, and from

custom during many years came to call the establishment la mision de Dolores. The name of the mission of San Francisco Solano was also changed by usage to Sonoma, which is a name of the aborigines of the place.

Pursuant to the petition of Sanchez, General Figueroa transferred the municipality of San Francisco to the mission Dolores, granting to it jurisdiction over the whole territory of the presidio, including Yerba Buena, the ranchos situated in the Contra Costa, and even as far as that of Las Pulgas on the south; all these places were thus put under the municipal government of San Francisco residing in the mission Dolores.

At this time, José Joaquin Estudillo, an old military officer of the presidio of San Francisco, was residing in Contra Costa with a large family, and having no land of his own, he addressed a petition to Figueroa modestly asking for the place called Yerba Buena, to establish there a small rancho. Figueroa caused an investigation to be made by the territorial deputation. Juan B. Alvarado, who later became governor of California, was then a member of that board, and opposed the petition, being prompted thereto, as he says in a letter which I have in my possession, "by the conviction that as the port had been opened to foreign trade by Figueroa, it was very natural that a commercial town should be founded in this place, and therefore inexpedient that the land should be granted to a single person. Whereupon the petition was not granted. This expediente, which was formed in the most legal manner, was seen by me in the possession of a lawyer in San Francisco when the revising commission were examining United States titles, and I was consulted upon its validity. I testified that it had none, for the reasons above set forth. The result was that Figueroa issued a decree authorizing families to ask for lots in Yerba Buena, one hundred varas square for each family."

The affairs of Yerba Buena remained in this state till the death of Figueroa, which occurred in August 1835.

"In this same year," continues Alvarado, "whilst I was an employé in the custom-house at Monterey, holding the office of inspector and commandant of the revenue guards, I was commissioned by the chief of said custom-house to inspect the revenue collecting office at San Francisco, and to report upon the state of trade in the place, particularly with reference to whaling vessels, which in large numbers visited the port every year to procure fresh stores, and pass the winter, information having been received that they were carrying on a large contraband trade by landing goods, or transferring them to other vessels that had been already despatched at the Monterey custom-house with their duties settled for, a practice most detrimental to the interests of the public treasury. After a thorough investigation, I became convinced that some measure should be at once adopted in this matter, for the place, though containing at the time perhaps a dozen houses, represented, nevertheless, a rapid progress in trade. On my return to the capital, I laid the facts before the collector of customs.

"In the following year, 1836, symptoms of revolution were noticed in the country, arising from the greatly disturbed condition of Mexico. The result was a revolution in this country, caused by the differences of opinion between the inhabitants of the south and the north, and during which period Yerba Buena affairs remained unchanged.

"In 1839, when the authorities of Mexico sent me the commission of governor, and there was appointed, agreeably to the central constitution, a sub-prefect for the northern district, this officer was ordered to reside at the mission Dolores. The sub-prefect's name was Don Francisco Guerrero, to whom I gave orders to lay out Yerba Buena, measuring first a public plaza, and to divide the rest of the level ground into streets,

thus giving to the place the character and form of a regular town. Guerrero appointed for this purpose a person named Bioche, a resident of the place, formerly a ship-master, a native of Switzerland, and considered as the only person competent to effect the measurement. It was done; the plaza was laid out as now existing under the name of Portsmouth square, or plaza. The rest was laid out in streets, which embraced the ground within Pacific, Pine, and Stockton streets, and to the bay, the rest of the ground being then considered unfit to build on.

"I may be mistaken about the exact time when I issued this order, but you can easily ascertain it. I am quite sure that the present city government has my original order. I also ordained that grants of fifty vara lots should be made, binding the grantees to fence their lots and to build on them."

This is the history of Yerba Buena; thus organized and arranged, it was found by the Americans. As Yerba Buena was a newly created town, the Mexican authorities had not time to organize and incorporate it, so that all that it lawfully occupied was the ground laid out in streets and plazas under Bioche's plan. During Alvarado's administration, by request of the inhabitants of Contra Costa, he detached that region from the municipal jurisdiction of San Francisco, and appointed a justice of the peace, who had his residence on the rancho San Lorenzo.

Thus came about the beginning of Yerba Buena, which was, indeed, the beginning of the great metropolis, though the site of the latter was not yet determined. Indeed, few troubled themselves about the future greatness of the country, though there were some whose minds occasionally were accustomed to dwell thereon—men of healthy imagination and sage counsel, notably Robert Semple, Thomas O. Larkin, and M. G. Vallejo, who thought upon and believed in the future of the country, and were of opinion that the time had come when a spot should be selected the

most favorable for a great commercial emporium.

And having looked about them for the best place, and having found it, Vallejo said to the others, "You shall select the site, and I will furnish you such land as you require, only your great city shall bear the name of my beloved wife, Francisca." This was in the autumn of 1846. The two men who thereupon accepted this trust, in practical sagacity, business ability, wealth, and political influence combined, were second to none then upon the coast. Moreover, they were honest men, something akin to patriots; and although not above the consideration of money in the premises, yet, while thinking to do the best for themselves, they thought to do the best for the present public, and for posterity.

Glance round the bay; for it is not necessary to consider if by the bay of San Francisco, or at some other point, the metropolitan city of the west coast of North America should be planted; from Panamá to Sitka there is no other place. Glance round it then, and place your finger if you can on another spot so suitable as the one selected by these three wise men. Easy enough of access to the ocean, easy of access to the great valley of California, with deep waters, good anchorage, bluff banks, and soft healthful airs, round all the globe nature nowhere laid out the grounds of a large city more beautifully or with greater care. An imperial place men could have made of it. Fronting on either side of the strait of Carquinez, and extending backward and eastward as far as they might choose to go, there would be no restriction, neither in land nor water facilities. With nature seconded, and not wholly subdued, in laying out a city there, the streets winding gracefully over and about the smooth round hills, and not pitched at them in straight lines and angles, as the mad bull goes; with spacious urban parks, and suburban homestead plats measured not by inches but by acres; with the strait and river spanned by costly and substantial bridges, the whole taking in

what now comprises Benicia, Martinez, Vallejo, and Mare Island, Collinsville and Antioch, and as much more as might be required, I venture once more to assert, that taken as a whole there is no spot on earth superior to it. Well and artistically laid out, artistically and well built, well and honestly governed, and with men of ability and integrity for citizens, and graced by virtuous and intelligent women withal, the place would have been as nearly paradise as this earth shall ever produce. Athens, Rome, Paris, London, Venice, Vienna, St Petersburg, and the rest of them do not surpass what this could be.

On the other hand, the cold, bleak, circumscribed, sand-blown, and fog-soaked peninsula on which the city of San Francisco is actually placed, was about as ill-chosen as possible. And for it let the names of those who thwarted the purposes of better men be anathematized. I regard it a base act, beside which ordinary infamy were tame, an act imposing endless expense, inconvenience, discomfort, and disease upon millions of men for probably thousands of years, that two or three persons happening to possess the power should for petty and personal motives have so treated California, her present generation, and her posterity. Washington A. Bartlett, alcalde, worked upon by some half dozen persons who had invested a few hundred dollars in Yerba Buena lots and shanty-building, and Joseph L. Folsom, quartermaster, and large lot-holder, who died early and derived little benefit therefrom, are those to whom we are principally indebted for this mistake. That in early times it was the custom of ocean steamers after landing their passengers at San Francisco to proceed at once to Benicia, and there remain until again required for service, and that the United States established in the same place its depot of arms and supplies for the military stations on the Pacific coast, together with their barracks, storehouses, magazines, and shops, and also reserved Mare Island for a navy-yard, assuredly were proofs

sufficient as to the relative natural advantages of the peninsula of San Francisco and the strait of Carquinez.

An exceedingly brilliant stroke of circumvention the lot holders of the Cove thought it, and it pleased them none the less because it displeased Semple, Larkin, and Vallejo, to change the unknown, local, and village name of Yerba Buena to the world renowned appellation of San Francisco; so that vessels clearing from foreign ports, as was their custom, to San Francisco bay, local names being to distant parts unknown, on arrival, there at Yerba Buena cove was San Francisco town. That settled the matter. The place was convenient to ship-masters, however inconvenient to Californians; it suited those who possessed the power to make the change; and now throughout all time, while moulder the bones of Bartlett and Folsom, the people may sit upon the fence and whistle for a remedy. They may spend thousands of years, and millions upon millions of money in a useless and enforced crossing and recrossing of the bay for an infinitely worse spot than was there awaiting them on the other side.

It was in January, 1847, that by the alcalde's order the name Yerba Buena was changed to San Francisco, too nearly like Francisca for both to remain; and the latter being not yet laid out, while the former was already a hamlet of lively pretensions, Carquinez strait must yield and the sandy peninsula prevail. Thus the three wise men were thrown back upon the other name of Mrs Vallejo, Benicia, by which to call their now doomed metropolis. And with a firm reliance on providence, which in this instance sadly failed them, they went on, and the following June laid out Benicia city, in dimensions one mile by five miles. The first house was begun the 27th of August, and by March, 1848, two hundred lots had been sold at an average price of eighteen dollars each, and fourteen buildings of wood and adobe had been

erected, one being a two-story house twenty by fifty-six feet.

I will insert here, as most pertinent, a description of Yerba Buena and the peninsula, taken from the *California Star* of January 30, 1847, being part of an editorial written while the name Yerba Buena yet graced the head of its columns. As a literary composition it does not compare very favorably with our editorials of the present day; indeed, it would scarcely take a premium in one of our Chinese schools; nevertheless, it is worth as much to us as any of the stanzas of Childe Harold. I give it verbatim; orthography, syntax, and punctuation.

"Yerba Buena, the name of our town which means GOOD HERBS, is situated on the southwest side of the principle arm of San Francisco bay, about five miles from the ocean, on a narrow neck of land varying from four to ten miles in width. The narrowest place being sixteen miles south west of the town. It is in latitude 37° 45′ north. This narrow slip of land is about sixty miles in length, extending from the point formed by the bay and the ocean, to the valley of San Jose. The site of the town is handsome and commanding—being an inclined plain of about a mile in extent from the water's edge to the hills in the rear. Two points of land,—one on each side, extending into the bay form a crescent or small bay in the shape of a crescent in front, which bears the name of the town. These points afford a fine view of the surrounding country—the snow capped mountains in the distance —the green valleys beneath them the beautifull, smooth and unruffled bay in front and on either side, at once burst upon the eye. There is in front of the town a small Island, rising high above the surface of the bay, about two miles long, and one wide, which is covered the greater part of the year with the most exuberant herbage of untrodden freshness. This little island is about three miles from the shore. Between it and the town is the principle anchorage.

Here the vessels of all nations rest in safety and peace, and their flags are displayed by the aromatic breeze. Two hundred yards from the shore, there is twenty four feet water, and a short distance beyond that, as many fathoms. The beach in front of the now business part of the town, is shelving; but it will no doubt in a short time become filled up and become the most valuable part of the place.

"The climate here is, in the winter, which is the rainy season, damp and chilly. During the balance of the year it is dry, but chilly, in consequence of the continual strong winds from the north and north west. There is but little variation in the atmosphere throughout the year;—the thermometer ranging from fifty five to seventy degrees Fahrenheit.

"Yerba Buena is one of the most healthy places on the whole coast of the Pacific. Sickness of any kind is rarely known among us. The salubrity of the climate—beauty of the site of the town—its contiguity to the mouth of the bay—the finest harbor on the whole coast in front—the rich and beautiful country around it, all conspire to render it one of the best commercial points in the world.

"The town is new, having been laid off in 1839 by Captain John Vioget; and notwithstanding all the troubles in the country, has gradually increased in size and importance. It now contains a population of about five hundred permanent citizens. Two years ago there were but about two hundred.

"Three miles south is the mission Dolores on Mission creek, surrounded by a small valley of rich beautiful land. The water from this creek can easily be brought by means of aqueducts to any point to supply vessels. For the supply of the citizens the best of well water is obtained in every part of the town by boring the distance of forty feet.

"In going south from Yerba Buena, the traveller passes over this narrow neck of land; a most delightful region interspersed with hills, valleys, and moun-

tains—the valleys rich and beautiful—the hills covered with tall pines, red-wood and ceder that have withstood the tempests and whirlwinds of a century, and the mountains rising in majestic grandeur to the clouds. In passing out, the valley of San Jose opens to the view in all the loveliness of the climate of Italy and beauty of the tropics. This valley is about sixty miles in length and ten in width. The Pueblo which means an incorporated town is the principal place of business for the valley, and is about five miles from Santa Clara, the landing of the bay, or as it is termed here "the embarcadaro." Passing on from here north east, the traveller in a few hours ride reaches the Straits, which seperate the Suisun bay, formed by the confluence of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, from that of San Pablo. Here it seems that the accumulated waters of a thousand years had suddenly rent the opposing mountain asunder and flowed with tremendous force to the great basin of the deep.

"On the north side of the bay from the straits to Sousilito is one of the finest districts of country in all upper California.

"Next to Yerba Buena, Sousilito is the best point on the whole bay for a commercial town,—It is seven miles a little east of north from this place on the opposite side of the bay, and has long been a watering point for vessels.

"An attempt has recently been made to lay off and build up a town at the straits to supersede the two last mentioned places. It will no doubt, however be an entire failure.

"San Francisco bay being the safest and most commodious harbor on the entire coast of the Pacific, some point on it must be the great mart of the western world. We believe Yerba Buena is the point, commanding as it does now, all the trade of the surrounding country, and there being already a large amount of capital concentrated here.

"The town of Yerba Buena is called in some of the old maps of the country San Francisco. It is not known by that name here however.

"The town takes its names from an herb to be found all around it which is said to make good tea; and possessing excellent medicinal qualities, it is called good herb or Yerba Buena."

The prediction concerning the crescent is fulfilled; the aromatic breeze which displays the flags of the vessels of all nations that rested in safety and peace before the town is now, alas! sadly diluted with coal smoke and foul effluvia. I find San Francisco on several old maps, drawn even before the town of Yerba Buena was laid out, before there was a house there, but the name invariably designates either the old northern mission, or the bay, both of which were called San Francisco. When this article was printed in the *California Star* gold had not been discovered, the valley of California was unsettled; any distance back from the shores of San Francisco bay, except in the direction of San Diego, seemed almost out of the world. When therefore it was proposed to plant the metropolis on the straits of Carquinez and Suisun bay, it seemed like going far out of the way. To select a site convenient to ships was then much more thought of than the convenience of an interior population. When the valley of California began to swarm with gold-seekers, and travellers thence from San Francisco must either go south sixty miles to clear the bay before going north, or else cross the bay in a barge, some San Franciscans saw their mistake, though few of them, having their dearest interests at stake, would ever acknowledge it.

In the eleventh number of its issue, which was on the 20th of March of this same year, the *California Star* took down the name of Yerba Buena and hoisted that of San Francisco. "Our readers will perceive that in our present number," says the editor, "we have conformed to the change recently made in the

name of our town, by placing at the head of our paper San Francisco instead of Yerba Buena. The change has now been made legally, and we acquiesce in it, though we prefer the old name, the one by which the place has always been known in this country. When the change was first attempted, we viewed it as a mere assumption of authority, without law or precedent, and therefore adhered to the old name of Yerba Buena. It was asserted by the late alcalde, Washington A. Bartlett, that the place was called San Francisco in some old Spanish paper, which he professed to have in his possession."

Let us glance now at the business pretentions of the new town. In the same journal of April 17th following, W. A. Leidesdorff advertises lumber from the Bodega steam-mills; Ward and Smith offer for sale the schooner *Commodore Shubrick;* Stout, Sirrine, and Meader agree to fill orders for Santa Cruz lumber; B. R. Buckelew establishes himself as a jeweller. In May W. W. Scott opens a store at Sonoma, and E. Walcott takes the smith shop of J. C. Davis & Co. James Biddle, commanding the Pacific squadron, in June prohibits the exportation of quicksilver from California; Ward and Smith desire to sell ten thoussand pounds fine navy bread, also drygoods, groceries, and California wines and brandies. The general business firms of Geltron and Company, Robert A. Parker, adobe store, Dickson and Hay, Mellus and Howard, William H. Davis, Pearson B. Shelly, and Shelly and Norris appear in the columns of the *Californian* and the *Star* in July, together with William Pettet as house and sign painter, L. Everhart as tailor, and Jasper O'Farrell as civil engineer and surveyor; John Cousens informs all persons that the sheep on Yerba Buena island belong to him, and that they must not be molested. E. P. Jones, lawyer and late editor of the *Star*, in August, assumes the management of the Portsmouth house, now enlarged and having a bar and a billiard table. George M. Evans, at the house

of H. Harris, above the slaughter-house of Cousens, says in September that he will to order make adobes for houses, chimneys, and ovens. Edward F. Folger, corner Montgomery and Washington streets, advertises the bark *Whitton*, R. Geltron master, to sail for Panamá the 1st of October. C. L. Ross, corner of Washington and Montgomery streets, offers fifty barrels of potatoes from the islands, and grapes from Sonoma. W. H. Davis has eighty-one thousand feet of Oregon lumber landing from the bark *Janet*. Rose and Reynolds want some men to dig a foundation and race for a mill in Napa valley. The buildings and other improvements at the junction of the San Joaquin and Stanislaus are offered for sale. Mr and Mrs Skinner assume the management of Brown's hotel, changing the name to that of City hotel. J. Vioget offers for sale the Portsmouth house. Andrew Hoeppener has a warm spring one mile from Sonoma that will cure rheumatism. Such were some of the business indications at San Francisco during the year 1847. This year, on the 20th of October, and about the same time for several subsequent years, a severe north wind did serious damage to shipping.

Robert Semple establishes a ferry across Carquinez strait in May. He announces his new ferry house at Benicia in two notices in the *Californian*, dating one Benicia city, September 1847. In this first notice he states that he is then "building a house on the opposite side of the strait, for the comfort and accommodation of persons wishing to pass from the south side." A boat was to be kept always on either side to avoid detention, and barley and corn would be found there for sale. For crossing, horses must pay one dollar, men fifty cents, horse and man one dollar. There were good roads from Benicia city to Santa Clara, to Amador's rancho, and to New Helvetia. "It will be perceived," concludes the proprietor, "that this is the nearest and much the best road from Santa Clara to New Helvetia, and from Santa Cruz to

Bodega." Before the travel to the mines, the ferry paid a profit of one hundred and fifty dollars a month, and was deemed one of the best properties of the kind in California. With high magnanimity the proprietors donated the whole proceeds, together with several lots, for the benefit of schools, which conduct was in marked contrast to the slow and narrow policy prevailing at San Francisco.

For many years prior to Anglo-American occupation, war and trading vessels entered the bay of San Francisco, whalers lay in Sauzalito bay, and ships of circumnavigation anchored off the presidio. There was no inland commerce, for we can hardly call Sutter's occasional visits such. But in 1847, besides Sutter's twenty-ton sloop, manned by six Indians, plying somewhat regularly the round trip in three weeks between San Francisco and New Helvetia, there was a smaller sloop used occasionally, and another vessel of similar construction running to the Mormon settlement on the Stanislaus. The 22d of August, a square-rigged vessel, the brig *Francisca*, 100 tons, entered San Pablo bay with a load of lumber for Benicia.

The total exports for the quarter ending December 31, 1847, according to J. L. Folsom, collector of the port of San Francisco, amounted to $49,597.53, of which $30,353.85 were for products of California, shipped $320 to the Islands, $21,448.35 to Peru, $560 to Mazatlan, $7,285.50 to Sitka, and $700 to Tahiti. Of the $19,343.68 foreign products, $2,060 worth went to the United States, $12,442.18, of which $11,340 were gold and silver coin, went to the Hawaiian Islands, and $4,831.50 to Mazatlan. The imports were $53,589.73, of which $6,790.54 came from the United States, $7,701.59 from Oregon, $3,676.44 from Chili, $31,740.73 from the Islands, $2,471.32 from Sitka, $492.57 from Bremen, and $710.54 from Mexico. Quite a commerce, and far-reaching withal, and one of which the embryo metropolis might well be proud, even if its collector's statement, if reported

correctly, does show a discrepancy of $100 in one place, $40 in another, $10 in another, and $6 in another.

On the 1st of January, 1848, was started a so-called regular packet for Sonoma. For this purpose the management employed the sloop *Stockton*, Briggs, master, agent at Sonoma, A. Hoeppener, leaving San Francisco on Mondays, and Sonoma on Wednesdays. The craft called launches had been for some time plying between the Napa embarcadero and San Francisco, when, on the 1st of February, the clipper-built prize schooner, *Malek Adhel*, crossed San Pablo bay, and entering Napa creek, anchored in four and a half fathoms of water at half tide. T. Cordua gives notice in the *Californian* of April 26, 1848, that he will run a monthly launch from San Francisco to New Mecklenburg, in the Sacramento valley, touching at Nicholas, Algeirs, the embarcadero of Bear creek, Hardy's, at the mouth of Feather river, Sutterville, Brazoria, Montezuma, and Benicia city; in connection with which a horse and wagon would run regularly between New Mecklenburg and Daniel Silles', in the upper Sacramento valley. Here was river and stage navigation,—quite a stretch of it.

The beginning of 1848 saw at the Cove a thriving seaport town, which, with the surrounding shrub-clad hills and valleys, presented from Signal Hill a view of 35 adobe public buildings, well-stocked warehouses, stores, and dwellings, and 160 snug frame buildings, with their respective outhouses and enclosures, glittering in whitewash and fresh paint. Builders now began to think of permanence, and put heavier timbers and better material into their houses. More wharves were built, on which, as well as on the beach and temporary landings, were stacked and strewn bales, boxes, and barrels of merchandise, and the usual paraphernalia of commercial industry. Barges with white sails skirted the bay for hides and tallow, and ascended the streams with goods. Whalers, and Oregon

and California coasting vessels, entered and departed through the Golden Gate. The election of school trustees was ordered by the town authorities. Nor were these preparations made a day too soon.

With its American population, its commercial character, and its two newspapers, being all that were printed within the territory, San Francisco now began to assume that supremacy destined to be perpetual among the cities of the coast. Its growth, though rapid, was irregular. A spasm of advancement was followed by a period of comparative quiet. So full of energy were the people, so eager to become immediately rich, that in regard to increase in values and volume of business, the future was anticipated; if prices doubled, they must double again shortly, and when the reaction came, which event was certain, people complained. During the Mexican war period, business had been good. Troops had been landed, immigrants by sea had arrived, and town lots had rapidly advanced. In the absence of these stimulants, the year 1848 opened dull, and the citizens deemed it advisable to make better known to the people of the eastern states the capabilities and prospects of California. To this end the *California Star* was engaged to print an account of the resources of the country, to be written by V. J. Fourgeaud.

It will be remembered that the governor, Juan B. Alvarado, in 1839 directed the alcalde of Yerba Buena, Francisco de Haro, to have the Cove surveyed, so that the lots which were then being given to any who would build on them should not be granted at random, and this work was given to Jean Vioget. In 1841 came officers and servants of the great Hudson's Bay Company, and added its influence upon the hamlet. After a brief breathing spell, appeared upon the plaza the spirit of 1776, in the form of the American flag, wafted thither over subdued Mexican domain, and set up in 1846 by John B. Montgomery, commander of the sloop *Portsmouth*, who appointed Wash-

ington A. Bartlett, one of his lieutenants, alcalde of Yerba Buena; the name of the ship was given to the square, and that of the commander to the principal street. Bartlett likewise showed design, and that not for good, when he changed the name from Yerba Buena to San Francisco, as did also Folsom, the quartermaster, when he selected this place as the point where should be kept the military stores of the United States.

San Francisco was early active in deeds of hospitality and benevolence as well as of enterprise. The first use to which the first house was put was feasting. The occasion was the day of American independence, when some sixty guests danced all night, and all the next day, so that Mr Leese's Fourth, as he remarks, ended on the fifth. Thanksgiving was celebrated the 18th of November, 1847. And it was a liberal sum, $1,500, for a town of 300 inhabitants, to give to the survivors of the Donner party in February 1847. The 28th of May, the town was illuminated in honor of Taylor's victory at Buena Vista. And patriotic was the village withal. Every tenement pretending to the dignity of dwelling, whether of cloth, mud, or boards, was lighted; bonfires were lighted, and guns fired. July gave two gala days, the 4th and the 7th, the latter being the anniversary of the hoisting of the United States' flag by Commodore Sloat at Monterey. A second illumination occurred the 11th of August, 1848, celebrating peace between the United States and Mexico. In January 1848, there was a masked ball at the American House. Between forty and fifty participants attended in costume; the refreshments were excellent, and dancing continued nearly all night. A yet grander affair of the kind occurred the following 22d of February. T. W. Perry, house and sign painter, corner of Montgomery and Jackson streets, furnished the masks.

Presently times became dull, some of the merchants said, and the depression, indeed, must have been seri-

ous when such firms as W. A. Leidesdorff, Mellus and Howard, Robert A. Parker, and Ward and Smith, discontinue in March not only their advertisements, but their subscriptions, from the *Californian*. The publication of this newspaper, which had been started in Monterey by Chaplain Colton and Robert Semple in July 1846, using the same materials employed by the Californians for printing since 1834, and issued during the rest of that year in the old capital, was continued in San Francisco from the beginning of January 1847. On the other hand, Dickson and Hay, Shelly and Norris, and W. H. Davis announced business extension, with increased facilities, to which was coupled the complaint that half the community were going wild into land and other speculations. Properties shifted from one person to another, and none thought sufficiently of improving. "One million of hardy, industrious persons are wanted to drive these money-gathering drones out of the country," cries the editor of the *Californian*. How few of us know of what we complain, or how should be the remedy! Here is an editor at this early day railing at capital in California, and in the same issue, without being aware of the inconsistency, is complaining of the effects of the absence of it. The gold, and coal, and copper, and silver thrusting their notice every day upon him, he does not know what to do with, and yet he wishes all who do not work with their hands well out of the country.

During the early part of 1848 there are not many business changes. C. C. Smith and Company open a store at New Helvetia in January; at Sonoma, M. J. Haan and L. G. Blume dissolve, and Victor Prudon and M. J. Haan form a copartnership. In its issue of the 22nd of January three columns of the *Star*, or nearly one-fifth of its entire space is occupied by an advertisement of Brandreth's pills in Spanish and English, C. L. Ross, agent. Dickson and Hay removed from next door to Leidesdoff, and opened

their Bee Hive store opposite the lumber yard of C. L. Ross, beside Mr Ellis. Wm Beere began a cabinet manufactory in the rear of the adobe store on Clay street.

The 18th of February C. V. Gillespie appears with an assortment of Chinese goods, embroidered shawls, handkerchiefs, lacquered ware, vases, and gunpowder from Canton direct by the ship *Eagle*. The Colonnade House was opened on Kearny street, a few doors from Portsmouth square, in March, by Conway and Westcott, and with a restaurant and reading room became a leading house. William S. Clark announces in the *Californian* the 15th of March, that he has a new warehouse, at the stone pier foot of Broadway, to let. On Sacramento street between Montgomery street and the beach William Foster opens a furniture establishment. He is shortly succeeded by McLean and Osburn. Shelly and Norris advertise in the *Californian* as wholesale and retail merchants, corner of Kearny and Clay streets. Lazarus Everhart is a fashionable tailor on Montgomery street. Henry Hartman establishes a tinsmith's shop on Pacific street between Dupont and Stockton streets. David Ramsay could find no name for the place where his store stood, and so advertised in the *Californian*, the 15th of March, a stock of teas, sugars, silks, preserves, blankets, matting, cordage, rice, and the like on the street nearly opposite the custom house. George Denecke is a baker. Beside publishing the *Californian*, B. R. Buckelew continued his watch, clock, and jewelry business. Folsom, the quartermaster, asked for sealed proposals for 180 tons of hay for the United States. It must be of oats and clover, cut and cured while the oats are in the milk and the clover in the bloom, pressed into bales and delivered at some embarcadero on the bay. Robert T. Ridley would pasture animals throughout the year at his rancho three miles from mission San Francisco de Dolores. Isaac Williams, rancho del Chino, will pay

$1,000 or $1,500 in cattle and wild mares for the building of an adobe fence.

William Atherton, in April 1848, established himself in the leather business at San Francisco, his tannery and shop being on the corner of Shubrick and Vallejo streets. The *Californian* of April 5th complains that John Couzens, the butcher,—Cozens he should have written it—had left town without paying his advertising and subscription bill. By the 26th of April Jacob Harlan had established "a livery stable and horse bazar" near Washington Square; house and ship carpenters, corner of Kearny and Pacific streets, were Hood and Wilson. The Shades Tavern, by T. and H. Smith, corner of Pacific and Stockton streets, advertised the 12th of April, shows how the business portion of the town was extending in that direction. Oliver Magnent wishes to sell his new flouring mill near the San José embarcadero. Dickson and Hay advertises in the *Californian* of April 26th one case of stationery for sale. T. Cordua offers to supply overland travellers to the east at San Francisco prices, with good flour, hams, bacon, and smoked beef; also working and beef cattle; all at his farm, New Mecklenburg, centre of the Sacramento valley, and near where the road branches off to the United States. So C. C. Smith, at New Helvetia, offers to supply persons wishing to return to the States with horses, mules, packsaddles, picket-ropes, and provisions.

Over Mr Parker's new meat and vegetable stand, called Washington market, George Eggleston, this same month, set up a new sign, the sign of the bleeding pig; and it bled so perfectly in the picture that the editor of the *Californian*, who had been asked to drink on the occasion, and who had drank several times at the expense of Eggleston, as he was about to retire to his home, turned, and regarding the work of art attentively for a time, at length exclaimed:—"I am so damned deaf that I cannot hear it squeal."

A more complete list of the principal business

houses in San Francisco during the winter of 1848–9 would embrace C. L. Ross; Mellus and Howard; Dickson and Hay; Ward and Smith, No. 3 Montgomery street; J. Bawden, wholesale commission merchant, foot of Broadway; Sherman and Ruckel, general commission merchants, corner Clay and Montgomery streets; Starkey, Janion, and Company, commission merchants; A. J. Grayson, general merchandise, north-east corner of City Hotel building; Davis and Carter, general merchants, corner Clay and Montgomery streets; William S. Clark, auction and commission, at the ship wharf, foot of Broadway; R. A. Parker, general merchant, Clay street; I. Montgomery, keeper of the Shades tavern and bowling alleys, corner of Pacific and Stockton streets, and dealer in general merchandise; De Witt and Harrison, Sansome street; Finley, Johnson and Co., commission merchants, Portsmouth House, Clay street; Wetmore and Gilman, jobbing and commission; Cross, Hobson and Co., commission merchants; Leighton, Swasey, and Co., general merchants, Clay street; Robert Wells and Co., dry-goods and groceries; J. Angelo, varieties, opposite the Shades; beside B. R. Buckelew's shop, George Storey established himself as a watch-maker at C. Russ' corner Montgomery and Pine streets. Candy men were E. Wehler and Schlotthauer. Anthony Welter made boots and shoes. Naglee and Sinton advertise town lots. Dring kept the adobe store. There was the firm of E. and H. Grimes, dissolved by the death of the senior partner. C. V. Gillespie was notary public; and bought gold-dust. Among the attorneys were L. W. Hastings; T. R. Per Lee; E. P. Jones; and Francis J. Lippitt. The name of J. Henry Poett was added to the physicians; also A. D. Noel. On the south side of Portsmouth square stood the City Hotel, kept by J. H. Brown. On the corner of Pacific and Sansome streets, opposite the ship anchorage was a public house kept by George Denecke. Beside the Wash-

ington market of George W. Eggleston and Co., there was the Central market of which Edmonson and Anderson were proprietors; for sale there were meat and vegetables, and a schooner was kept constantly plying to all parts of the bay for supplies. Later the firm was dissolved, Edmonson continuing. Karl Shlottour kept a bakery in the rear of Washington market; one was kept by John Bowden, on Broadway near the ship wharf. Willliam Hood and Charles Wilson were house and ship carpenters. John Weyland, Clay street, furnished tents for the gold mines. N. K. Benton joined C. L. Ross the 1st of January under the firm name Ross, Benton, and Co. In the new cream-colored house of Mr Wetmore, just above the quatermaster's office, Richard Carr took daguerreotype portraits. The Shades tavern was burned the 15th of January.

Sales by auction began early, and later assumed large proportions. Dickson and Hay advertised in the *California Star*, Febuary 6, 1847, an auction sale of a variety of merchandise by the schooner *Currency Lass* from the Hawaiian Islands. Howard and Mellus the 1st of March sold the prize goods of the U. S. ship *Cyane*, consisting of dry-goods, hardware, and groceries. The *Sarmiento*, a vessel of twenty tons, was sold by Ward and Smith, Montgomery street, the 4th of September. William R. Garner offered the brig *Primavera* at auction the 9th of November. Wm McDonald gave notice to sell by auction part of the cargo of the Chilian ship *Confederacion*, consisting of dry-goods, provisions, and liquors, the 10th of November.

In January 1848 McDonald and Buchanan formed a copartnership, and opened an auction and commission business at the north-east corner of Portsmouth Square. W. M. Smith offered miscellaneous merchandise at auction the 22nd. The seizure of the cargo of the schooner *Mary Ann* for breach of customs regulations gave McDonald and Buchanan a

sale the 4th of February. A double-planked, cedar-built and copper-fastened launch was sold at auction by W. S. Clark at the foot of Clay street wharf the 22nd of February. McDonald and Buchanan held an auction sale of general merchandise the 26th of February. In the *Californian* of March 15th, William S. Clark announces himself established as a commission merchant and general auctioneer, near the ship anchorage foot of Broadway.

Religions become somewhat entangled in the new community, as well as nationalities. The catholic of course was the orthodox creed, the best for business, as well as for social and spiritual advancement; yet Samuel Brannan made Mormonism pay, as long as he could secure for himself a tenth of all the earnings of the saints. In his manipulations of piety and property which followed, Sam well understood the power of printer's ink. He had brought out with him, on the *Brooklyn*, a printing press, and material for a newspaper, which he started, calling it the *Star*. This journal being accused of Mormon proclivities, the *Californian* of April 26, 1848, would like to know whether headlong fanaticism, urged by designing leaders, may not endanger the peace of communities; and that when the doctrines of any sect or society interfere with the wholesome operation of the laws under which they live, if means should not be taken for the suppression of such pretended religion. Thus early at the Cove the sects begin to snarl.

It may truthfully be said, however, that when the times, the trials, the discomforts, the harassing anxiety and oftentimes suffering are taken into account there was wonderfully little snarling either among saints or sinners. It speaks volumes for humanity, for the young and adventurous humanity here congregated in particular, that there was so little fighting, so few murders or robberies in California during the first flush of the gold discovery, or until professional cut-throats had arrived from the British penal colonies.

I will rest here with my narrative of the progress of the young metropolis, to be taken up again in my *Inter Pocula*, as what follows properly belongs to the gold-digging era.

At the close of Hesiod's golden age, the men then living were made demons or genii; some became angels, and moved invisibly in air. Thus it was when the Age of Gold terminated the Golden Age of California, the missionaries, their associates, and convicts, rapidly were sublimated; some of them became angels, more of them became demons, a few remain to this day as they were before the fall—manly men.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PASTORAL CALIFORNIA.

Car l'occasion a tous ses cheveux á front; quand elle est oultre passée, vous ne la pouvez plus révocquer; elle est chauve par le derriere de la teste, et jamais plus ne retourne. —*Rabelais.*

For a country and a period so little known as Pastoral California, nothing can be of greater interest to a lover of literature than a description of the books and manuscripts containing information upon the subject. Particularly is this the case when so few of the sources of information are in print, or are known to students of history. It is safe to say that of the six volumes of this series devoted to Pastoral California, not more than one tenth of the information contained in them was ever before in print, or even in the English language. Mission and government archives, and state and family papers furnished some material; but more than half of all that has been gathered relating to this interesting epoch, or which is now in existence concerning it, was taken by me or by my agents from the mouths of living witnesses.

The bibliography of California is naturally divided into two periods by the change from Mexican to Anglo-American occupation, which was effected almost simultaneously with the gold discovery. The first period has something over 1,600 titles, and the latter, which is constantly increasing in number, some 2,100. The authorities given in the list at the beginning of the first volume of my *History of California* contain virtually the history of California from the earliest days of its settlement to the present time. Every scrap

of paper existing in the public archives, secular or ecclesiastical, or in private hands, to within the last twenty years, is in the list; the papers being either original, or copied, or in the form of an epitome of the original; to which must be added the recollections of Californians, Mexicans, or foreigners who lived in the country prior to its becoming a part of the United States.

The first bibliographical period of California, being that of California Pastoral, may be again divided into two parts, one being before and the other after Spanish occupation in 1769. What is known of the country before this date is mostly in printed form; on Alta California between the years 1769 and 1848 I have over eleven hundred manuscripts, not to mention many thousand papers and documents of from one to several pages each, which have no distinguishing titles, and are not quoted separately in the history.

For the period preceding 1769, California is not the exclusive nor even the chief subject of any book; and yet, no less than fifty-six treat of this distant region, and of the voyages hither. This number might be augmented or lessened without laying myself open to the charge of inaccuracy. Four of them, namely, Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral; Apostolicos Afanes de la Compania de Jesus;* Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva Espana;* and Villaseñor, *Theatro Americano*, merely allude to California as a part of the vast dominions of the Spanish crown in America; and one, *Sergas of Esplandian*, is a romance giving the name California to the province before this region was discovered. A large number of the books are cosmographical, or once popular collections of voyages and travels. There are eight works of voyages. *Cabrera Bueno, Drake, Hakluyt, Herrera, Linschoten, Purchas, Torquemada*, and *Venegas*, whose books contain the actual knowledge then existing in print. The rest were of interest chiefly because of their quaint cosmographical

notions or conjectures on the name of California. There were sixteen descriptive cosmographical works of the old type, namely, *America*, *Blaeu*, *D'Avity*, *Gottfriedt*, *Heylyn*, *Laet*, *Low*, *Luyt*, *Mercator*, *Montanus*, *Morelli*, *Ogilby*, *Ortelius*, *West Indische Spieghel*, and *Wytfliet*. To these may be added four English records of a somewhat different class, *Camden*, *Campbell*, *Coxe*, and *Davis*. Then there are sixteen of the once popular collections of voyages and travels, of which *Aa*, *Hacke*, *Harris*, *Sammlung*, *Ramusio*, and *Voyages* are the most notable. We must notice, besides, six works which treat of voyages—none of them actually to California—or the lives of especial navigators, the authors being, *Burton*, *Clark*, *Dampier*, *Rogers*, *Shelvocke*, and *Ulloa*. To these may be added a number of important documents relating to this primitive epoch, which appeared in print only in modern times; they are to be found in *Ascension*, *Cabrillo*, *Cardona*, *Demarcacion*, *Evans*, *Niel*, and *Salmeron*. California, as I said before, was but incidentally alluded to in such books, a few of which contain what visitors had ascertained regarding this coast. The rest are full of errors, and of superficial repetitions, drawn out of the writers' brains upon the mythical strait of Anian. And there may be other minor documents which mention California in connection with the Northern Mystery. Between 1769 and 1824 was the period of inland exploration, and of the establishment of Spanish domination in California, which was effected by means of missions, and military posts, called presidios, and a little later of pueblos or incorporated towns. For this epoch I have four hundred titles, sixty of the works being in print. Among the latter are three which treat exclusively of California; two Costansó, *Diario Historico de los Viages de Mar y Tierra hechos al norte de California*, and Monterey, *Extracto de Noticias*, Mexico, 1770, furnishing important records of the first expeditions to San Diego and Monterey in 1769–70; the third,

Palou, *Vida de Junipero Serra*, being the standard history of California down to 1784.

Miguel Costansó, an alférez, or sub-lieutenant of royal engineers, was the cosmographer of the first expedition despatched from Mexico to California, and his *Diario Historico* was published in Mexico in 1776. In later years he acquired distinction as an engineer, and his reports of 1794–5 on defences of California, fortifications of Vera Cruz, and drainage of the valley of Mexico, stamped him as an accomplished officer. It is satisfactory to know that his merits were both appreciated and rewarded. In 1811 he was still living as a mariscal de campo, or major-general, a rank more sparingly bestowed at that time than at present, and therefore more significant of merit.

Francisco Palou, a Franciscan friar of the college of San Fernando, in Mexico, is a prominent figure in connection with the first fifteen years of California history. He was the senior priest, next to the father-president, Junípero Serra, and during a temporary absence of the latter in Mexico, held the position for a few months during 1773 and 1774 of acting president, which he reluctantly accepted, in deference to the unanimous wish of his companions, and the request of the commandant of the new settlements. Father Palou was a native of Palma, in the Balearic island of Mallorca, and born probably about 1722. In 1740 he became a pupil of Father Serra, with whom, and with Father Juan Crespí, another Californian priest, he contracted a life-long friendship, forming a saintly trinity who devoted all their powers, physical and mental, to the apostolic work of converting and civilizing the natives. Palou came to Mexico with Serra, joined the college of San Fernando, and being assigned to the Sierra Gorda missions, served there from 1750 to 1759, after which he resided several years at his college. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain, the missions of Lower California being entrusted to the priests of San Fernando, Palou

was sent there under President Serra, and in 1768 took charge of San Francisco Javier. Under a subsequent arrangement with the Dominicans, the Lower California missions were transferred to that order. President Serra departed for Upper California in 1769, and Palou, as acting president, made the formal delivery of the missions in 1773, and started for San Diego and Monterey. After serving some time in the San Cárlos, he went to found the San Francisco bay establishments. Finally, ill health compelled him to ask for permission to return to his college, which was granted him in a royal order of October 1784. Meanwhile, Serra having died in August of the same year, Palou succeeded him ad interim in the presidency, and acted until Father Lasuen was appointed to the office, in September 1785. He was now free to leave California, and did so, arriving at his college in February 1786. In July he was chosen guardian of his college, his brethren thus showing their great regard for him. His death occurred probably in 1790, although some assert it was a few years later.

Palou's memory should always stand high in California. He was not only a founder of missions, an exemplary priest, and a man with a liberal mind and of broad practical views, but to him we owe the first history of Alta California. His fame will live through his *Vida de Junipero Serra*, and *Noticias de Californias*. In the preface of the former, issued in Mexico in 1787, he solemnly declares that all his statements are truthful. "Como el alma de la Historia es la verdad sencilla, puedes tener el consuelo, que casi todo lo que refiero lo he presenciado, y lo que no, me lo han referído otros padres misioneros mis compañeros dignos de fé." The other work, bearing the title *Noticias de la (Antigua y) Nueva California*, in two volumes, was concluded in 1783, this being the last year mentioned therein. There is good reason to believe that some portion of it was written as early as 1773, at San Cár-

los mission. His original manuscript at the college of San Fernando has disappeared, but under a royal order of 1790 a copy was prepared in 1792, the accuracy of which was duly attested. This work is divided into four parts. Part I. gives the annals of Lower California under the Franciscans, from 1768 to 1773, and forms forty chapters of the first volume; part II. describes the expedition to Monterey, and the foundation of the first five missions, covering the period from 1769 to 1773, and occupying fifty chapters of the same volume; part III. is a collection of documents—not arranged in chapters—on events of 1773–4; and part IV. continues in forty-one chapters the narrative from 1775 to 1783. The author clearly indicates, in a preface headed Jesus, María, y José, his object in undertaking this laborious task, namely, to provide a full record, for the future use of the chronicler of his religious order, of the apostolic labors of the priests of San Fernando college in the two Californias which had passed under his observation, without suppressing any facts, not even those which prudence and religious piety would counsel the chronicler "dejar para el secreto del archivo, las que solo se escriben para lo que pueda convenir para tapar la boca á los émulos del ministerio apostólico." He concludes with the following assurance as to the manner he intended to narrate events, "todo lo cual con toda sinceridad y verdad referiré en esta recopilacion."

Next in importance to the writings of Palou come the works of navigators who visited California and other parts of the western coast, and gave descriptions of these countries. Such were *Chamisso, Choris, Kotzebue, Langsdorff, La Pérouse, Marchand, Maurelle, Roquefeuil, Relacion del Viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana,* and *Vancouver.* La Pérouse, Vancouver, and a few others do not confine themselves to their own personal observations, but furnish other material on the earliest history of the country, which thus became known to the world for the first time.

Fleurieu and Navarrete, competent editors, added to two of the voyage-narratives many data on earlier explorations. There are, moreover, the general works on America of *Alcedo*, *Anquetil*, *Bonnycastle*, *Birney*, *Forster*, *Humboldt*, and *Raynal;* a number of Mexican works, *Arricivita*, *Clavigero*, *Cortés*, *Guia*, *Presidios*, and *Rosignon*, which contain matter on California; and as many collections of voyages and travels, such as those of *Berenger*, *Kerr*, *Laharpe*, *Pinkerton*, *Viagero Universal*, and *Voyages*, furnish some information on the country for that period.

The *Gaceta de México* is the only Mexican newspaper for this period which calls for mention here. There are only seven printed documents or articles of the Spanish government on the subject, though possibly many documents mention California as a province of New Spain. Two essays appear with the books of voyages already named, which were contributed by visitors. William Shaler, a shipmaster, was the first American visitor whose narrative appeared in print in the United States. This man was later United States consul in one of the Barbary states, and afterward at Habana, where he died of cholera in 1834. Sola, the last Spanish governor, made a report on California, which was printed in Mexico, and was the basis of another by Deputy M. M. Castañares, toward the end of the Mexican domination. Two instructions for Californians were put in type; one of the Spanish voyage-collections gave an account of the history and condition in reference to affairs of the peninsula. Some papers of this time, not printed till many years later, are quite important, especially those given in Palou, *Noticias*, and the *Documentos para la Historia de México*. There are some nineteen titles of this class.

The period from 1824 to 1848 embraces the Mexican rule till 1846, and the conquest and military rule of the United States to the gold discovery. This might properly be made a division, historically, but bibliographically it would be inconvenient. for

which reason I treat it all as one epoch. My list presents seven hundred titles. With reference to history, we have the narratives of fifteen voyagers who visited this coast: *Beachy*, *Belcher*, *Cleveland*, *Coulter*, *Dana*, *Duhaut-Cilly*, *Huish* (not a visitor), *Kotzebue*, *Laplace*, *Mofras*, *Morrell*, *Petit-Thouars*, *Ruschenberger*, *Simpson*, and *Wilkes*. For the merits of the productions I would place Petit-Thouars at the head of the list, and Coulter at the foot. Mofras and Wilkes are pretentious, but by no means the most valuable. We must add some scientific works, which resulted from some of these voyages,—*Hinds*, *Richardson*, and several productions in *United States Exploring Expedition*,—two official accounts of exploring journeys across the continent,—*Emory* and *Fremont;* with these may be classed several accounts of California by different persons, namely, *Bidwell*, *Bilson*, *Boscana*, *Bryant*, *Farnham*, *Kelley*, *Pattie*, and *Robinson*, generally furnishing also a narrative of the trip by land or sea. There are four compiled historical accounts by foreigners who had not visited the country, *Cutts*, *Forbes*, *Greenhow*, and *Hughes;* that of Forbes deserves the credit it has always enjoyed as a standard work. Forbes obtained much of his information from residents of California whose original manuscripts have been for several years past on the shelves of my library. Then there were half a dozen or more works on Oregon which briefly mention California, and several speeches in the United States congress or elsewhere in pamphlet form, among which are notably those of *Clark*, *Hall*, *Thompson*, and *Webster*. This number might be greatly increased by taking in every printed paper in which California is mentioned in connection with the Oregon question or the Mexican war. To all such titles may be added those of the general works of *Beyer*, *Blagdon*, *Barrow*, *Combier*. *D'Orbigny*, *Irving*, *Lafond*, *Lardner*, *Murray*, and *Tytler*, which contain allusions to the province of California.

Among the Spanish works for this period six hold the first position. Their titles are *Botica, Figueroa, Reglamento, Ripalda, Romero,* and *Vallejo.* These are the first books printed in California, and most of them were entirely unknown until I alluded to them in my first volume on California. Historically speaking Figueroa's *Manifiesto* is the only important one of them. The *Reglamento* contains the by-laws of the territorial deputation or legislature of California, and was printed in Monterey in 1834. This copy was kindly presented me by Cárlos Olvera of Monterey county, whose father had been a member of the California assembly. I know of no other copy in existence. There may be named in connection with these books several pamphlets, printed in Mexico, but treating of California affairs. There titles are *Carrillo* (Cárlos Antonio), *Castanares* (Manuel), *Fondo Piadoso, Garcia Diego* (first bishop of the Californias), *Junta de Fomento,* and *San Miguel.* There are, moreover, sixteen documents of the Mexican government, under the heading of Mexico, which give valuable data on California, and if those in which the province or department is merely mentioned are also reckoned, the number would be greatly enlarged. Finally, I have thirty-five general works on Mexico, all of which have information, often very valuable; such are those of *Alaman, Ayala, Bermudez, Bustamante, Cancelada, Escudero, Fonseca, Guerrero, Iriarte, Muhlenpfordt, Oajaca, Rejon, Riesgo, Sales, San Miguel, Semblanzas, Thompson, Unzueta,* and *Willie;* about one dozen of these are the writings of Cárlos María Bustamante, which I have still more complete in the original authograph manuscript.

Proceeding now to speak of documents, the productions of the California press are entitled to the first place. There are fifty-five of them separately printed; some titles being *Alvarado, California, Castro, Chico, Diputacion, Doctrina, Figueroa, Gutierrez, Hijar, Mason, Micheltorena, Plan, Pronunciamiento, Riley,*

Shubrick, *Vallejo*, and *Zamorano*. Three or four of these are proclamations of United States officials, one is a commercial paper, one a poetical effusion, and another an advertisement; the great mass of them, however, are documents which emanated from the Hispano-Californian government. I next take note of a series of documents of the Mexican government in collections or newspapers, and seven semi-official ones.

Some of the titles are *Ayuntamiento*, *Compania*, *Decreto*, *Dictamen*, *Iniciativa*, *Jones*, *Mexico*, *Plan*, *Bandini*, '*C*,' *Castanares*, *Chico*, *Flores*, *Iniestra*, and *Sinaloa*. There are seventeen topic collections or separate reports emanating from United States officers, most of which relate to the acquisition of California and printed by their government. They appear under the following titles: *California and New Mexico*, *Conquest*, *Cooke*, *Expulsion*, *Frémont*, *Johnson*, *Jones*, *Kearny*, *Kelley*, *Marcy*, *Mason*, *Monterey*, *Shubrick*, *Slacum*, *Sloat*, *Stockton*, *War with Mexico*. Some of these are the president's messages with documents containing a large number of important papers. Three titles refer to matters inserted in the books of navigators already named, *Botta*, *Documens*, and *Sanchez;* six to articles or documents appearing in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, to wit, *Fages*, *Galitzin*, *Le Netrel*, *Morineau*, *Scala*, and *Smith;* and twelve are articles in American or English periodicals, such being *Americans*, *Campaign*, *Coulter*, *Evans*, *War West*, *Fourgeaud*, *History of the Bear Flag*, *Larkin*, *Peirce*, *Reynolds*, *Squier*, and *Warner*.

I have in my library about twenty periodicals or publications containing information about California before 1848; namely, *American Quarterly Register*, *American Quarterly Review*, *American Review*, *American State Papers*, *Annals of Congress*, *Arrillaga*, *Colonial Magazine*, *Congressional Debates*, *Congressional Globe*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, *Home Missionary*, *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, *London Mechanics' Magazine*, *North American Review*,

Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, *Quarterly Review*, *Revista Scientifica*, and *Southern Quarterly Review*. My catalogue shows about seventy newspapers, of which forty are printed in Mexico; a much larger number contained mention of California at some time. I give here the names of only those which are valuable sources of information. In California, the *Monterey Californian*, *San Francisco Californian*, *San Francisco Star*, and *San Francisco Star and Californian;* in Honolulu, the *Friend*, *Hawaiian Spectator*, *Sandwich Island Gazette*, *Sandwich Island News*, and *Polynesian;* in Oregon, the *Spectator*. *Niles' Register* has been found most useful among the eastern periodicals.

I have about one hundred and fifty titles of books, documents, and articles relating to Californian history prior to 1848, though printed later. Of this number, seventy-five are in book form, and include some important monographs on early affairs of the country, several collections of documents, reprints and translations of early works, treatises on Mexican law affecting California, many briefs in land cases, official papers of the United States government on the conquest and military rule, but printed after 1848, Russian papers on the Ross and Bodega colony, several narratives of visitors, and several works on the Mexican war. Some of these in alphabetical order are, *Abbott*, *Bigelow*, *California*, *California Land Titles*, *California and North Mexico*, *Calvo*, *Cavo*, *Colton*, *Cooke*, *Diccionario*, *Documentos*, *Doyle*, *Drake*, *Dunbar*, *Dwinelle*, *Figueroa*, *Flagg*, *Frémont*, *Furber*, *Gomez*, *Guerra*, *Hale*, *Halleck*, *Hartmann*, *Hawes*, *Hoffman*, *Homes*. *Ide*, *Jay*, *Jenkins*, *Jones*, *Lancey*, *Marcou*, *McGlashan*, *Mansfield*, *Mexican War*, *Palou*, *Phelps*, *Ramsay*, *Randolph*, *Revere*, *Ripley*, *Rivera*, *Stockton*, *Taylor*, *Upham*, *Vallejo*, *Velasco*, *Vischer*, *Tikhménef*, *Materialui*, *Rezanof*, *Markof*, and *Khlébnikof*, the most important being those appearing under the names of Dwinelle, Ide, Larkin, McGlashan, and Palou. About the same in number are the documents and articles of this class, and quite similar in

their character and variety to the books, including also titles of pioneer reminiscences in newspapers, which might be multiplied ad infinitum. Such are *Archibald, Arroyo, Assembly, Biographical Sketches, Boggs, Bowers, Brooklyn, Brown, Buchanan, Clark, Dall, Daubenbiss, Degroot, Dwinelle, Dye, Elliot, Espinosa, Folsom, Foster, Frémont, Hale, Halleck, Hecox, Hittell, Hopkins, Jones, Kern, Kearny, King's Orphan, Kip, Leese, McDougall, McPherson, Marcou, Marsh, Mason, Mexico, Micheltorena, Peckham, Reed, Sherman, Stevenson, Stillman, Stockton, Sutter, Taylor, Toomes, Trask, Vallejo, Veritas, Victor, Warren, Wiggins*, and *Wolskill.*

Of the three hundred titles of works quoted in my *History of California*, which were printed after 1848, but containing attempts at historical research embracing the periods prior and subsequent to that year, there are two of a general nature entitled to especial consideration. I refer to *Tuthill's History of California*, San Francisco, 1866, 8vo, xvi., 657 pages, and *Gleeson's History of the Catholic Church in California*, San Francisco, 1872, 8vo, 2 vol., xv., 446, 351 pages. The former is the work of a clever and honest writer, and deserves more credit than the public has awarded it. Without claims to exhaustive research, it has been intelligently prepared, and is certainly a good popular history. About one third of it treats of the period preceding the gold discovery. The author was a journalist, and died shortly after the publication of his book. Gleeson, a less able writer than Tuthill, and religiously biassed, was not wholly free from inaccuracies. As a catholic priest, he had facilities for consulting authorities, which he did as appears in his many details. He had also free access to my library. His picture of mission life and annals is pleasant, and tolerably accurate. Sketches found under the headings of *Capron, Cronise, Frost*, and *Hastings* contain no original material, and their authors made only an inadequate and partial use of that which was easily accessible to them.

My list contains some seventy titles of local histories, which possess considerable importance. Some of them are the centennial sketches prepared at the suggestion of the United States government, such as those of *Los Angeles*, by Warner and Hayes, and of *San Francisco*, by John S. Hittell. The latter is incidentally a history of California, and like the earlier *Annals of San Francisco*, by Soulé and others, has much merit. *Hall's History of San José* is also a creditable work. There are likewise many county histories, several of them in atlas form, copiously illustrated with portraits, maps, and views, each containing a preliminary sketch of California history, with more details respecting the county which is the subject of the work. Most of these books have been prepared mainly as a speculation, but in some of them good material was furnished. Few are reliable on matters of early history, but afford in the aggregate considerable data on local annals after 1840, as well as biographical details. Without being properly history, they supply some useful material for history.

I will now proceed to speak of the thousand and more remaining titles of manuscript authorities in my collection, from which alone the history of California could be written more completely than from all other sources combined. These authorities have, for the most part, never been consulted by any other writer, and essentially exist only on my shelves.

First: Thirteen collections of Californian public archives, the originals of which are about 350 bound volumes of from 300 to 1,000 documents each, and an immense quantity of unbound papers from San Francisco, Los Angeles, Salinas, San José, Santa Cruz, San Luis Obispo, Santa Bárbara, and Sacramento, all of which have been transferred in full or epitomized copies to my library. These copies or extracts are more useful for historical purposes than the originals, because they are more legible, and free from repeti-

tions and verbiage. As to the nature of these documents, it is enough to say that they are the originals, blotters, or certified copies of the records of the Spanish and Mexican governments for the respective period of their domination over California, national, provincial, territorial, departmental, as well as municipal. Among them are many for the time the country was under military rule, after its occupation by the United States. They embrace from the year 1768 to that of 1850. In these collections, containing over 250,000 documents, about 200 have been quoted in my history under distinct titles.

Second: In the nature of public archives, we have also the missionary records. As the missions became secularized, their records of baptisms, marriages, and interments naturally went into the possession of the secular priests in charge of the several parishes. Other mission papers, gathered in collections, are held by the archbishop of San Francisco, the bishop of Monterey and Los Angeles, and the Franciscan convent at Santa Bárbara, the last named being much the largest. All these papers, as well as the old mission records, have been at my disposal for taking extracts, by the courtesy of the respective ecclesiastical authorities, and of the parish priests having the records in charge.

Third: I have seven collections of public archives, similar to those above named, with this difference: that they are originals collected by me from private persons.

Fourth: Some scattering papers which were found at a few of the missions, yielded me a volume of extracts and statistics; and from private sources I obtained fifteen originals of similar nature.

Neither the secular nor mission archives are complete. Large numbers of the former had been destroyed, even before the last change of flag, and many others had not been surrendered to the United States' authorities, or to those of the catholic church, and re-

mained in private hands. My efforts to gather these scattered papers were rewarded beyond my most sanguine expectations, the results being shown in:—

Fifth: fifty collections of *Documentos para la Historia de California*, in 110 volumes with not less than 40,000 documents, thousands of which are very valuable, containing records to be found nowhere else. One-half of them are originals, and of the same character as those in the public and mission archives; while the other half is even of greater worth, being largely private correspondence of prominent citizens and officials on current affairs, and affording an almost unbroken record. Twenty-nine of these collections bear the names of the Californian families whose representatives presented them to me; each heading is followed by *Documentos* or *Papeles*. The following is a list of them: *Alviso*, *Arce*, *Avila*, *Bandini*, *Bonilla*, *Carrillo*, *Castro*, *Coronel*, *Cota*, *Estudillo*, *Fernandez*, *Gomez*, *Gonzalez*, *Guerra y Noriega*, *Marron*, *Moreno*, *Olvera*, *Pico*, *Pinto*, *Requena*, *Soberanes*, *Valle*, and *Vallejo*. Of these, the most valuable is that of Mariano G. Vallejo, in 37 large volumes with not less than 20,000 original papers. Vallejo, one of the most enlightened of the Hispano-Californians, was born in Monterey in 1808. After receiving the scanty rudimentary education which the country then afforded, he entered the military service in 1823 as a cadet of the Monterey presidial cavalry company. He received his promotions in regular order, and when a lieutenant commanding the company and post of San Francisco, he was commissioned to securalize the San Francisco Solano mission. In 1834 he carried out the instructions of Governor Figueroa, and installed a civil government in San Francisco. In 1835 he founded Sonora, holding the double-commission of comandante, and director of colonization on the frontier north of San Francisco. In 1836 he joined the revolutionary movement which ousted the jefe-politico and comandante-general, Gutierrez, from

his position. From this time until 1842, the two authorities were separated, Vallejo holding that of comandante-general, which was recognized in 1838 by the government in Mexico. In 1842 he surrendered the office of comandante-general, and was appointed commandant of the northern line from Sonoma to Santa Inés.

The next collection in extent is that of the Guerra y Noriega family of Santa Bárbara. The founder of this family in California, José Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega, occupied during his long life a position hardly second to any other individual for his ability, independence, sterling character, and generally acknowledged merits. He was a native of Spain, of gentle parentage, and of high family connections, and came to California as a cadet in 1801. He rose gradually until he attained the rank of captain, in 1818. During his long military career, he filled the positions of habilitado, or paymaster of military companies, commanded several posts, that of Santa Bárbara being the last. He was also chosen habilitado-general in Mexico, and deputy to the Mexican congress. He retired from the service of 1842, though he continued to wield, as he had wielded before, a powerful influence in Santa Bárbara, which, to his credit be it said, was always for the general weal. In Santa Bárbara he was called the patriarch, to whom the people generally applied to settle controversies. His charities, and those of his wife, née María Antonia Carrillo, were almost unbounded. Probably his Spanish birth prevented his reaching a high political and military rank under the Mexican rule. Captain de la Guerra died in 1858, leaving several sons and daughters, some of whom have held honorable positions. His two daughters, Mrs Hartnell and Mrs Ord, have also contributed to the information contained in this volume. For extended biographical information on the late captain, I refer to the pioneer register and index of my *History of California.*

Of course, the value of a collection must not be judged solely by its bulk; for some of the smaller ones, containing all the papers which the donor had to give, such, for instance, as those of *Moreno*, *Olvera*, and *Pinto*, are quite as important as some of the larger ones.

Sixth: There are twenty collections under foreign names, in some cases that of the pioneer family who owned them, and in others that of the collector or donor. Such appear under the headings of *Ashley*, *Documentos*, *Fitch*, *Griffin*, *Grigsby*, *Hayes*, *Hittell*, *Larkin*, *Janssens*, *McInstry*, *Monterey*, *Murray*, *Pinart*, *Savage*, *Sawyer*, and *Spear*. Most of the documents in these collections are in English, but aside from this, they are of the same nature as the others. At the head of this class stand Thomas O. Larkin's nine volumes of *Documents for the History of California*, presented to me by Mr Larkin's family, through his son-in-law, Mr Sampson Tams. This collection, beyond a doubt, exceeds all the others in value for the history of California in 1845–6, for without its contents, the history of that eventful period could be but imperfectly given. Larkin, a native of Massachusetts, was the consul, and confidential agent of the United States government, as well as a leading merchant at Monterey. His correspondence and relations with the leading men of California, both native and foreign, were extensive. He was constantly in contact with traders and visitors at the department's seat of government. The letters regularly passing between him and certain prominent foreigners, mostly Americans, at San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, contain almost all that was worth recording of the country's political, social, commercial, and industrial affairs in those years and several preceding ones. Larkin was also intimate with the masters of vessels trading on the coast, and with merchants at the Hawaiian islands. This collection contains letters from Frémont, Sutter, Sloat, and other prominent actors in the events

of California, not to speak of the despatches to and from the United States government, and commanders of war ships. There are, from the same source, a large mass of commercial papers, which have supplied me with pioneers' names, dates, and prices ofcommodities.

Seventh: I have in my list five hundred and fifty titles of separate manuscript documents, and could properly extend their number to thousands; but possessing such vast material, I have found much convenience in condensation. Of diaries, journals, and log-books of expeditions by sea and land, there are no less than eighty which I place in the first class. The second class is composed of government documents, numbering 163, of which 27 are orders, instructions, and reports emanating from Spanish or Mexican officials in Mexico; 75 are similar parts from high authorities in California, 34 like documents from commandants and other inferior officers in California, and 27 are Mexican and Californian *reglamentos*, provincial and municipal. The third class consists of 104 mission documents of various kinds, emanating from the guardians of the San Fernando college, and from other high ecclesiastical authorities in Spain and Mexico; 52 are papers from mission presidents and prefects, and from the bishop, and 47 reports, letters, etc., of the missionary fathers. The fourth and last class is composed of miscellaneous papers, numbering nearly 200 titles, which are very important, but too numerously subdivided to be detailed here; some of them are old diaries, narratives, personal records, accounts of battles, treaties, papers connected with civil and criminal trials, with the Russian settlement at Ross, etc.

Eighth: The scattered correspondence of about two hundred of the most prominent men, forming a like number of titles. The author's name is followed by some word significant of the document's character, such as *carta*, *correspondencia*, *escritos*, etc. Seventy of these were men who wrote prior to 1824, and 130

flourished later. Of the whole number, 20 were Spanish or Mexican officials who wrote out of California, 20 were Franciscan friars of the Californian missions, 48 foreign pioneer residents in California, and 111 were native, Mexican, or Spanish citizens and officials of California. Several of these collections in each class would form singly a thick volume.

Ninth: There is still one more class of manuscript material to be noticed, namely, the recollections I have taken of men living at the time I began my researches, which in many cases include those of their fathers; altogether covering the history of California from its settlement. Besides those contained in other volumes, I have the reminiscences of 160 old residents, half of whom were natives or of Spanish blood, and the other half foreign pioneers who came to the country prior to 1848. Of the former class a considerable number occupied prominent public positions equally divided between the north and south. Treating of these men in alphabetical order, I begin by José Ábrego, a Mexican who came to California in 1834. Being young, intelligent, and of good character, as well as of attractive manners, he soon attained influence among all classes, leading to his preferment in political life, and his holding offices of trust continuously from 1836 to the end of the Mexican domination, notably that of treasurer of the department from 1839 to 1846. No man was more highly respected, or had better opportunities to be posted on the affairs of California than Ábrego.

Of Juan Bautista Alvarado, governor of California from 1836 to the end of 1842, I need give here no biographical details, as I have done so elsewhere. Suffice it to say that he possessed the brightest mind of any Californian of his time. He has been accused, mainly through church influence, of having plundered the missions. He was responsible for their destruction simply because he was the governor; but no one could justly charge him with having appropriated

to his private uses any portion of the mission property. Other accusations, chiefly that of hostility to foreigners, were greatly exaggerated, and in the main, false. In my list of authorities are many of Alvarado's writings. His original letters from 1836 to 1842 are extremely interesting, and reliable, as well as the best authority extant on the history of those years. Indeed, they alone furnish the true inwardness of that eventful period. Alvarado also dictated for my use in 1876 an *Historia de California* in five volumes, which in the preface he calls *California ántes del '48*. "Civilization down to the preceding century," he writes, "recognized only the rights of the stronger and more cunning. The Indians were more numerous than the Spaniards, but the latter were artful, and by crafty means subjugated the natives. The poor natives were reduced by the friars to such a state of servility that they dared not entertain even a thought without the consent of the priest. Mofrás, Gleeson, and others have tried to throw a stain upon my name, and to misrepresent my executive acts, because I struck the death-blow to the worm-eaten system of education which the friars practised toward the Indians. But I want the church and the world to know that, prompted by motives of humanity, I resolved to free the Indians from that thraldom. My republican education revolted against their being any longer made the victims of men whose gowns and cowls were gray, but whose souls were black, and insensible to the sufferings of thousands of unfortunates, who, deprived of their freedom, were mere puppets in the hands of those coarse priests, who, while preaching purity of soul and body, were steeped in every species of vice....I am satisfied of having done my duty, have faith in divine justice, and am ready to render an account to my creator of my acts in the premises." Alvarado in this diatribe refers not only to the system, but to some of the friars, whom he names, whose conduct was anything but praiseworthy.

There was a peculiar vein of generosity in Alvarado's character. He was not rancorous toward his opponents, nor did he visit upon their families any responsibility for hostile acts. Very often, while his political opponents were working in the south to oust him from power, he was protecting and providing for their families in the north. One of these men, a prominent officer, noted for his bitter hostility to Governor Alvarado, left his family in Monterey without provisions. His party having been defeated, he preferred to abandon California; and had it not been that Alvarado, through a third party, provided for the wife and children during two years, they would have suffered for the necessaries of life. I have also a manuscript by Alvarado entitled *Primitivo Descubrimiento*, which is an interesting account of the discovery of gold placers in the San Fernando valley in 1841.

José Antonio Alviso gave me at Salinas his interesting *Campaña de Natividad*. Valentin Alviso, educated in Massachusetts, and who has occupied several local offices in Livermore, furnished me valuable *Documentos para la Historia*, forming the Alviso family records; he has also rendered me aid in other ways, besides contributing to the Livermore papers.

José María Amador, a son of Pedro Amador, one of the first soldiers that came to California, was also during many years of his life a soldier, first in the artillery, and next in the presidial company of San Francisco. After him was named Amador county in California, and he has been credited, though this is doubtful, with the naming of Mount Diablo in 1814. There have been few men in California about whom so many stories have been told by the newspapers as this old Californian. He was often spoken of as a centenarian, a Spanish officer, the first child born in San Francisco, founder of Sonoma, etc., all of which were untrue. Even he had come to represent himself as older than he really was, saying that he was

born in 1781. when his birthday was the 18th of December, 1794. In 1877 he was living in poverty, and a cripple, with his youngest daughter, near Watsonville; but his memory was unimpaired, and he cheerfully dictated for my use, within about a week, some two hundred pages of his recollections of early times. His *Memorias* contain a fund of anecdotes on events and men, as well as information on the manners and customs of Californians from his youth, followed by his experiences in the gold placers after 1848. Some of his stories must be taken with allowance, for like most old soldiers he was a little given to exaggeration. Nevertheless, the book is both useful and entertaining. I will insert some examples. Relating how his father brought his family to California, he said, that the sergeant had three children of his second marriage when he was assigned to the San Francisco company: "los condujo en alforjas, dos en una, y otro en la otra alforja, y para emparejar el peso, puso una piedra en la última. Mi madre arreaba la mula en que venian los niños, y mi padre la tiraba." Once in 1837 a party of Cósumnes raided his rancho, San Ramon, and carried away about one hundred animals. In the attempt to recover the property, he, the alférez Prado Mesa, and two Englishmen, Robert Livermore and another, were wounded, Amador receiving four flints in his body, which were afterward extracted. An expedition of 70 soldiers and citizens, with 200 auxiliary Mokelumnes, started out to avenge the outrage. About 200 Cósumnes, half of them Christian Indians and the other half gentiles, were captured by treachery at the Stanislaus, and brought away in a collera. The auxiliaries demanded the surrender to them of the Christian prisoners, to be put to death, and the demand was granted. At intervals of a mile or so, six of the Christians were made to kneel, and after a prayer were shot with arrows. Then it was resolved to kill the gentiles, after baptizing them. Says Amador: "I ordered Nazario Galindo to take a

bottle with water; I took another; he began at one end of the collera, and I at the other. We baptized all the Indians, and they were afterward shot through the back. One of the men escaped, and swam across the river. He was, however, killed the next day together with some 23 other men, in an assault against his ranchería by the Mokelumnes; when they captured the women and children, about 160 in number, all of whom were brought to the mission San José and baptized." Captain José de Jesus Vallejo reprimanded Mesa for the execution of the Indians. Mesa laid the blame on Amador, from whom Vallejo demanded an explanation, receiving for an answer that "las tortillas sabrosas se comen en la casa, y las amargas en la sierra." With *Amador's Memorias* are several pages contributed by Asisara, an exneophyte of Santa Cruz on important events and matters connected with that mission.

Francisco Arce, a native of Loreto, came to this California when a boy, and held office during many years, his last positions, prior to the American annexation, having been chief clerk in the office of the government secretary, and lastly secretary ad interim of Comandante-general Castro. He thus had every opportunity to be informed on the inwardness of public affairs. Being also a lieutenant of auxiliary militia, he was captured with a lot of horses for the Californian cavalry, by a squad of the Bear party, at the beginning of their revolt in 1846. He went with Castro to Mexico, and served in the Mexican valley against the United States forces, part of the time in the San Patricio legion of Irish deserters. Taken prisoner, he barely escaped being shot owing to his resemblance to O'Leary, a deserter from the American army. He finally abandoned the service, and returned in 1848 to Lower California, and in the next year to Monterey. In 1877 I obtained from him a collection of historical documents, and a dictation of seventy-one pages of his *Memorias Históricas.*

Arce states that Juan Caballo, a soldier thus named because of his horse-like features, had stolen some poultry from a woman, whereupon the general caused him to appear and answer to the complaint. Striking a military attitude, the man said: "It was not I, my general, but my gossip Coyote"—another soldier, who for his resemblance to a fox was nicknamed Coyote—"que hace algun tiempo que le ha dado por la pluma" (who for some time past has taken to the pluma, which word means both feather and pen). The general replied "Get out of here, you knave;" and laughing wondered if Coyote was writing a book; he paid the woman for her poultry. Arce added that these things were of daily occurrence, and the general never was out of humor. His wife, however, complained, saying that she did not like to see her husband penniless because of the rascalities of his soldiers.

José Arnaz, a native of Spain, came to California as the supercargo of a Mexican trading vessel in 1840, and pursued the same occupation for about three years, when he retired and went into business for himself at Los Angeles. His name has appeared in the events in connection with the ex-mission of San Buenaventura, which he claimed to have purchased in 1846. In 1877 I found him to be a genial, intelligent person in comfortable circumstances, and with an interesting family living at his rancho Santa Ana near San Buenaventura. In 1878 he furnished me one hundred pages of his valuable *Recuerdos*, mainly on the life and customs of the traders and rancheros of California in the fourth decade of the present century. His information on the mode of carrying on trade on the coast of California at this period is extremely interesting. He also has supplied much important information on social customs at Los Angeles, Monterey and San Francisco early in the forties. Of the Polin spring, at the presidio of San Francisco, then famous for its supposed effects on barren women, he says: "Women used to come from all parts of the

coast to drink of and bathe in the Polin water. The wife of Captain Spear, who was a native of the Hawaiian Islands, after several years' marriage, had no children. One day Juana Briones, a laundress, asked the captain if he would like offspring, and being answered affirmatively, guaranteed that if Mrs Spear were entrusted to her care, he should have his desire. "Take her," said Spear, whereupon the two women marched off together. In one year from that day Mrs Spear had twins, all owing to a free use of the Polin water.

José and Juan Bandini were father and son. The former, a Spanish master mariner, came the first time to California in 1819, with military reënforcements and supplies, and after taking the oath of allegiance to independent Mexico, settled with his son Juan, a Peruvian by birth, soon after 1822, at San Diego. In 1827 he wrote a long *Carta Histórica y Descriptiva de California* for Eustace Barron, of which I have the blotter copy. I have also a manuscript *Historia de California*, left by Juan Bandini at his death, together with many of his original letters and other papers. Nearly all the papers, as well as the two long writings were placed in my library several years ago by Don Juan's widow, then residing at Los Angeles. These writings, being full of data on the affairs of California, have been thoroughly utilized in my history. For biographical sketches of these two important men of southern California, the reader is referred to the Pioneer Register, volume II of my *History of California.*

Narciso Botello, a Sonoran by birth, came to California in 1833. Being a man of good abilities and fair education, his services were soon in demand in various quarters. He became secretary of the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles, and clerk of the court of first instance. Later he occupied a seat in the departmental assembly. In the political dissensions between Mexicans and Californians, he invariably sided

with the former, and in the difficulties between the southern and northern Californians, his sympathies were with the south. He was well acquainted with the affairs that agitated the country, and no one was better informed than he upon every event which occurred in the southern section. The value of his *Anales del Sur*, dictated for me in San Diego in January 1878, is a narrative of the political and other complications of California from 1836 to 1847, in most of which he was personally concerned. His experiences are related with clearness and precision, though not always without bias. That portion which touches upon events resulting from the American occupation in 1846–7, is full of interesting details. Other valuable parts of the *Anales* are those referring to social customs, public instruction, and the administration of justice. After the annexation of California to the United States became a fixed fact, Botello was for a time a justice of the peace in 1858–9, and a notary public in Los Angeles. At the time he dictated the *Anales* he was in poor circumstances, and living in the Santa María rancho near San Diego.

The next in the list of my original authorities entitled to more than a passing notice, is Manuel de J. Castro. This able Hispano-Californian played an important, and sometimes an honorable part in Californian affairs, during the latter part of Mexican domination. Fully informed, both on the events that passed before him, and on the men who figured in them, his testimony, when not driven by necessity from the truth, is of the highest importance. From him, in 1875, I was able to secure three volumes of *Documentos para la Historia de California*, a most important collection of original papers. A few years later I managed to get —how, is told in my *Literary Industries*—another collection of similar documents, together with valuable Lower California material. And finally I obtained his *Relacion de la Alta California*, which was dictated to a copyist in my service. This narrative, whatever

the personal character of the author may be, I place among my most valuable material, down to the time when were healed the dissensions between Governor Pico and Comandante-general Castro, immediately after the revolt of the so-called Bear party. In connection with this revolt he eloquently speaks of the execution of old Sergeant Berreyesa and the Haro twins, near San Rafael, and of the effect such an event had on the Californians. "This news filled with consternation our whole camp," he writes. "It was a night of profound meditation. It was till then unknown whether the Californians would have to struggle against savage hordes organized under the bear flag which the foreign rebels had adopted, or whether, in the event of a declaration of war between Mexico and the United States, they would have to fight against civilized soldiers; inasmuch as Captain Frémont, an officer of the regular army, and under the protection of the United States government, had become the leader of an invading band of adventurers or pirates." In regard to the reconciliation between the two chief authorities of the department, he says: "Prefect Castro,"—that is himself—"had the satisfaction of mediating at the private interview of Comandante-general Castro and Governor Pico, which took place on the arroyo of the Santa Margarita rancho, and of prevailing on the two rulers, to warmly embrace one another as an earnest of their sincere reconciliation, and of their desire to work in unison in the defence of their country." Don Manuel, I believe, holds rank in the Mexican military service, never having discarded his original allegiance, though he has lived in California many years since the country became a part of the American union.

Another authority which I consider of the highest value is Antonio Franco Coronel's *Cosas de California.* The author came with his parents to this distant territory of Mexico when a lad, in 1834. His father, Ignacio Coronel, had been a soldier, first of the Span-

ish army in Mexico, and later served under Iturbide. He came with the colony of Híjar and Padrés engaged as a public instructor, a position that he did not finally obtain because of the failure of the colony. He was in subsequent years occupied most of the time as the principal of a school in Los Angeles, and also connected with the city council, and the courts. Botello, on speaking of public instruction in Los Angeles, furnishes the following testimony respecting him: "Don Ignacio Coronel was a man of sound judgment, and of fair education, and without doubt the town of Los Angeles is indebted to him for much good service in this branch, to which he devoted himself with great earnestness, aided by his elder daughter Josefa, and even at times by his wife. His was the only school existing in the town."

Antonio, his son, held several positions of trust under Mexican rule. During the military operations in the south in 1846–7, he contributed his services against the American invaders, and while on his way to Mexico with despatches and a flag taken from Commander Mervine at San Pedro, narrowly escaped capture by General Kearny's troops. After California became a portion of the American union, Coronel accepted the situation in good faith, and afterward held a respectable standing both socially and politically in Los Angeles, near which city he has a vineyard and orange orchard. He held the positions as an American citizen of county assessor, mayor, member of the city council, and state treasurer, and was placed on the board of agriculture. He is a man of acknowledged ability, as well as a useful citizen. From him I obtained several valuable papers regarding his father and himself, and in 1877 he dictated for me his *Cosas de California.* This is a folio volume of 265 pages, full of valuable material. The first 140 pages treat of historical events in California, and biographical notes on men who took part in them from early in the third decade of the present century to the consoli-

dation of American power. The next 46 pages contain the author's experiences in the gold placers, with many interesting anecdotes which I have utilized in another volume. Following are several pages on relations with the Indians of the frontier. The narrative is full of interest. There are several pages devoted to the annals of crime in the vicinity of Los Angeles during the four or five years which immediately succeeded the discovery of gold in California. From page 211 to the end the narrative furnishes copious information on missions, population, public instruction, mode of life, occupations, food, dress, and amusements of the Californians. The whole book is full of valuable matter related in a clear and pleasant style, free from exaggeration or bias.

Another voluminous and most valuable contribution is that of Victor E. A. Janssens, a resident of Santa Bárbara, under the title of *Vida y Aventuras en California*, dictated by him for my use in 1878. A Belgian by birth, Janssens, while still a lad came from Mexico with the Híjar and Padrés colony in 1834. It is unnecessary to detail here his career, which has been set forth in the Pioneer Register of the fourth volume of the *History of California*, this series. He had good opportunities for observation, and seems to have improved them. He was well informed regarding everything that took place before and after the American annexation; his statements are entitled to high consideration. The book begins with an excellent narrative of colony affairs, which is followed by a detailed and clear account of later events, namely, political disturbances almost from the beginning of Colonel Chico's rule to the end of the war between the factions of Alvarado and Carrillo in 1838. In continuation are several pages giving a vivid account of Indian raids and other troubles on the frontier of Lower California and at San Diego. There is also valuable information on mission affairs, agriculture and other industries, social matters, etc. He next

relates the trouble betweed Pico and Castro, and the military operations of the Californians and Americans during the war of 1846–7; his adventures and successes in the gold diggings, Indian assaults against his rancho, criminal annals and other matters of great interest. The whole forms a folio of two hundred and twenty-three pages, every one of which affords both entertaining and instructive reading. Besides this, I had copied for my library his collection of *Documentos para la Historia de California*, containing several important records. As a specimen of the author's descriptive powers, I will insert here the manner in which the Coronel and Olvera families were treated in 1836, simply because they were from Mexico. This affair took place immediately after the revolution which drove out of the country Comandante-general Gutierrez. Janssens was in the company of those families at the time. "On reaching the rancho of the Verdugos, almost opposite Cahuenga, near Los Angeles, they saw a gathering of people as if for a ball. Opposite the large mansion was a small adobe house occupied by an old woman who kindly afforded shelter to the wearied travellers. Many persons at the large house were drinking liquor, and every now and then was heard the cry 'Down with Mexico!' 'Death to the Mexicans!' This state of things grew more and more alarming as the night advanced. One of the hostile Californians came to me and asked who I was. Not liking his looks I represented myself to be a Frenchman. At every moment was heard the same cry of 'Mueran los Mejicanos!' Don Ignacio Coronel and his family, and the rest of the party, including myself, Rojas, and Ortiz, became greatly alarmed, and there was good reason for it." He goes on detailing the continued insults they were the objects of during that night, and concludes the narrative as follows: "On the next morning we started for San Gabriel. These infamous people, not satisfied with the injury and insults they had inflicted, followed

after us, lassoed a wild bull, and on passing the Arroyo Seco, almost opposite the town of Los Angeles, they let the brute loose. It rushed madly upon us, and attacked the cart. The men in charge of the cart succeeded in driving the bull away, and we passed the arroyo. Nothing could of course be done against such persons, who made us think that we were passing midst tribes of wild Indians." The travellers were relieved from further insult by Lieutenant Rocha, a Mexican who had charge of the mission. The immigrants called this unhappy espisode their Noche Triste.

To Mrs Prudenciana Lopez Moreno, widow of José Matías Moreno, the last secretary of Pio Pico's government, I am indebted for having permitted me in 1878 to examine her late husband's papers, and make copies, resulting in a volume of *Documentos para la Historia de California*, among which are also some important records of the frontier district of Lower California.

Mrs A. Ord, née de la Guerra, and whose first husband was Don Manuel Jimeno Casarin, who held several high positions in California, among them those of member of the assembly, government secretary, and several times acting governor, dictated for me at Santa Bárbara in 1878, her *Ocurrencias de California*, a manuscript of one hundred and fifty-six pages, which is beyond a doubt one of the most reliable and fascinating narratives in my collection, treating as it does not only of political affairs, about which she was fully informed, but of social life and the missions.

Antonio María Osio's *Historia de California* manuscript, a copy of which I obtained through the courtesy of John T. Doyle, is a work of much merit, and with those of Vallejo, Alvarado, and Bandini, makes the collection for this period most complete. Like the others, however, it is very uneven as a record of facts, and could not be held as a safe guide in the ab-

sence of the original records. A biographical sketch of Osio is given in volume IV. of my *History of California.*

A special notice is due to the thirty pages of a narrative under the title of *Una Vieja y sus Recuerdos,* dictated in 1877 by Eulalia Perez, Widow Mariné, the famous centenarian of San Gabriel, and which is full of interesting items, particularly on mission life and daily routine.

The last Mexican governor of California, Pio Pico, dictated for me in 1878 some of his recollections which appear on my shelves entitled *Historia de California.* In interest and accuracy this contribution favorably compares with other statements by pioneers. Don Pio also gave me at the same time two volumes of original *Documentos para la Historia de California,* which contain many important papers. His relative, Ramon Pico, added to my collection three volumes of *Documentos para la Historia de California* which belonged to his late father Antonio María Pico, who was a prominent man both before and after the acquisition of this country by the United States. José de Jesus Pico of San Luis Obispo, in *Acontecimientos en California,* seventy-eight pages, has given his personal experiences, which seem to be pretty well authenticated by official records. To this narrative he appended two original documents of the highest importance.

Three others of the citizens of California, Rafael Pinto, Florencio Serrano and Estévan de la Torre, residing here previous to the American occupation, have contributed very extensive and varied data of the most desirable kind about the country. Pinto, a native Californian, and an honorable man, in his *Apuntaciones para la Historia de California,* one hundred and six folio pages, dictated for me at Hollister in 1878, furnished a narration of political events both north and south, in most of which he was a participant as a military officer. Here, as well as in the

description of social customs, his narrative is truthful and entertaining.

Pablo de la Guerra was collector of customs ad interim in Monterey, and the superior officer of Pinto, who was receiver of revenue at San Francisco. The former ordered the latter to present himself in Monterey, but the order was not obeyed. The two officers were friends, but duty must be placed before friendship among honorable men. Hence it was when the tardy Pinto at length appeared at Monterey, the superior Pablo frowned.

"How now, sir," he said, "whose time is this you squander?"

"I was ill," replied Pinto.

"Ill, were you!" I have heard of such sickness, and have a sure cure for it,—fifteen days' confinement under arrest."

Pinto went dolefully to prison, though not unhappy at heart; for he carried there the image of the young wife for whose sweet society he had postponed his going. Pablo knew all about it, and went every day to visit his friend in prison. Pinto's penitence so worked upon him, that on the fifth day the prisoner was free. Again among his comrades, Pinto turned to his superior, and said: "Sir, I impeach you for dereliction of duty, and as I cannot commit you, I impose a fine; a bottle of champagne."

"How is that?" asked Pablo, as he ordered the wine brought on.

"Did not your love for me cheat justice out of ten of the fifteen days demanded for my disobedience?" asked Pinto.

From the same source I received the original records of the San Francisco custom-house down to 1846, which were still in Pinto's possession. Why they had not fallen with California and her lands and gold —all for fifteen millions—into the hands of the United States officers, when the American flag was hoisted over Yerba Buena, and the custom-house was

seized, I will relate. When news arrived of the capture of Monterey by Commodore Sloat, Pinto resolved to depart before San Francisco should also be taken. Before going he packed his trunks, placing in them the custom-house papers and flag, and sent them to the house of William A. Leidesdorff, the American vice-consul. Commander Montgomery, after taking possession of the town and the custom-house, learning that Leidesdorff had Pinto's trunks, demanded that they should be opened. This the consul refused to do; and as the commander did not press the matter, the trunks in due time were delivered to their owner. The flag Pinto presented years after to Philip Roach for the Pioneer Society, and the papers finally came to me, and now figure on my shelves under the title of *Pinto, Documentos para la Historia de California.*

Florencio Serrano had held judicial positions under Mexican rule, and after the American occupation he succeeded Colton as alcalde at Monterey. A man of pure European blood, of fair education, and good repute, he was somewhat superior to his associates. In his old age he was blind and poor, though not in want, as his sons cared for him and their mother. Before his death he dictated his *Apuntes para la Historia de California,* in which he gives a full statement of his life, and recollections of Californian affairs, throwing light upon many important topics, in excellent language and entertaining style. The manuscript is a voluminous one, and I look upon it as one of the most valuable in my collection.

Estévan de la Torre, a son of the secretary under Sola the last Spanish governor, unlike his brothers Joaquin and Gabriel, never allowed himself to figure in politics, though he did take part in the last two years' military movements for the defence of his country. He preferred the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, commerce, and other honest occupations, and was noted as an industrious, hard-working man. In 1877, he was in comfortable circumstances, had a wife

and children, and enjoyed the respect of all who knew him. That year he dictated to my secretary at Monterey material for a volume of 234 folio pages, appearing in my collection with the title of *Reminiscencias*. This excellent contribution has been often quoted in my *History of California*, being particularly valuable as a picture of manners and customs in Mexican times, as well as a trustworthy record of public events passing under his observations. He also relates his experiences in the gold placers.

I must mention more briefly some others, who are none the less worthy, as I am warned that I am near the end of this volume.

Catarina Ávila de Rios, widow of Sergeant Petronilo Rios of the artillery, dictated her *Recuerdos Históricos*, being mainly an account of the massacre of the Reed family and others, at San Miguel in 1849.

Antonio Berreyesa, *Relacion*, is an account of the murder of Sergeant Berreyesa, his uncle, and of the Haro twins, by Frémont's men in 1846, and of his own troubles with squatters and land-lawyers.

Juan Bojorges, *Recuerdos*, are his reminiscences on Indian campaigns.

José Canuto Boronda, *Notas*, are notes on his old-time adventures. He was a soldier, and long served as the orderly of Sola, the last Spanish governor.

Félix Buelna, *Narracion*, comprises some of his recollections.

Domingo and José Antonio Carrillo; to the widows of these once prominent Californians I am indebted for many valuable papers connected with the history of their country, including among them no less a paper than the original convention of Cahuenga between Andrés Pico and Frémont, in January 1847, which put an end to hostilities between the Americans and Californians.

Agustin Escobar, *Campaña de '46*, and Clemente Espinosa, *Apuntes*, contain brief notes on especial topics.

José M. Estudillo, *Datos Históricos:* consisting mainly of a narrative of events in the San Diego region, and data on the coasting trade in pre-American times.

Ignacio Ezquer, *Memorias,* dictated in 1878, being a few of his recollections on early events.

Henry D. Fitch was an American shipmaster, merchant, and land-owner who came to California before 1827. His widow Josefa Carrillo de Fitch presented me in 1875 a large number of documents of interest for Californian history, including her marriage certificate, and her husband's Mexican naturalization papers. She also dictated an interesting *Narracion.* I have likewise in the Vallejo and Cooper collections, hundreds of Captain Fitch's business and personal letters.

José Fernandez, a Spaniard who came to California in 1817, and served in Argüello's expedition to the north in 1821. In the course of his life, during the Mexican rule, he filled several local offices, besides holding the rank of captain in the militia. After the American occupation he was a town councilman. In 1874 he dictated for me his *Cosas de California,* a most interesting narrative. Fernandez was held in respect and esteem by all who knew him.

Miguel Flores, gave me at San José in 1877, *Recuerdos Históricos,* relating only to a short period of Californian history, but not devoid of interest.

Eusebio Galindo, born in 1802, and many years a soldier of the San Francisco presidial company, in 1877 contributed his *Apuntes,* which contain much matter worthy of preservation.

Inocente García in his *Hechos Históricos* gives details of the old soldier's life, his experiences as a mission administrator, observations of a general nature, and a few specimens of his poetical compositions.

José E. García, *Episodios,* and M. García, *Apuntes sobre Micheltorena.* The latter is a brief account of the Batallon Fijo de California brought by Micheltorena to this country in 1842. Nicanor de J. Cas-

tillo Garnica writes *Recuerdos* of events in 1844–6.

José de los S. and Luis C. German, brothers, of Tres Pinos, under the title of *Sucesos* related what they knew of California events in 1844–7, which on several points proved valuable material for history.

Vicente P. Gomez in a thick folio volume under the title of *Lo que Sabe*, contributed a large stock of information upon almost all subjects connected with California history and social life. His vein of anecdote seemed inexhaustible, and many were the stories he told while working in my library and in the various archives.

Teodoro Gonzalez who lived in California since 1825, held several municipal and judicial offices, and became a man of wealth, was placed where he could understand the causes and effects of the several revolutions which disturbed the country. Though his memory was failing in 1877 he related many important details which are preserved in his *Revoluciones de California.* Mauricio Gonzalez, a pioneer of 1840, gave in his *Memorias* on the revolution and campaign against Micheltorena in 1844–5, and also a collection of original papers that had belonged to his father, the first collector of customs of Monterey. Rafael Gonzalez, of Santa Bárbara, in his *Experiencias* relates what passed before him, in most of which he was a participant.

William Edward Petty Hartnell was a highly educated and honorable Englishman, who resided in California since 1822, and married Señorita Teresa de la Guerra. A detailed account of his career is given in the Pioneer Register, volume III, of my *History of California.* I possess hundreds of letters and papers which emanated from or belonged to him. Indeed, his family documents form more than one volume of the Vallejo collection, and should be under his own name. Among these were the original records of the *Convention of '49*, and the valuable *Diario del Visitador General de Misiones*, 1839–40.

Cárlos N. Híjar's *California en '34* contains mainly data on the colony of Híjar and Padrés. The author came with his uncle José M. Híjar, who had a commission as jefe-político and director of colonization of California.

Julio César, an intelligent ex-neophyte of San Luis Rey living at Tres Pinos in 1878, dictated to my secretary *Cosas de Indias*, a really good account of mission affairs.

Cayetano Juarez, a soldier of the San Francisco company in 1828, alcalde of Sonoma in 1845, and in later years a wealthy ranchero of Napa county, gave in some rambling *Notas*. This is the man who planned the rescue of the Sonoma prisoners in 1846 from the Bear party, and swam about nine miles to escape capture.

Justo Larios, *Convulsiones de California*, is an interesting account of the political disturbances. Estolano Larios, gives *Vida y Aventuras*, not of himself but of his father, a famous bear hunter.

Of Jacob P. Leese, pioneer of 1833, I have a biographical sketch, and the *Bear Flag Revolt*, which is the best narrative on the subject extant. His wife furnished me an *Historia de los Osos* to which I ascribe no special value.

Apolinaria Lorenzana was one of the foundling children sent to California by the viceroy of Mexico in 1800, and who were here distributed, as she expressed it "como perritos, entre las familas." Living at Santa Bárbara in 1878, blind and indigent, she related in a volume entitled *Memorias de la Beata* many interesting items on early times, especially in regard to San Diego.

José del C. Lugo, of Los Angeles, who at one time was in affluent circumstances, and occupied a prominent position, in *Vida de un Ranchero* treats of political and other events, manners and customs, etc., in the years preceding and immediately succeeding the American annexation.

Then we have by Juana Machado Ridington, of San Diego, *Tiempos Pasados de California;* by Felipa Osuna Marron, also of San Diego, *Recuerdos*, and the *Papeles Originales* of her late father, an old alcalde of that town and mission administrator.

Juan B. Moreno's *Vida Militar* consists of a few facts on military operations during the American war. Francisco Palomares' *Memorias* are chiefly his adventures as an Indian fighter, which are supposed to be truthfully related.

Manuel Torres' *Peripecias de la Vida en California* is a readable manuscript, devoted to manners of life, and remarks on early men, rather than a narrative of events. The author, a Peruvian, and at one time a member of the state legislature, came to California in 1843.

Ignacio del Valle, a native of Mexico and a military officer, figured largely in the political affairs of California. After the American occupation he held several offices of honor, and served also in the state legislature in 1852. His record has been that of a good officer and honorable citizen. In 1877 he contributed with the title of *Lo Pasado de California* a few pages of his recollections, which are quite interesting, and also presented me a number of documents, among which are some important ones. They appear on my shelves in his name as: Valle, *Documentos para la Historia de California.* I may mention further, Victoriano Vega, *Vida Californiana*, 62 pages. Pablo Véjar, *Recuerdos de un Viejo*, 90 pages. Véjar led an adventurous life, and vividly records it. He was the only prisoner taken by Kearny's army at San Pascual.

To the above array of original authorities I might add many other contributors, whose narratives, though less voluminous, are not on this account less worthy of being quoted in my work on California. Their names have been duly presented in its pages.

Of the foreign pioneers who have given their tes-

timony upon Californian affairs, prior to 1848, being 87 in number, 12 wrote on particular subjects; 20 were residents of California earlier than 1840; 35 came overland as emigrants, hunters, soldiers, and settled previous to 1845–8, and 20 over the seas, as traders or sea-faring men. Of these numerous contributors, the following are entitled to high commendation, the first place belonging by all rights to William Heath Davis' *Glimpses of the Past*, which furnish most detailed and accurate records of early events and men. Davis first came to California when a boy, again in 1833, and a third time in 1838, from which year he has been a permanent resident here, and engaged in commercial enterprises. These facts are mentioned only to make patent the favorable opportunities he has had, making use of his naturally bright intellectual powers, to acquaint himself with and retain in his memory all events, and traits of personal character which were brought under his observation. A biographical sketch of him may be seen in the the Pioneer Register of volume II. of my *History of California*. His *Glimpses of the Past* cover hundreds of pages containing not only his personal experiences, but thousands of items of early men and times, especially on commerce, and the customs of the natives and foreign pioneers. His memory is fresh, but his recollections are, in many instances, based on memoranda made years ago.

Other foreign contributors deserving especial mention are the following: William Baldridge, a pioneer of 1843, for his *Days of '46*, written in 1877, and for several papers given by him at various times for newspapers and books, which are noted for their commendable accuracy. Josiah Belden, *Historical Statement*, of 70 pages; a narrative such as a man of his clear head would produce. I have also a number of his letters. John Bidwell of Chico. His printed *Journey to California* is now among rare books. For the particulars of Bidwell's early life I must refer to

the Pioneer Register in vol. II. of my *History of California*, and confine my remarks here to his *California in 1841–8*, a manuscript of 233 pages dictated by him for me, and which I regard as one of the most valuable in my collection of pioneer reminiscences. Aside from that I have many of his letters, and other papers, throwing light on California events. Henry W. Bigler, *Diary of a Mormon*, an excellent narrative of the march of the Mormon battalion to California in 1847, as well as on details of the gold discovery in 1848. Joseph B. Chiles, *Visit to California in '41*. This person made several overland journeys to this country after that year. John Forster, *Pioneer Data*, besides other contributions respecting his experiences since he first came to California early in the thirties. Walter Murray's *Narrative of a California Volunteer* is a copy of his original diary, which his widow placed at my disposal. It is one of the best authorities on the history of Stevenson's regiment, to which the author belonged, especially on the operations of the same in Lower California, in which Murray participated. It will be well to observe that Murray was afterward a lawyer, journalist, and district judge, having also served as a member of the legislature. It is said of George Nidever, a Tennessean hunter who came to California in 1833, that he killed 200 grizzly bears. His *Life and Adventures* is a long and most valuable narrative. In 1878, at the age of 76, he put into a target three rifle-balls in succession within the space of a square inch at the distance of sixty paces. Nidever died at Santa Bárbara in 1883. Of John Augustus Sutter I give an extensive biographical notice in the Pioneer Register of vol. V. of the *History of California*. His *Personal Recollections* I took from his lips at his home in Pennsylvania.

Jonathan T. Warner, a pioneer of 1831, and one of the men most conspicuous in California since the American annexation, contributed to newspapers and to different parties important items on early history

of this country, which have been made known to the public by the press. His contributions to the centennial history of Los Angeles is of great value. He has furnished me a brief *Biographical Sketch*, and a more extended book of *Reminiscences*, which I have often quoted in the *History of California*. He is recognized as one of the best authorities.

Benjamin Davis Wilson, a Tennessean trapper and trader who came to California in 1841, and who occupied a position of prominence before and after the United States' acquisition of California, in his *Observations*, dictated late in 1877, a few months before his death, at his estate called Lake Vineyard, near San Gabriel, has contributed data on historical events of considerable value, but in some parts inaccurate.

The testimony of foreigners, taken all in all, I regard as of less value than that of the native Californians; for although the latter may be the superior of the former in native mendacity, foreigners have in many cases taken but little interest in the subject.

As might be expected, while the contributions of both native and foreign pioneers have been in the aggregate of much value, I have found in many cases, as the result of defective memory, a strange and often inexplicable mixture of truth and fiction. Fortunately I have not been put to the necessity of basing the history of California wholly on this kind of evidence. Original documents have been at hand in abundance to guard, corroborate, and correct.

GLOSSARY.

For the benefit of those among my American and English readers who may not be conversant with the Spanish language, I append a list of the more common words used in Mexico and Hispano-California, and contained in my *History of California* and in this volume, together with their corresponding significations in our vernacular.

A

Abadesa. Abbess.
Abajeños. Inhabitants of southern California.
Abismo. Bottomless pit.
Á boca llena. Perspicuously, openly.
Abortos del infierno. Hellish abortions.
Aburrido. Disgusted.
Acontecimiento. Event.
Acuerdos. Decisions.
Acusador. Accuser.
Agiotistas. Money-changers, stock-brokers, bill-brokers, discounters of govt warrants.
Agregados. Attachés, added.
Agugeros. Holes.
Alabado. Praised be.
Alameda. Grove of trees.
Alcabala. Excise; also customs duties.
Alcaldadas. Alcalde's blunders.
Alcalde mayor. Magistrate of a district inferior to a governor's.
Alcahuetería. Bawdry, trickery, concealment.
Alcatraz. Pelican.
Almud. Twelfth of a fanega, q. v.
Almuerzo. Breakfast (usually a second one).
Alocucion. Address.
Á medias palabras. With mere hints.
Ameno. Agreeable, enchanting.
Amigas. Primary schools.
Amo. Master, owner.
Amor patrio. Love of country.
Anata. Annats.
Aprehensor. Captor.
Apuntes. Notes, memoranda.
Arancel. Tariff.
Arbitrios. Means, resources.
Archivo. Record office; in plural, archives.
Ardilla. Squirrel.
Arete. Earring.
Arreglo. Arrangement.
Arribeños. Inhabitants of northern California.
Arriero. Muleteer.
Arroba. Twenty-five pounds.
Arroyo. Rivulet, or current.
Asamblea. Assembly.
Asistencia. Assistance; branch of a mission.
Atentado escandalosísimo. Most scandalous outrage.
Audiencia. Supreme court; in Mexico, together with the viceroy, it was also a royal council.
Auto-de-fé. Sentence by the inquisition.
Auto de posesion. Act of possession.
Avería. Average, damage.
Averiguacion. Investigation.
Ayuntamiento. Municipal council.
Azotes. Lashes.

B

Bahía redonda. Round bay.
Banda. Side, scarf.
Bando. Edict.
Bando económico. Financial edict.
Barranca. Ravine, precipice.
Basquiña. Upper petticoat.

Beato, a. Devout.
Benemérito de la patria. Deserving well of the country.
Bidarka. Skin boat.
Bienes. Property.
Bolas de plata. Silver balls.
Boleto de desembarco. Landing permit.
Bolsilla. Little purse.
Bolsillo. Pocket.
Borrador. Blotter-copy.
Borregada. A flock of sheep.
Borrego. Sheep; also name of a Cal. dance.
Brazo de mar. See 'Estero.'
Brazos fuertes. Powerful or strong arms.
Brea. Rosin, pitch.
Bréves, Papal briefs.
Bronco. Unbroken horse.
Buenos dias. Good morning.
Bulas. Papal bulls.
Burla. Mockery.

C

Caballar. Belonging to or resembling horses.
Caballo. Horse. Muy de á caballo. An accomplished horseman.
Cabecera. Head town of a district; source of a river.
Cabeza. Head. Cabeza de proceso. Head of a criminal proceeding.
Cabo de Hornos. Cape Horn.
Cabotage. Coasting trade.
Cacáiste. Mexican, a sort of bench.
Calabozo. Calaboose, prison.
Calzada. Causeway, paved highway, high-road.
Campaña. Campaign.
Campo. Field.
Cañada. Glen or dale between mountains; dale.
Cañon. Cannon. Cañoncito. Small cannon.
Canónigo. Canon.
Cantares á la Vírgen. Canticles to the Virgin.
Capador. Gelder or castrator.
Capataz. Boss.
Capitan de armas. Commander of troops.
Capitana. Flag-ship.
Capitanejo. Petty chief.
Carrera de baqueta. Running the gauntlet.
Carta. Letter, chart.
Carta de naturaleza. Certificate of naturalization.
Carta de seguridad. Passport, or permit to reside.
Casa consistorial. Municipal hall.
Casas Grandes. Large houses.
Casas reales. Buildings of the crown.
Castigo de sangre. Punishment drawing blood.
Catorce. Fourteen.
Caucion juratoria. A person's own recognizance.
Cayuco. Dug-out.
Cédula. Letter.
Celador. Watchman.
Celebérrima. Most celebrated, or illustrious.
Cepos. Stocks for punishment.
Cerro. Hill.
Chahuistle. Rust.
Chancaca. See 'Panocha.'
Chapeton. One of noble birth who never was of any use; one who came to America without a royal passport.
Chapulin. Locust.
Cimarrones. Runaways or deserters.
Clérigo. Clergyman.
Comandante de escuadron. Major of cavalry.
Comandante superior político y militar. Superior civil and military commandant.
Comendador. Knight commander.
Comilitona. See 'Comilona.'
Comilona. A feast with plenty of edibles.
Comisario. Commissary, a treasury official.
Comision. Commission, trust. Comision reservada. Secret commission.
Compañero. Companion, comrade, chum.
Compañía de honor. Company of honor.
Campañía extrangera. Company of foreigners.
Comodidad. Comfort, utility.
Compadre, comadre, gossips.
Compadrazgo. Bond of affinity between the parents of a child on one side, and the sponsors of the child on the other.
Compañía franca. Privileged company.
Condiciones convenidas. Conditions agreed upon.
Cóngrua. Stipend.
Congreso constituyente, Constituent congress.
Conministro. Assistant minister.

Conquistado, a, os, as. Conquered, subjugated.
Conquistar. To conquer.
Consejo. Council. Consejo-general de pueblos unidos. Council-general of united towns, or people.
Consideracion no menor. Of not less consideration.
Contador. Accountant, auditor.
Contestacion. Answer.
Contribucion forzosa. Forced loan.
Contorno. In circuit.
Convenio. Convention, agreement.
Corbeta. Corvette, or sloop-of-war.
Cordilleras. Messages from place to place.
Corma. Species of fetters.
Corral. A pen for live-stock, and even for poultry.
Coyote. A small California wolf.
Cuadrilla. Gang.
Cuarta. A whip.
Cuarto de las solteras. Single women's quarters.
Culto. Cult, worship, cultured.
Custodia. Number of convents, not enough for a provincia; remonstrance.
Cuero. Hide of cattle or horses.
Cuerpo. The body.
Cuerpo del delito. Corpus delicti.

D

De estilo. Usual.
Definidores. The councillors of a custodia.
Delitos de sangre. Crimes with bloodshed.
Derechos. Duties.
Derrochador. Squanderer.
Derrotero. Directions for sailing.
Desagüe. Drainage.
Desahogo. Relief.
Desayuno. Breakfast.
Descubridor. Discoverer, or detector.
Desesperado. Desperado.
Destierro. Banishment.
Diablo. Devil.
Dia de fiesta. Feast-day.
Dia del juicio. Day of judgment.
Dictámen. Report, opinion.
Dieta. Daily pay.
Diezmos. Tithes.
Dirán y Dirémos. They will say, and so shall we.
Discretorio. Council of a head convent.
Dispensa. Pantry-room.
Divertirse. To amuse oneself.
Doctrina. Doctrine; curacy held by friars.
Doctrineros. Friars in charge of parishes.
Donativos. Donations, gifts.

E

Echado. Past participle of echar, to throw, or put in. Echado yerba en los óleos. Had put poison in the sacred oil.
Echar con cajas destempladas. To dismiss unceremoniously.
Economía de sangre. Saving of bloodshed.
El capitan fraile tenia mas mañas que un burro de aguador. The friar captain had more tricks than the donkey of a water-carrier.
Embarcadero. Landing-place.
Emigrados. Emigrants, immigrants.
Empastados. Bound.
Enchilada. Stuffed peppers.
Enfermo. Sick.
Enramada. A shed or hut covered with branches of trees.
Ensenada. A bight, or small bay, cove.
Entrada. Entry, entrance, invasion, excursion.
Escala. See 'Puerto de Escala.'
Escalador, es. Climber, one who scales walls.
Escándalos. Scandals.
Escándalo de gran tamaño. Large-sized scandal.
Escoltas. Mission guard.
Escondida. Hidden.
Escribano. Notary.
Escrito. Writing; also written.
Espinazo. Spine.
Estado. Statement, or account.
Estero. Creek, cove, arm of the sea.
Estoy. I am.
Excusa. Excuse.
Excma, contraction of excelentísima. Most excellent.
Excomunion mayor. Excommunication major.
Expediente. Collection of papers upon a subject.

F

Fandango. A dance of the common people.
Fanega. A bushel and a half.
Farallones. Small, pointed islands, hummocks.

Favorecedor. Favorer, friend.
Festejar. To entertain, to feast.
Fidelidad. Fealty, faithfulness.
Fierro. Branding-iron.
Fomento. Development.
Fondo de gratificacion. Extra allowance to each milit. company.
Fondo de Inválidos. Fund of invalided soldiers.
Fondo de Montepío. Fund of pensions for officers' widows and orphans.
Fondo de retencion. Fund of amounts retained.
Forzados. Forced.
Fragata. Frigate, full-rigged ship.
Frágiles. Fragile.
Frailero. One under the influence of priests.
Fresno. Alder tree.
Fuego. Fire.
Fuero eclesiástico. Ecclesiastical privileges.
Fuero militar. Military privileges.
Fumos. See 'Humos.'

G

Gabelas. Imposts.
Ganado. Live-stock, cattle.
Gananciales. Property acquired during marriage.
Gañan. Ploughman, herdsman.
Gefatura. Office of a gefe or chief.
Gefe. Chief. Gefe político. Political chief.
Gente. People.
Gente de razon. Civilized people.
Gentilidad. Heathen people or region.
Gloria. Glory.
Golpe de estado. Coup d'etat, revolution.
Golpe de mano. Coup de main, daring stroke.
Gracias. Favors, thanks, graces.
Grillos. Shackles.
Grito. Cry, declaration.
Guarda-almacen. Store-keeper.
Guardia. Guard and guard-house.
Güera. Mexican for light complexion and hair.
Guerra. War. Junta de guerra. Council of war.
Guijarro. Cogglestone.

H

Habilitacion. Habilitado's office; also provision.
Habilitado. Paymaster and business agent of a presidial company.
Hambre. Hunger.
Hermoso. Handsome.
Herrar. To brand.
Hidalgo. One of gentle birth.
Hijo del País. Native of the country.
Hoja de servicio. Record of service.
Hombre. Man. Hombre de bien. Honest man.
Hoy. To-day.
Huero. Unfecundated egg. In California a person of light complexion and hair.
Huilo. A man without physical strength, or weak in the legs.
Humos. Smoke.

I

Inaudito atentado. Unheard of outrage.
Inconvenientes. Objections.
Indigente, es. Indigent.
Indulto. Pardon.
Insigne. Signal, notable.
Intendente honorario de provincia. An honorary intendent of province.
Interventor. Comptroller, supervisor.
Islas desiertas. Desert islands.

J

Jacal. Straw building.
Jara. An arrow, or dart. Jarazo. An arrow wound.
Jardin. Garden.
Juez. Judge.
Jugador. Gambler.
Junta. A board or corporation, meeting. Junta Instituyente. Instituting board.
Juramento. Oath.
Juzgado. Court of justice.

L

Laguna. Small lake.
Lanchas. Launches, or lighters.
Latido. Throb.
Latitas. Small laths.
Lazar. To lasso, or catch animals with a rope.
Legua. League.
Levantamiento. Uprising, revolt.
Libros de patentes. Copy-book of instructions.
Lindo. Beautiful, handsome.
Liviandad. Levity, incontinence.
Lobos. Wolves. Lobos Metodistas. Methodist wolves.

Lobos marinos. Sea-wolves, sea-lions.
Lomas. Heights.
Llano. Plain.
Llavero. Keeper of the keys. In the missions, the store-keeper.

M

Machete. Cutlass. Macheteros. Men armed with machetes.
Madrina. Godmother, or female sponsor.
Mal. Evil, complaint.
Malvado. Villain, wretch, wicked.
Manada. A herd of sheep.
Mangas. Bed-clothes and blankets.
Manguillo. Friar's sleeve.
Manifiesto. Manifesto.
Manta. Cotton cloth.
Mantilla. Head cover for women.
Mañana. Morning, and to-morrow.
Mariposa. Butterfly.
Mariscadas. Military raids.
Maromeros. Rope-dancers.
Mas ó ménos. More or less.
Matanza. Slaughter.
Matriarca. Matriarch.
Mecate. Mexican for rope.
Medio real. Half a real, or 6¼ cents.
Mejicano. Mexican. A lo Mejicano. After Mexican fashion.
Memorias. Memoranda.
Mentira. Lie.
Mercenarios. Friars of the Order of Mercy; mercenary.
Mesteño. See 'Mostrenco.'
Milpas. Indian corn-fields.
Ministros fundadores. The friars who found a mission.
Ministros suplentes. Substitute justices.
Misa. Mass.
Morro. Steep cliff.
Mostrenco, s. Strayed, having no owner. Bienes mostrencos. Goods without a known owner.
Mochilas, or mochillas. Leathern flaps for covering a saddle-tree, a knapsack.
Mocho. A bull or cow with horns cut off. Applied also to human beings or animals that have lost a finger, thumb, etc.
Morirse. To die.
Muerto. Dead.
Muchachos. Boys.

N

Nada mas. Nothing more.
Neofía (coined word). Status of neophyte.
Niñas expósitas. Girl foundlings.
Nombramiento. Appointment.
Novenario de azotes. Daily flogging for nine days.
Novia. Sweetheart, bride.
Nuqueador. One who broke the necks of cattle.
Nutria. Otter.

O

Obispado. Bishopric.
Obras piadosas. Benevolent institutions.
Óleo. The sacred oil.
Onza. Gold coin worth sixteen silver dollars.
Órden. Order, command.
Ordenanzas. Ordinances.
Orejano. Wild. Res orejana de fierro. Cattle marked on the ears.
Orgullo. Pride.
Oso. Bear.
Otro, a, os, as. Other.

P

Pacotilla. Small trading venture.
Padre. Father.
Padrino. Godfather, or sponsor.
Padron. Census.
País. Country.
Paisanos. Civilians, fellow-countrymen.
Palabra de esponsales. Betrothal.
Palos. Sticks, blows with a bludgeon or cudgel. Matar á palos. To kill with blows.
Panela. See 'Panocha.'
Panocha. An ear of millet or maize; applied to the disc-shaped loaves of coarse sugar.
Papel. Paper, writing.
Papel de Iglesia. Church asylum certificate.
Papeleta. Cheque, or ticket.
Paquete mercante. Merchant packet-ship.
Parages. Places, or regions.
Paraíso. Paradise.
Parecer. Opinion, or report.
Parroquia. Parish, and parish church.
Partido. Sub-district.
Pascua florida. Easter.
Paseo marítimo. Excursion by sea.
Pastorela. Idyl, poem in which the speakers act as shepherds.

Patronato. Royal patronage over the church.
Pedrero. Swivel-gun.
Pelador. Flayer, skinner.
Peor es Nada. Nothing is worse.
Perdulario. Devil-may-care.
Periódicos. Periodicals, newspapers.
Permanencia. Permanence, stay.
Pescadero. Fishing-place, fishmonger.
Pez. See 'Brea.'
Pienso que no. I think it will not be.
Placer. Place where gold is found in dirt, either on dry land or in the bed of a stream.
Plática. Discourse, colloquy; also pratique.
Playa. Sea-beach.
Plaza. Open square in a town.
Pliego. Sheet of paper.
Pobladores. Settlers or founders of a town or country.
Poder ejecutivo. Executive authority.
Policía. Police.
Políticos arbitristas. Scheming politicians.
Populachero. One who courts the rabble.
Portero. Door-keeper.
Pozo. Spring or well.
Pozolera. Pozole pot.
Prebendado. Prebendary, canon.
Preferencia. Preference. De preferencia. In preference.
Presbítero. Presbyter, clergyman.
Presidiarios. Convicts.
Presidio. Frontier post, penal place.
Prest. A soldier's pay.
Préstamo. Loan.
Pretesto. Pretext.
Prevenciones. Instructions.
Primicias. First fruits.
Principio. Beginning.
Proceder. Proceeding.
Proclama. Proclamation.
Promovedor. Promoter.
Propiedad. Proprietorship, property, propriety.
Propios. Town lands.
Provincia. Province.
Proyecto. Project. Proyecto de ley. Bill or draft of a law.
Pueblo. Chartered town; also people.
Pueblos de visita. Indian towns visited from a distant convent.
Puerto de cabotage. Port open to coasting trade.
Puerto habilitado. Port open to commerce.
Puerto de escala. Way port.
Pulpa. The most solid part of the flesh.
Puñado de advenedizos. Handful of upstarts.

Q

Quejas. Complaints, grievances.
Quinterna. Five nominees.

R

Racion. Ration.
Ranchería. Indian village.
Ranchero. A person owning a rancho or living in one.
Rancho. Tract of land used almost wholly for pasturage. Since the American annexation, it has been anglicized ranch, and applied to even small farms and single houses.
Real. Royal, real, a silver coin, a royal camp or tent. In Spanish times, a mining district.
Realistas. Royalists.
Reata. A rope of rawhide for lassoing animals.
Reatazo. A lash with a reata or lariat.
Recogida. A gathering of horses.
Reconocimiento. Recognition, acknowledgment.
Recuerdos. Recollections.
Reducido, os. Reduced.
Regidor. Alderman.
Reglamentos. Regulations, or by-laws.
Reintegro. Reimbursement, or repayment.
Rendicion. Surrender.
Reo. An indicted person.
Repartimientos. Apportionments.
Res. A head of neat cattle.
Reservado, a. Reserved, or confidential.
Revolucionario. Revolutionist.
Rifleros. Riflemen.
Roble. Oak tree.
Rodeo. Rounding up cattle.
Romancero del Cid. Collection of romances or ballads of the Cid; also the singer of such.
Ronda de cabrones. Patrol of cuckolds.
Ropa. Clothing.
Rosario. A rosary, evening prayers.
Rúbrica. A scroll or flourish appended by Spanish people to their signatures.

S

Sala. Hall, or parlor.
Sala capitular. Municipal hall.
Sangre azul. Blue blood, noble birth.
Salida. Excursion.
Salinas. Salt marshes.
Sambenito. Garment worn by the penitent convicts of the inquisition.
Santa Obediencia. Sacred obedience.
Sauz. Willow. Sauzal. Willow grove. Sauzalito. Small grove of willows.
Seguridad. Security, or safety.
Seis. Six.
Señoría. Lordship, worship, honor.
Sierra. A saw; also a chain of mountains.
Sierrita. Small sierra.
Sierra Nevada. Ridge of mountains covered with snow.
Silla. Chair, or saddle. Silla vaquera. Saddle used by vaquero.
Sin. Without.
Síndico. A town's attorney.
Sínodo. Stipend of a missionary; also synod.
Sitio. Small stock range.
Situado. Appropriation.
Socoyote. Applied to the youngest child of a family, and also the lowest servant.
Soldado. Soldier.
Soldado distinguido. Private soldier of gentle birth.
Sombrero. Hat.
Sublevado, a, os, as. Rebelled, rebellious.
Sucesos. Events, occurrences, successes.
Sumaria. The first proceeding in a trial.
Suplente. Substitute.

T

Tamal. Indian meal dumpling stuffed with minced meat, chicken, etc.
Tápalo. A shawl.
Tapanco. Cock-loft, or room over the garret.
Tardeada. March begun late in the day.
Tasajo. Jerked beef. Tasajero. One who prepares jerked beef.
Tecolero. Master of ceremonies at a ball.
Tecolote. Species of owl.
Temblor. Shake. Temblor de tierra, or terremoto. Earthquake.
Tescallis. Aztec temples.
Tequezquite. Mineral salt used chiefly in mines.
Tequio. Task allotted to the mission neophytes.
Terna, tern. Composed of three.
Terreno. Ground.
Testigo. Witness.
Tierras. Lands. De temporal; Lands depending entirely on rains. De regadío; Irrigated lands. De abrevanero; Lands having deposits of water to which animals resort.
Tierra de guerra. Hostile country.
Tierra de paz. Land at peace.
Tierra firme. Main land.
Tierra incógnita. Unknown land.
Tocante. Concerning, about.
Toison de oro. Golden fleece.
Tomista. Liquor-drinker.
Tonto. Stupid, foolish.
Trabajadores. Laborers.
Tratado. Treaty, convention, agreement.
Tratamiento. Compellation.
Tule. Water-reed. Tular. A field of tules.

U

Usía. Contraction of vuestra señoría, your lordship, or worship, or honor.

V

Vacuna. Vaccination, and also the vaccine virus.
Vacuno (Ganado). Neat cattle.
Válgame Dios. God protect me.
Vallado. A wide, deep trench; also a kind of fence or wall with thorny plants on top.
Vaquero. A cow-herder.
Vara de justicia. A justice's verge.
Vecindario. The citizens of a town, district, or street.
Vecino. Resident, neighbor, neighboring.
Venta. Sale mark of cattle.
Viático. Provision for a journey; also the viaticum sacrament.
Vicario castrense. Deputy of the chaplain-gen. Vicario foráneo. Vicar forain.
Vida. Life.
Vidrio. Glass.
Villanos. Villains, wretches.
Violincito. A small fiddle.
Visitador. Inspector.
Vocal. Voting member of a corporation.

Vociferaciones alarmantes. Alarming clamors, or outcries.

Vómito negro. Black vomit, yellow fever.

Vuesencia, contracted V. E. for Vuestra excelencia. Your excellency.

Y

Yataa, for ya está. All ready.

Yerba. Literally, herb; often used to imply poison.

Yerba buena. Mint; literally, good herb.

Z

Zacate. Grass.

Zanja. An irrigating ditch, such as that in Los Angeles.

Zanjero. The official in charge of the zanja.

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